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The Congregational Historical Society

The Society originated in a suggestion made by the Rev. C. Silvester Horne, M.A., in a letter to the Rev. G. Currie Martin, M.A., B.D., in the spring of 1899. The latter at once communicated with a number of leading Congregationalists inviting their opinion, and asking their support in the event of such a Society being founded. The matter was next brought before the Council of the Young People's Union (London District) of which Mr. Currie Martin is Secretary. On the motion of the Rev. Alfred Rowland, B.A., LL.B., it was decided to convene a meeting of all interested at the Autumnal Meetings of the Congregational Union in Bristol. This meeting was held under the presidency of the Rev. W. Pierce, and was well attended. It was then resolved to form such a Society, and a provisional committee was appointed. In May 1900 another meeting was held in the Library of the Memorial Hall, when Dr. McClure, who took the chair, introduced the subject, and addresses were delivered by the Revs. C. Silvester Horne and G. Currie Martin. It was agreed that the purpose of the Society should be three-fold, viz. :—

- (1) To encourage research into the origins and history of Congregationalism.
- (2) To issue transactions giving the results of and discussions on such research.
- (3) To print MSS and documents, and to republish rare books and tracts.

It was decided also that there should be three kinds of members, (a) Life Members, paying twenty guineas in lieu of annual subscriptions, (b) Honorary Members, paying an annual subscription of one guinea at least, and (c) Ordinary Members, paying an annual subscription of five shillings. The temporary committee was reappointed with power to add to its numbers, and many members were enrolled on the spot. Dr. McClure was chosen first President; Mr. Currie Martin, Secretary; and Mr. W. H. Stanier, Treasurer.

Shortly afterwards the committee issued to all churches founded prior to 1750, a circular containing the following queries :—

- (1) Has any history of your Church been issued in any form? If so, can we procure a copy?
- (2) Does your Church possess any original records of its history? How far back do these date?
- (3) If such are in your possession, are you willing to have copied for us interesting and important extracts; or, on production of sufficient guarantee, to permit us to have them until such extracts are made?
- (4) If the original records are not in your possession, can you tell us where they are, or when and where they were last traced?

These circulars were issued to the number of 487, and up till the end of March, 1901, over 150 replies have been received. Some of these are of very great interest and value. In several cases existing histories have been generously presented to the Society. In others promises have been made to send forthcoming histories. In many instances

references are given to larger well-known local histories, and in a few cases unique sources of great importance are revealed, to which the Society will devote attention, and bring to light whatever of interest they contain. All the replies have been carefully classified, and at present the printed material is being examined by the librarian of the Historical Library at the Memorial Hall, and comparison made with the histories therein existing. It is to be hoped that speedy answers may be yet received from the large number of churches that have not responded to the Society's appeal.

This first issue of Transactions may be taken as a specimen of some of the directions in which research may with advantage be pushed, while the careful and scholarly bibliography, to be brought down in successive issues to the present time, cannot fail to be of immense value to students.

The suggestion has been made that county and district libraries might be formed to contain all the literature relative to the group of churches embraced, and that these might be in some central place, under the care of a local expert, where the books would be easily accessible to anyone who might wish to consult them. Such a custodian might also act as correspondent for the Society in his own district. Some counties (*e.g.*, Durham, Norfolk, and Pembrokeshire) have already appointed such correspondents; an example that might well be followed by every county Union and district Association.

Much may be done in the careful revision and correction of existing histories. Too much unsifted tradition often exists in them, and authorities remain uncited, and citations unverified. The work of the redactor may not seem attractive or romantic, but it is requisite.

Wherever unpublished local records exist these should be carefully examined by some one sufficiently competent and interested to judge of their value, and to make an account of all that is of historical value in them, and that throws light on the story of Congregationalism.

There are many places where careful investigation will undoubtedly discover great treasures of information. One of the first duties of the Society will be to make arrangements for a systematic examination of documents in the care of the State (*e.g.*, in the Record Office). But this by no means exhausts the list. Some private libraries may well be expected to repay careful search therein. There are not a few gentlemen who have already devoted much valuable time to such work, and, while some have published their results, others have amassed much material which might well be published wholly or in part. To such the Society looks confidently for sympathy, for suggestion, and for guidance. Many who have but little time to bestow on such researches as have been indicated are naturally deterred by the wideness of the field, as well as by the consciousness that they do not know when or how to begin. It should be one of the duties of the Society to organise the work so as to give definite, albeit small, tasks to those whose enthusiasm is greatly in excess of their leisure and opportunity. Finally it may be well to remark that a very important part of the work of the Society concerns the future rather than the past. The records of Congregational Churches are kept in a much more satisfactory manner now

than formerly ; yet no one who is acquainted with the churches of even a single district will venture to deny that there is room for very great improvement in this respect. The members of the Society, both individually and collectively, may do much to foster and encourage more systematic and careful action in the preservation of the records of Congregational Churches. If, as we have every reason to believe, the present century will witness great changes and developments in Congregationalism as such, it is important that the churches of the future, no less than the historian of the future, should be able to realize what church life was amongst the people of the early part of the Twentieth Century, how they understood and fulfilled the obligations of Christian brotherhood, and how they "kept the faith once delivered to the Saints."

J. D. McClure.

G. Currie Martin.

Congregational Historical Society

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Non-Parochial Registers in Yorkshire

OF Parish Registers it has been remarked: "they are invaluable, not only as legal evidence, but as materials for historical, topographical, genealogical and biographical inquiry."^{*} Although the Registers kept in connection with Places of Public Worship, other than Parish Churches and Chapels, can hardly be compared with them in point of antiquity and extent, yet they are of considerable interest and importance.

Between eight and nine thousand Non-Parochial Registers, extending over a period of about two centuries, are in the custody of the Registrar-General at Somerset House, London; and a complete List of them is printed (London, 1859, fol.). This List indicates the locality and name of each Place of Worship, the Religious Denomination to which it belonged, the date of its Foundation, and the name of its Minister at the time when the Register was surrendered; also, whether the Register is one of births, baptisms, deaths, burials, or marriages, and the period over which it extends. The chief purpose of this paper is to furnish some account of these Non-Parochial Registers, so far as they pertain to Yorkshire. † But before doing so it may be well to refer to the subject of registration generally, and the means by which these Registers were collected and deposited in their present resting place.

I.

1. Before the Reformation, as need scarcely be stated, England was professedly of one religion. The Roman Catholic Church exercised supreme control

^{*} *The History of Parish Registers in England*, by J. S. Burn, 1862, page 248.

[†] The List of Yorkshire Registers is reprinted in *The Yorkshire County Magazine*, vol. ii., 1892 vol. iii. (Society of Friends), 1893

over all persons from their entrance into life to their exit from it, and even after. No system of general registration was, however, adopted. Only incidentally or for special purposes were the christenings, weddings or burials of particular persons recorded in the Missals and Psalteries of Churches or in the Obituaries of Monasteries. But soon after the general dissolution of Monasteries, viz., in the year 1538 (September 29), Thomas, Lord Cromwell, vicegerent of Henry VIII., "Defensor of the Faith and in earth Supreme Head under Christ of the Church of England," issued an Injunction requiring the parson, vicar or curate of every parish to keep a book or register, and record therein every Sunday "all the weddings, christenings and burials made the whole week before," under a penalty of 3s. 4d. for every omission, "to be employed on the reparation of the Church." This was the first step taken towards a system of general registration, which was only fully carried out, under greatly altered conditions, three centuries later.

In consequence of the Injunction referred to, 812 Parochial Registers are known to have been commenced. Forty of these contained entries of an earlier date, but such entries were doubtless taken from memoranda made before the Registers properly began. Few of the original Registers of 1538 are extant, the Registers that bear this date being for the most part later transcripts on parchment from the paper books at first used.* The Injunction was regarded with much popular distrust as an occasion of imposing additional burdens of taxation; and was very reluctantly and partially obeyed by the clergy. Hence many other urgent Injunctions of a similar nature followed. At length, in 1597 (Oct. 25th), the Convocation of the Province of Canterbury made a new constitution (canon 20) concerning the proper keeping of Parochial Registers, and also the transmission of transcripts of them to the Bishop's Registry. Another ecclesiastical mandate directed that in every parish a parchment book should be provided, "wherein shall be written the day and year of every christening, wedding and

* The Registers of Burton Fleming printed by the "Yorkshire Parish Register Society" (1899) commence with this year; the Bradford Registers not until 1596.

burial, which have been in that parish since the time that the law was first made in that behalf, so far as the ancient books thereof can be procured," and that it should be kept in "one sure coffer with three locks and keys, whereof the one to remain with the minister, and the other two with the churchwardens severally." And by the first year of James I. (1603) over 5000 Parish Registers had been commenced, one half of them being still in existence.

2. Then came the Puritan Revolution, in which the Monarchy was overthrown and the National Church reconstructed. Whilst a great change took place among the clergy and in the form of public worship, no alteration was effected for some years in the manner in which the Parochial Registers were kept, except that by an ordinance of the Long Parliament in 1644 the time of *birth* as well as baptism, and of *death* as well as burial, was ordered to be "written in a fair Register Book of velim, to be kept by the minister and other officers of the church." But when Oliver Cromwell became Protector, in 1653, registration was for the first time regulated by Act of Parliament. Owing to the prevalent neglect of baptism (many persons like the Baptists disapproving of the baptism of infants, and others like the Quakers disapproving of baptism altogether) only births, not baptisms, were henceforth to be registered. The tendency to separate ecclesiastical from civil affairs appears in the provision for appointing in each parish a lay Registrar, or, as he was called, a *Register*, or register-man; and still more fully in a new law with respect to the marriage ceremony. Heretofore "marriage was regarded as a religious contract which fell within the exclusive jurisdiction of the Church, and the duties of celebrating and registering marriages were strictly reserved to the clergy; but the abolition of the Bishops' Courts, which had the sole cognizance of matrimonial causes, made legislation imperative."* The course now pursued was for the State to deal with marriage as a civil contract, and to put its legal performance in the hands of appointed civil officers. This had been done in the

* *Parish Registers*, by R. E. C. Waters, B.A., 1887.

Netherlands long before, and in new England more recently. William Bradford (a native of Austerfield in Yorkshire, one of the "Pilgrim Fathers" who sailed in the *Mayflower* to New England in 1620, and was subsequently chosen Governor) has the following passage in his *History of the Plymouth Plantation* :

1621, May 12 was the first marriage in this place ; which according to the laudable custom of the Low Countries, in which they had lived, was thought most requisite to be performed by the Magistrate ; as being a civil thing, upon which many questions about inheritances do depend, with other things most proper to its cognizance ; and most consonant to the Scriptures, Ruth iv. ; and nowhere found in the gospel to be laid on the ministers as a part of their office. "This decree or law about marriage was published by the States of the Low Countries, anno 1590 : that those of any religion (after lawful and open publication) coming before the Magistrates in the Town or Statehouse were to be orderly by them married one to another" (*Petel's Hist.*, fol. 1029).

And this practice hath continued amongst not only them, but hath been followed by all the famous Churches of Christ in these parts to this time. (1646).

By an Act of the Little Parliament, usually called Barebones' Parliament, it was enacted (August 24, 1653) that the names of persons intending to be married must be published by the Registrar on three Lord's Days in a Church or Chapel, or on three market-days in the nearest market-place ; and on the presentation of a certificate thereof to a Justice of the Peace, such persons must make a brief declaration before him according to a prescribed form ;* whereupon the Justice was to declare them husband and wife. Nothing is said about the use of the marriage-ring, to which the Puritans commonly objected as a heathenish custom. The Registrar was to be chosen at a meeting of the inhabitants of the parish, and sworn by a local magistrate ; he was to have the custody of former Registers ; to enter in a book of good vellum or parchment, provided by the parish, all banns and marriages, and all births and burials ; and to furnish certificates of the same. On the confirmation of this Act three years

* For the man, "I, A. B., do here in the presence of God the Searcher of all hearts take thee C.D. for my wedded wife, and do also in the presence of God and before these witnesses here present promise to be unto thee a loving and faithful husband." The woman in like manner "to be a loving, faithful and obedient wife."

later a clause, to the effect that no marriage except such as was performed by a Magistrate should be deemed legal, was omitted. And in deference to the popular sentiment that a religious service should be associated with the civil contract, it was common during the remaining years of the Protectorate for a magistrate and minister to act together in performing the ceremony. It is worthy of note that in this, as in many other matters, the lines laid down during the Protectorate have been largely followed by more recent legislation.

3. At the Restoration of Charles II. the exclusive control of registration again fell into the hands of the clergy of the Anglican Church. In some instances the old Parochial Registers were destroyed or lost during the Civil war. In others we often find a note inserted by a restored or newly appointed incumbent, reflecting strongly on the late government, on his predecessor as an unworthy "intruder," or on the incapacity of the lay registrar. In the Register at Castleford, over one entry of the name of Henry Moorehouse, the minister, the word *usurper* is written by a later hand; and at Thornhill, to the memorandum: "Nov. 8 1662 Dr. Will Lacy inducted into the rectory," is added "and Joshua Witton *overhawl'd*." The following entry occurs at Aldborough:

From the year 1653 till 1659 the Registers were made by Cromwell's Justices of the Peace, whom that impious arch Rebill (Oliver Cromwell) appointed out of the basest hypocrites and dissemblers with God and man; the manner of whose Certificates I do here register—one from Thomas Dickenson [Lord Mayor of York] whom Cromwell made believe he had knighted, that is, according to the certificate written and attested by the Parish Registers, with others, as follows: This certificate that William Dove and Elizabeth Clemetshaw, both of the town and parish of Aldborough, came this day before me Mr. S^r Thomas Dickenson, E^{sq}! one of the Justices of the Peace; Whereupon the said William Dove did take for his wife the said Elizabeth Clemetshaw, and she did take for her husband the said William Dove.

At the commencement of the Parish Register of Woodchurch (West Ardsley) there is the following note, written by Anthony Cooper, the vicar (1662): "All these I found confusedly registered by Isaac Serjeant, sworn registrar *in diebus Oliver sancti Tyranni*, and have digested them in this manner." Whatever may

have been the carelessness or confusion exhibited by Isaac Sergeant in performing his duties, "the Register books from 1653 to 1660 were kept exceptionally well." (Waters.) The ministers who were deprived of their livings by the Act of Uniformity held conventicles or unauthorised religious meetings outside the Parish Churches; and notwithstanding the severe measures adopted for their suppression, such meetings increased, especially after the King's Declaration of Indulgence in 1672. Nonconformist ministers officiated at the baptism of children in private houses; they preached funeral sermons for their hearers, when laid by the vicar or curate in the Parish Churchyard (a separate burial ground being seldom possessed); they even ventured to perform the marriage ceremony, in the absence of express legal prohibition to the contrary. In his Diary Oliver Heywood records (May 17, 1678): "I stayed at home; forenoon, married a couple." This couple, we find from his private Register, were "John Ellis of Morley and Elizabeth Pierson of Tingley," and they "were published at Woodkirk." It may be mentioned that in the year last referred to (1678), for "lessening the importation of linen from beyond sea and encouragement of woollen and paper manufactures in this kingdom," an Act of Parliament was passed for burying in woollen (instead of linen as had been customary from ancient times), and an entry was to be made in the Parish Register that the enactment had been fulfilled. This measure was not popular and was often evaded. Oliver Heywood tells a story of a shrewd Quaker, named Abraham Hodgson, near Halifax, who buried a daughter in linen, gave 50s. to the poor according to the Act, and then went to Justice Farrar, informed him of it and claimed 50s. for himself as the informer! (Diary ii., 260). Only a small number of Non-Parochial Registers, however, were kept (or have been preserved) during the long interval of repression and persecution that elapsed between the Restoration and the Revolution of 1688.

4. A few further particulars concerning the general subject must be given. It is a matter of curious interest to observe how, notwithstanding the Act of

Toleration recognised Nonconformists, or Protestant Dissenters, as "separate communities in the State," subsequent legislation totally ignored their existence, and proceeded on the fictitious assumption that the whole population was baptized, married, buried and registered at the Parish Church; and how, whilst upholding the peculiar privileges of the clergy of the Established Church, it made use of them as convenient agents for replenishing the national exchequer.

Under William III. (1694) registration was made a basis of a graduated scale of taxation "for a term of five years for carrying on the war against France with vigour." A tax was levied on every person registered, the lowest amount being "for and upon the birth of every person" 2s., which gradually increased according to social status or real and personal estate, until for the birth of the eldest son of a Duke £30 had to be paid to Government. Similarly with respect to Burials and Marriages; whilst every Bachelor above 25 years old had to pay 1s. yearly, and every Widower the same, the clergy were required to keep a Register of "every person buried, christened or born in their respective parishes" under a penalty of £100 for every omission; and in consequence of frequent evasions of the law all parents were required (1695) to give notice to the vicar of the parish of the day on which each child was born, and to pay him sixpence for every entry in the Parish Register. In this way the names of great numbers of Dissenters found a place in the Parish Register, though they were strangers to the Parish Church; and even when the ground of the requirement no longer existed they continued to be entered therein, and the fee claimed. In the Diary of Peter Walkden, a nonconformist minister at Newton in Bowland, we find the following statement:

1729 Oct. 25. This afternoon William Dilworth [parish clerk] came to me; he said Mr. Clarkson [vicar of Chipping] had sent him to inquire what children I had baptized within the parish these three years past. I gave him account of 2 of Ralph Ellison's, 2 of James Procter's, 2 of Henry Graves's, one of Richard Parkinson's, and one of my own, viz., daughter Catherine. I paid him for Catherine's baptism viz. 6d., and he went his way.

As previously mentioned the marriage ceremony was occasionally performed in a nonconformist meeting-

house ; either because the parish clergyman refused to perform it, or from personal preference. One instance of this nature has been already given, and to this others may be added from the same source :

Mr. Nicholas Kershaw preacher in Craven and Anne daughter of John Wilkinson of Houghton in Craven married May 20, 1690 in Mixenden [where there was no Parochial Church or Chapel, but only a nonconformist meeting house].

Thomas Farrand of Bradford and Judith Scarborough married at my meeting-place, Aug. 25, 1690.

Antony Naylor of Warley and Jane d. James Baumford of Ratchdal at my chapel Dec. 16, 1691 (Diar. 11. 135).

But much more serious irregularities took place in the clandestine marriages performed within the precincts of the Fleet Prison, and elsewhere. And these led to the passing of an Act known as *Lord Hardwicke's Act* in 1753, by which all marriages, except those of Jews and Quakers, were made illegal, unless solemnised in a Church or Chapel where banns had been usually published, and according to certain other conditions.

Henceforth all references to the ceremony completely disappear from Non-Parochial Registers, with the exception just noted, and all nonconformists who would be joined together in matrimony were compelled to repair to the Parish Church and there bow their necks to the yoke ; or else to flee beyond the border and be married according to Scotch law.

At a later date (1783) registration was again made a means of taxation. By what was called the *Stamp Act* a duty of 3d. was imposed on the entry of every burial, marriage, birth or christening in the Parish Register ; the incumbent being made the collector of the tax, and receiving 2s. in the pound for his trouble. Its provisions were subsequently (1785) extended to Non-Parochial Registers, at the instance of Nonconformists themselves, and on the understanding that their Registers, if a government stamp were affixed to them, would be admissible as legal evidence, and thus placed on the same footing as Parish Registers. But, as Burn remarks, though they went on for ten years paying the price, they did not obtain their object.

Finally, in 1812 an important Act, usually called *Rose's Act*, was passed "for the better regulating and preserving Parish Registers," which in the main con-

tinues operative at the present time ; but since it has no relation to the special purpose of this paper it need not be further explained.

II.

The collection of Non-Parochial Registers and their certification by public authority as reliable evidence were largely due to the growth of nonconformists in numbers and influence at the beginning of the nineteenth century. It was also a natural outcome of the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts (1826), and other measures affecting their legal status. In 1828 Lord Nugent gave notice in the House of Commons of his intention to bring in a Bill in the next Session of Parliament "for instituting a Register of the births of children of Dissenters," but nothing came of it. In the first session of the Reformed Parliament (1833) a select Committee was appointed, in consequence of a Petition presented by Dissenters, for enquiring into the actual state of Parish Registers, and advising on an improved scheme of general registration. Its Report shewed that those Registers had woefully suffered from neglect and reckless destruction ; it also declared that a system by which registration and marriage were under the control of the clergy of the National Church was "exclusive and intolerant," in the face of the fact that it was no longer practically the Church of the whole nation ; and it recommended the adoption of a truly National Civil Registration of Births, Marriages and Deaths. In accordance with this recommendation two Bills were brought in by Lord John Russell three years afterwards (August, 1836). One of them provided for a uniform registration of births, deaths and marriages, and the appointment of public officers to carry out its provisions ; the other for the performance of the marriage ceremony, under certain restrictions, in the presence of an appointed Registrar either in his own office, or in any dissenting Place of Worship with such religious services as might be desired. These Bills became Acts of Parliament, and came into operation July 1st, 1837, a few days after the accession of her late Majesty. It was not the least of the signs of

the commencement of an era of more just and equal laws by which her reign was distinguished.

2. Immediately after the General Registration Act was passed a Royal Commission was appointed (Sept. 13, 1836) for enquiring into the state, custody, and authenticity of Registers other than Parochial, and recommending proper means for their collection and arrangement, and "for giving full force and effect as evidence in all Courts of Justice to all such Registers as are found accurate and faithful." Mr. J. S. Burn was appointed Secretary of the Commission, and issued a circular (Dec. 2, 1836) to ministers and others having the custody of the Registers belonging to all nonconformist churches or congregations, explaining the purpose of the Commission, seeking information in reply to a paper of questions enclosed, and urging the transmission of such Registers for examination. No penalty was attached to neglect or refusal, but a general disposition to comply with the request was evinced. In many instances it was found that the older Registers were lost beyond recovery; in others that they were in private hands; and whilst for the most part carefully kept they were often quite as much neglected as the Parish Registers had been. When received they were classified in counties and entered in a book, with notes of particulars applicable to their state and custody. They were then submitted to the inspection of the Board, and the Chairman affixed his signature to the first and last entry, or to such parts as were deemed original and authentic. Their Report was presented June 18, 1838; and shortly afterwards (August 10, 1840) an Act was passed by which Non-Parochial Registers were admitted as evidence in Courts of Justice, and deposited with the Registrar-General. The Report stated that about 7000 Register Books from upwards of 3600 religious congregations in England and Wales, besides about 1500 Registers from the Society of Friends, from Dr. Williams' Library, and from other sources were, after careful examination and enquiry, pronounced to be authentic and admissible. Of the 3600 congregations alluded to 2264 belonged to what were usually called "the three

denominations," viz. Presbyterian, Independent and Baptist; and the rest for the most part to the Wesleyan Methodists in their several branches. The Jews refused to part with their Registers, which had been kept with great care since they were permitted to settle in England by Oliver Cromwell. Cardinal Wiseman, on behalf of the Roman Catholics, also declined; but a considerable number of their Registers nevertheless appears in the printed List. The Society of Friends at first hesitated and afterwards consented. "They are particularly careful," says Burn, "in causing notes to be sent to their monthly and quarterly Meetings of all Births, Marriages and Burials of and connected with the members of their community. These Records were sent in 1837 from the various Meetings in the country to the Chief Office of the Society in London; they were there arranged and indexed, and in 1840 deposited at Somerset House." At a later date many of their Registers, which had been previously overlooked, were discovered in various parts of the country; a second Royal Commission was appointed (1857) to authenticate them; and 303 were reported upon, and by Act of Parliament placed on the same footing as the others.

3. Since the Registration Act came into force there has not been the same necessity as before of keeping separate Registers at nonconformist Places of Worship; and when this is continued it is simply for convenient use in respect to the baptism of children where that ceremony is observed, or to burials where a burial-ground is possessed. In most cases copies of the Non-Parochial Registers which were sent to the Secretary of the Commission have been retained; and the originals may be inspected at Somerset House on payment of certain fees. The custody of the Registers is of course but a small portion of the important duties of the Registrar-General; and, owing to lack of accommodation in his office, it is only possible to obtain permission to a very limited extent, for a general search for literary purposes. This is greatly to be regretted; and although (as I readily acknowledge), having obtained permission, every facility was furnished me for examining particular Registers during such visits

as I was able to pay, it is very desirable that these Registers should be open to easier and more convenient access for such purposes.

III.

From the List of Non-Parochial Registers kept in Yorkshire previous to the General Registration Act, it appears that (in addition to 192 of the Society of Friends) there are 740 Register Books connected with 438 congregations. Of these congregations only 17 are designated Presbyterian (having been founded by "orthodox" Presbyterians about two centuries ago and long since become Unitarian), 143 Independent, and 49 Baptist; 134 are designated Wesleyan Methodist, 17 New Connexion Methodist, 15 Primitive Methodist; about a dozen by various other names; and 50 are classified as Roman Catholic. These figures afford little reliable information on the relative position of different denominations seventy years ago, inasmuch as some of the older nonconformist congregations had then become extinct, and many of the congregations more recently formed kept no Registers, or did not send them to the Commission; still less are they any indication of it at the present time.

In further considering these Registers it will be convenient to arrange them in successive periods according to the time of their origin.

1. The Puritan Revolution (1640—1660). In the Report of the Commission on Registers other than Parochial (1838), it was stated: "Some of the earlier Registers of the Independents and Baptists had their origin during the troubles which occurred in the reign of Charles I. But the Registers of this early date are rare." So far as Yorkshire is concerned, they are indeed rare. Without taking into account those of the Society of Friends, there is only one which properly belongs to this period, viz., the Topcliffe Register, to be presently noticed. But it must be borne in mind that the Registers kept by ministers of Presbyterian or Independent sentiments, who held Parish livings during the Commonwealth, formed part of the Parish

Registers, and are commonly found among them. Even when an Independent or Baptist church or religious society was formed outside the Parish assembly, as sometimes occurred, it was seldom deemed necessary to keep a separate Register of the baptism or burial of its members. This accounts for the rarity of Non-Parochial Registers during the Puritan Revolution. The *Northowram Register*, which is not in Somerset House, but has been published,* contains numerous entries as early as 1644; but these entries appear to have been made by Curates of Coley Chapelry as a part of their parochial duty, and should have been found, if they are not, in the Parish Registers of Halifax.

It may be here observed that the dates of the *Foundation* of Places of Worship or Congregations, as given in the List, are not reliable. They appear to have been set down in many instances at a guess, and to have little or no relation to the actual commencement of the Registers. Nor is this commencement always accurately indicated by the figures contained in the List pertaining to the period over which the Register extends. A Register of the Society of Friends at Malton bears the date of 1621, which was three years before George Fox was born; but this date denotes, of course, not the actual commencement of the Register, but the year of the birth of one of the members of the Society; and many other instances of a similar kind occur.

The *Topcliffe Register*, previously mentioned, and erroneously placed in the List under the heading of Morley, extends from 1655 to 1746.† It belonged to a Congregational Church which, according to the express

* This valuable Register, edited by Mr. Horsfall Turner (Brighouse, 1881), can hardly be said to commence before 1672, when Oliver Heywood (who came to Coley in 1650) had license for preaching in his own house. After his death in 1702 it was continued by his successor, Thomas Dickenson, until his decease in 1743, a few entries being subsequently made by other hands. The original manuscript was transmitted by Mr. White, the minister of Heywood Chapel, Northowram, to Mr. Joshua Wilson of London, "on consideration of his giving £5 to the new Chapel" (1837) by whom it was given to the Congregational Library, Memorial Hall, London. It was probably not submitted to the inspection of the Commission, and if it had been it could scarcely be authenticated as legal evidence (except in some parts), because of its extensive range and second hand testimony. The Register of the Northowram Chapel now in Somerset House commences in 1744.

† It is published under the title of *The Topcliffe and Morley Registers* by William Smith, F.S.A.S., London, 1888. The names are unfortunately printed not from the original Register but from an imperfect copy of it retained at Morley. Hence many curious mistakes occur therein, as e.g. the alterations of the name given by George Larkham, M.A., (the ejected minister of Cockermonth) to his daughter at her baptism (1686), from *Patience* to the extraordinary one, for a young lady, of *Defence*!

testimony of Oliver Heywood, (Diary ii., 244), was formed before 1648. About that time Christopher Marshall returned from Boston in New England where he had been a member of the Congregational church of which the celebrated John Cotton, B.D., was pastor, became Incumbent of Woodchurch (West Ardsley), and whilst holding this position gathered there a Church in "the congregational way," which was for many years very prosperous and influential.*

After the Restoration it met at Topcliffe Hall (an old mansion once occupied by Sir John Topcliffe, and replaced by a modern dwelling-house) about a mile from Morley, and had a burial ground at Tingley, provided by Captain John Pickering in 1675. The Register possesses special interest because of its containing a separate List of Church-members; and among the earliest names recorded therein are those of James Nayler "the mad Quaker," Thomas Smallwood, Christopher Nesse, Josiah Holdsworth, Gamaliel Marsden (all ejected ministers) and several other notable persons who were associated with them. It also contains numerous particulars pertaining to this church "in the days of Oliver" and long afterwards.

2. The Act of Uniformity (1662—1688). "After the passing of the Act of Uniformity on the Restoration of Charles II.," says the Report, "when the great body of the Presbyterian clergy, and with them many of the other clergy, who had embraced the tenets of the Independents and Baptists, seceded from the Established Church and became the officiating ministers of large congregations, the Registers of the three Denominations increased in number and acquired importance from the rank and wealth of some of the Nonconformists." The number in Yorkshire is, however, singularly small, considering the prevalence of non-conformity in the County. Nearly 150 ministers were here deprived of their livings or silenced; and whilst many of them left the country or remained in silent submission, others gathered their former hearers in

* It was not the earliest in Yorkshire. An Independent Church was formed at Hull in 1643 under the pastorate of Robert Luddington, Incumbent of Sculcoates; in 1645 at Sowerby by Henry Boote, Curate of the Chapel; and the church at Kipping, Thornton, near Bradford, was called by Thomas Jolly "the most ancient Society in the North of England" (*Jolly's Note Book*, Chetham Society, 1895, page 31).

private for religious services. They were not deterred from doing so by the *Conventicle* or *Five Mile* Acts, or by any civil or ecclesiastical penalties. And when a brief interval of liberty was allowed (1672), about 70 licenses were taken out for nonconformist teachers or preachers, and nearly as many for nonconformist places of meeting, in addition to their own houses.* But almost all marriages and funerals took place at the Parish Church, and with respect to births and baptisms, in the unsettled and precarious condition of the congregations gathered during this period, Registers were seldom kept, or if kept neglected or lost. In this county only three remain.

(1) One was commenced (though dating back a little earlier) on the erection of a Presbyterian Meeting-house at Mill Hill, Leeds, in 1672. Of this Chapel Ralph Thoresby, the Leeds antiquary, who then attended it, wrote: "It is said to be the first, and is certainly one of the stateliest fabricks (supported by a row of pillars and arches *more Ecclesiarum*) built upon that occasion in the north of England." The following entry in the Register is worth noticing: "Mr. Ralph Thoresby of Kirkgate, a child born the 2nd day of June, baptized the 12th day of June 1692." About this time Thoresby consulted Mr. Stretton (who had been formerly minister at Mill Hill and was now in London) concerning some trouble to which nonconformists were put on account of registration, and received from him a letter in which it was stated:

As to the business of registering, no statute law has ordained it, but it was an ecclesiastical constitution made by Cromwell when vicar-general in Henry VIII.'s time, so that the common and statute law does not expose them to it. But the honest lawyers are very mad that they cannot persecute dissenters as formerly, and put them to all the trouble they can. They will still shew their teeth, though they cannot bite. But they advise dissenters to get Registers of their own, and get the Register attested by some good witnesses present at the Baptism, and it will be enough. But as for the burial of the dead, if they will not do it, as was customary, you may get burying places of your own and never trouble them; you have a good one already by your Chapel; if they demand their fees they will trouble you in their Courts if you do not give them." (*Upcott's Collection*).

* Most of these preachers had been ejected at the Restoration or by the Act of Uniformity; 50 being Presbyterians and 20 Congregationalists or Independents (who in their common troubles had become practically one); and 3 or 4 Baptists

(2) Another Register was commenced about the same time, on the fitting up of the Main-Riding-House, Leeds, for the ministry of Christopher Nesse; who had been Lecturer at the Parish Church, was silenced for his nonconformity, and obtained a license for this place (May 2, 1672) as an Independent. It begins with the heading: "The Register of the day and year of the Baptism of the church's children." The first page contains only the following eight entries:

- 167- July 15, Abraham Denison, son of Thomas D. of Quarry Hill.
- Caleb Atkinson, son of Thomas A. of Briggate.
- Martha Cloudesley, daughter of Jon. C. of the same.
- James Ibberson, son of Mr. Sam. I. of Kirkgate.
- Peter Jackson, son of Thomas J. of Mabgate.
- Nov. 5, Mehetabel Nesse, daughter of Mr. Christopher Nesse of Hunslet.
- Sam. Hutchinson, son of Thomas H. of the same.
- Bathshebah Coupland, daughter of James C. of the same.

There is then a blank, and the next entry was made in 1695, by Mr. Nesse's successor, Thomas Whitaker, for whom "a stateley Chapel or Meeting-house with a turret on the leaded roof" was built in Call Lane in 1691. This Register also contains some account of "the most remarkable passages and occurrences" in connection with the early history of the church.

(3) The third is a Register of Baptisms at Norfolk Street (Upper) Chapel, Sheffield, commenced by Timothy Jolly in 1681; and it has been printed in *Yorkshire Notes and Queries* (vol. ii., 1890). Jolly was a remarkable man. In addition to his pastoral duties he carried on an Academy at Attercliffe, where Secker, Archbishop of Canterbury, Saunderson, the blind Professor of Mathematics at Cambridge, Bowes, the Irish Chancellor, and other eminent men received their early education.

3. The Act of Toleration (1689—1740). To quote once more the language of the Report: "These Registers were greatly multiplied after the Revolution of 1688, when the Toleration Act gave a legal sanction to the worship of Protestant Dissenters, and for the first time by legal enactment recognised them as separate communities in the State." It was the commencement of what Hunter calls "the great era of chapel building

among the old Dissenters." Within ten years after the passing of the Toleration Act over 50 chapels were erected in Yorkshire by "the three Denominations," besides many by the Society of Friends.

The prevalence of nonconformity more fully appears from a list of the Returns of "places of religious worship certified to the Justices of the Peace at the General or *Quarter Sessions*," under the Toleration Act, now in the possession of the Registrar General.* This list shews that in the West Riding alone, during the first year after that Act came into operation, over 200 such places were certified, the majority of them "by the People of God called Quakers," and most of them private dwelling-houses. The extraordinary religious activity of the Society of Friends at this period, as well as during the preceding forty years, was only equalled by their rapid decline in zeal and numbers a few years afterwards. In 1715, according to a Return in Dr. Williams' Library, there were upwards of 60 regular Presbyterian and Independent Chapels in Yorkshire. The Baptists had at this date only about half a dozen.

But the comparatively small number of Registers commenced in connection with these Chapels in the period now under review can only be accounted for on the supposition that such Registers were not deemed of sufficient importance to be regularly kept, or if kept, got into private hands during the succeeding century and were ultimately lost. Those that remain are as follow :

- (1) 1690, Cottingham, near Hull, Congregational, Baptisms.
- (2) 1695, Whitby, Flowergate, Presbyterian now Unitarian ; which contains a record of several Marriages.

* *West Riding*; total number up to 1700, 387; to 1715, 525; to 1740, 630; to 1800 (including 12 Roman Catholic from 1791 when a Catholic Relief Act was passed), 740; to 1837, 819; to 1852, 953. *East Riding*, imperfect, total number from 1708 (the record being wanting before that year) up to 1715, 30; up to 1740, 46; wanting between 1740 and 1765; to 1800 (including 10 Roman Catholic from 1791), 60; to 1837, 70; to 1852, 83. *North Riding*; total number up to 1700, 112; to 1715, 159; to 1740, 180; to 1800 (including 14 Roman Catholic from 1791), 259; to 1837, 270; to 1852, 288 (see published *Records of Quarter Sessions for the North Riding*). There is also in the possession of the Registrar General "A Return made by the Registrar of the Diocese of York (extending over a much larger area than the County), pursuant to the Act 16 Vict. cap. 36, of all places of Public Religious Worship, which have been certified to and registered in the Court of the Bishop of the said Diocese from the year 1737, the first we have, to the 29 day of June 1853, under the Acts 1 William and Mary cap. 18, and 32 George III. cap. 153, or either of them." The first entry is of a dwelling-house in Bowlane (Boar Lane), Leeds, certified by Joshua Siddall, 28 Dec., 1737, the last (No. 4756) at Sutton under Whitestonecliff, Prot. Diss., certified by Robert Peat, Thirsk, 10 June, 1852.

- (3) 1698, Bridlington, Baptist; which also contains a record of Marriages.
- (4) 1698, Burlington, Zion Chapel, Congregational, Baptism, Burials and Marriages.
- (5) 1700, Lydgate, Kirkburton, Presbyterian now Unitarian, Burials.
- (6) 1701, Beverley, Congregational.
- (7) 1703, Scarborough Old Meeting House, Congregational. Its first minister was a Scotch Covenanter, who on account of his religious convictions was twenty years previously banished to the Barbadoes and sold into servitude, and on his release at the Revolution devoted himself to the ministry. His Register contains many such entries as the following: "Thomas Adamson and Mary Ruston, published first, June 17, and the two Lord's dayes following, married July 24, 1705." Another entry is: "The Rev. Mr. John Reddid [minister at Whitby] and Margaret Skin married August 24, 1713."
- (8) 1705, Hull, Bowlalley Lane (Spring Bank), Presbyterian now Unitarian, Baptisms.
- (9) 1718, Stannington, near Sheffield, Presbyterian.
- (10) 1721, York, St. Saviour's Gate, Presbyterian, now Unitarian.
- (11) 1724, Cleckheaton, Congregational.
- (12) 1730, Bradford, Presbyterian now Unitarian.
- (13) 1733, Hopton, Mirfield, Congregational.
- (14) 1739, Swanland, near Hull, Congregational.
- (15) 1740, Sowerby, Congregational.*

A fragment of the Register of Baptisms kept by Elkanah Berry, minister at Pudsey, from 1710 to 1717 (not in Somerset House) is printed in "Additional

* In Lawton's *Collections relative to the Diocese of York and Ripon* (1840) it is stated that in the Parish Register of *Barnoldswick* there is "a register of Anabaptists from 1717 to 1752." The Register of the Baptist Chapel of this place now in Somerset House commences in 1785. Although noted in the List as founded in 1630, there is no evidence of the existence of a Baptist Chapel or congregation there until after the Act of Toleration. In 1693 a barn was certified at the Quarter Sessions for the use of Protestant Dissenters; and an adjoining dwelling-house was converted into a chapel (1694) and transferred to Trustees without conditions (1703). "The community at first styled itself 'the Church of Christ at Barnoldswick,' and does not seem to have been identified with the Baptist community at this date." (*Charity Commissioners' Report*.)

Notes" to Calverley Parish Registers, edited by Mr. Margerison (vol. iii., page 212), and in the History of Pudsey by Rayner (page 87). Many of the older congregations are represented by Registers of a more recent date. The Register of Ossett, commencing in 1741, contains a kind of Diary by the minister, George Haggerstone (one of whose pupils was the celebrated Dr. Joseph Priestley). Other Registers contain memoranda of much interest.

4. The Evangelical Revival (1740—1837). The lamentable moral and religious decline that pervaded England during the earlier portion of the eighteenth century affected disastrously the older nonconformist congregations, so that not a few of them gradually became extinct. Others, whose ministers had adopted Arian (and subsequently Unitarian) views, and who held aloof from the Evangelical movement under Whitefield and Wesley, declined or remained at most in a stationary condition. Whilst others still, sympathising with that movement, revived; and many new churches sprang up around them distinct from the Wesleyan societies.

It is only necessary to refer to the Registers which were commenced during the Evangelical Revival, so far as they afford an illustration of the course of religious history in this County. The majority of them up to the end of the century are designated Independent or Baptist. A Register of the Moravians (with whom Wesley was at first associated) at Fulneck, dates from the year 1742, and four or five others of the same designation follow. There are seven Registers of the Inghamites or "Inghamite Independents," the first of which dates from 1753. Benjamin Ingham was a native of Ossett, one of the student-band of "Oxford Methodists," and an early and powerful promoter of the Evangelical Revival movement in Yorkshire; at first intimately connected with the Moravians, and subsequently the founder of numerous separate societies, which have nearly all ceased to exist. The anomalous position occupied by the Wesleyan Methodists at first, in relation to the Established Church and Protestant Dissenters, was no doubt the reason why so few of

their chapels were registered by the latter name at the Quarter Sessions under the Toleration Act. For the same reason only 20 of their Registers of Baptisms, &c., are indicated in the List as commencing between 1750 and 1800. Toward the end of the century we find 5 belonging to the New Connexion Methodists, the first secession from the "Old Body." After 1800 the Registers of the Wesleyan Methodists are more numerous than those of any other denomination; and beginning with 1822, there are 15 belonging to the Primitive Methodists. It is scarcely necessary to notice two or three others, of about the same date, belonging to the "New Jerusalem" or Swedenborgian Church.

Considering the legal disabilities of Roman Catholics until a recent period, it is not surprising that hardly in any instance do their Registers as preserved at Somerset House go back beyond 1740; about one half of them (27) commencing from that year to the end of the century, and the other half since. One of the chapels or congregations is noted as having been *founded* "about the time of the Reformation," another "in the reign of Edward VI.," and a third "from time immemorial," but none of the Registers of these bears an earlier date than 1761. The following entries are found in the Register of the Chapel at Danby in the North Riding:

1743. Nov. 5. I christened at Denby a Scotchman beggar with one Legg, his son Claud.

1769. Nov. 20. I assisted at the marriage of Joseph Harker, a Protestant, and Jane Errington, a Catholic, witnesses, William and Elizabeth Mc. Arthur at the Bridge EB. *maxime invito*. Harker afterwards broke his solemn promises about changing his religion; never will I again take a Protestant's word about religion. (Burn, page 336).

Under the peculiar circumstances of the case the writer's resolution just quoted must surely have been expressed "in his haste," and in reciprocation of Protestant distrust of the veracity of himself and his co-religionists. Of the Registers of the Society of Friends, which have been more carefully kept than any others, nothing further need here be stated.

In conclusion, it may be observed that the Registration and Marriage Acts, which the collection and legalisation of Non-Parochial Registers naturally

followed, were of great importance on many accounts, and removed the complaints of great numbers of people that they were unequally treated by the State in consequence of their religious convictions. Since the passing of these Acts the State has taken no cognizance of the ceremony of Baptism, but left it entirely to the discretion of individuals and churches. Owing to the complexities involved in an Established Church, however, it has been found necessary to pass several Burial Acts for the provision and management of Cemeteries, and the general use of Parish Church-yards. More recently, also, a new Marriage Act has dispensed with the presence of the ordinary Registrar at a nonconformist place of worship, by appointing its minister or other responsible person in his stead. Whilst this has undoubtedly met the wishes of many persons, it is regarded as a retrograde step by others, who would have marriage *in all cases* treated by the State simply as a civil contract, with proper safeguards, and the association of a religious ceremony therewith left entirely at the option of the parties concerned. On that question no opinion need be here expressed ; but it must be said that the course of legislation for many years has shewn in comparison with former times a general and "increasing purpose" to deal with all citizens of the State, whatever their religious convictions, in a just and equal manner, and thus to promote the liberty, peace and unity of the nation.

BRYAN DALE.

DR. WATTS'S CHURCH-BOOK.

[Isaac Watts (son of a Nonconforming Schoolmaster of the same name) was born at Southampton 17 July 1674: Entered the academy presided over by Rev. Thomas Rowe, at Newington, in 1690: Became a member of the Independent Church meeting in Girdlers' Hall, of which Mr. Rowe was pastor, Decr. 1693: Left the academy Febr. 1693-4: Became tutor to the son of Sir John Hartopp, 15 Oct. 1696: Preached his first sermon 17 July 1698: Became Assistant to Dr. Chauncey in Mark Lane Feby 1698-9: Accepted invitation to succeed Dr. Chauncey as pastor, 8 March 1702: First edition of his "Hymns," pr. 1707: First Edition of his "Psalms," pr. 1719: Received diploma of D.D. from Edinburgh, and also from Aberdeen, 1728: Died 25 Novr. 1748.]

In the year 1821, Mr. Thos. Price, of 115, Bishopsgate Street Without, bought amongst waste paper a folio MS., part of which he used for wrapping goods. Fortunately the remainder was recognized as the Church Register and Minute-Book of the congregation of Protestant Dissenters worshipping in Bury Street; of which, during most of the time covered by the fragment, Dr. Watts was pastor. The MS. was copied, verbatim and page for page, by Mr. Benjamin Hanbury (author of "Historical Memorials of the Independents"); and his transcript is preserved in the Congregational Library. The fragment is said by Mr. Hanbury to be in one handwriting throughout, except some interlineations in the hand of Dr. Morton Savage. It is not, however, quite clear whether the whole was an original record, or—as to the earlier part—a copy made in 1723, which is the date on the title page. The MS. begins with lists of Church members, pp. 1-22; there is a lacuna from thence to p. 77, where the "Minutes" begin; and it ends with pp. 126-7, which, together with pp. 120-21, are mutilated. There are *two* pages numbered 83.

We feel sure some extracts from this valuable record will be of interest to the Historical Society. The interlineations are distinguished by *square* [], and editorial matter by *curved* (), brackets.

A Register of all the Names of the Members of the Church of Christ, and of the Transactions of that Church, Assembling for Religious Worship in Bury Street in Dukes-Place, Whereof the Present Pastors are

The Reverend	{	Mr. ISAAC WATTS Mr. SAMUEL PRICE. and Deacons,
Mr.	{	DANIEL SCOT JOHN ELLICOTT NATHANIEL BARTON THOMAS HORT.

London, 27th July, 1723.

This Church was first gathered by y^e Revd. Mr. Joseph Caryll about the year 166-(?), at whose Decease [wch according to Calamy's Continuatn, p. 12, was Feb. 7, 1672-3] they chose y^e Revd. Dr. John Owen for their Pastor, and by joynt Consent united or coalesced with the Church, which was under his care, June y^e 5th 1673.

The Names of all the Members under the Pastorall Care of Dr. Owen at the Time of their Union. [N.B. The Dr. dyed August 24, 1683]

Charles Fleetwood, Esq. [alias Ld. Chas. Fleetwood]*	dyed Oct 4th 1692
Sr John Hartopp	dy'd Apl 1st 1722
Mr Smith Fleetwood (Son of Ch. Fleetwood by his first wife)	dyed Feb 1708-9
Mrs Fleetwood (i.e. Bridget Cromwell)	dy'd Jan 10th 1680
Lady Hartopp (Daughter of Ch. Fleetwood by his first wife)	dy'd Novr 9th 1711
William Steele, Sergt at Law	dy'd Octob 2 1680
Mrs Steele	dy'd March 5th 1691
Mr Robert Mascall	dismist 1688
Coll. John Desborough (Husband of Cromwell's Sister)	dyd Sept 10th 1680
Dr Wm Staines	dyd Feb 11th 1679
Mr Richard King	dyd Octo 14th 1677
Mrs King	dismist 1689
Coll. Berry	dyd May 9th 1691
Mrs Berry	dyd December 9th 1681
Coll. Ellistone	dead 1683
Mrs Ann Crispe	dismist 1689
Mrs Rebecka King	dismist 1689
Mr Thomas Doyly	dyd March 28th 1675
Mrs Dorothy Doyly then (i.e. afterwards) Owen	dead Jan 18th 1703-4
Mrs Ursula Doyly	dyd Aprill 28th 1691
Mrs Polhill	dyd Decbr 21st 1684
Mrs Bendish (i.e. Bridget Ireton, Cromwell's granddaughter)	dyd July 1726
Capt Loyd	dyd Aprill 13th 1682
Mrs Goddand (r Goddard)	dyd June 2 1675

* The phrase "alias Lord Charles Fleetwood" is justified by the fact that Fleetwood was one of the lords in the "other house" of Cromwell's last parliament. His second wife was Cromwell's daughter Bridget, widow of Ireton.

Mr Melhuish	dead
Mr Sam Stratton	dismist Feb. 1689
Mrs Loyd	dyd July 1673
Mr Nichols	dyd April 8th 1687
Mrs Nichols	dyd July 7th 1696
Mary Paity	dead
Mrs Susan, Ld Fleetwood's servant	dyd April 3d 1688
Mary Peccum, then Mrs Stephenson,	dyd Feb. 2d 1709-10
Martha Hewitt, then Bedford, gone to Coventry, [returned since : Dead]	
Mrs Dorothy Owen, ye Drs Wife	Dyd Jan 28. 1676
Mrs Summers	dead March 28 1712

The Names of all y^e Members who had been under the Pastoral Care of Mr Caryll, living at the Time of the Union of y^e 2 Churches.

(This list includes 136 names, 55 men and 88 women, few of them of any public interest; the following may be worth noting :—)

(1) Mr Wm. Viner, Ruling Elder	dyd Jan 10th 1677
(2) Mrs Viner	dyd Nov 22d 1674
(3) Mr Wm Bearman (<small>Ejected min of st. Thomas, Southwark</small>)	dead Oct. 7th 1703
(4) Mr John Gold	dyd Aug. 22d 1679
(5) Mrs Gold	departed [from us] 1689
(6) James Hayes Esqr	dyd June 7th 1688
(19) Mr Samuel Shute	departed
(20) Mrs Ann Shute, then Pickard	dyd April 7th 1711
(21) Mr Benjamin Shute	dyd June 26th 1681
(22) Mrs Mary Shute	dyd March 4th 1714-5
(27) Mr William Pickard	dead Apl 10th 1709
(40) Mr Joseph Watts	dyd June 13th 1712
(41) Mr Henry Worster	dyd April 26th 1682
(42) Mrs Worster	departed 1689
(57) Mr Edward Beacon	dyd July 30th 1679
(58) Mrs Ann Beacon	gone to Norwich
(59) Mr Andrew Gill	departed
(60) Mr Caleb Hooke	dismist. April 1690
(61) Mrs Hooke	dyd Jan 1702-3
(62) Mr Wm Elles	dismist 1689
(73) Mr Nahum Crosby	departed
(79) Mr Phrip	departed
(80) Lady Vere Wilkinson	dead Decr 12th 1708
(82) Mrs Mary Foster	dismist 1689
(84) Mrs Kath. Waters then Viner	dyd March 1691
(86) Mrs Ann Vyer	dyd April 14th 1685
(88) Mrs Mary Bellamy	departed 1689
(89) Mrs Frances Addis	dismist 1689
(93) Mrs Rebecka Dicas	departed 1689
(96) Mrs Sarah Abney then Lady Abney (<small>daughter of Jos. Caryll</small>)	dead
(97) Mrs Sarah Powell then Lady Tompson	dead
(101) Mrs Jeanes	departed 1689
(103) Mrs Rowcliffe	dismist Nov 1689
(108) Mrs Moxall	departed
(128) Margaret Kidderminster	departed and dead
(133) Nurse Seawell	dyd Feb 4th 1686

(134) Mrs Eliza Collyer wife to	dvd Jan 1st 1694
(135) Mr Nath Collyer	dead 1699
(136) John Gerrard	dead 1705

Deacons

The Names of the Members received in since the Union.

(Only those names are given which appear to be of some interest. The numbers received were,

To Dr Owen's death, 1673-83, 38 men, 73 women - 111
 Subsequently 1683-1700, 11 men, 29 women - 40

Total 49 men 102 women - 151)

Received

June 1673	Mr Cromwell Fleetwood	(Probably a Son of Ch. Fleetwood and Bridget Cromwell)	dvd June 1st 1688
	Mr Richard Learner		dismist
	Mr Daniel Waldo		gone to the East Indies
Novem. 2d 1673	Lady Dethick		dvd March 13th 1684
Decem 26. 1673	Mr Isa. Loeffs	(Ejected min of Shenley, Herts)	
	chosen Teacher of the Church.		dvd July 10th 1689
Febry 22d 1673-4	Mrs Eliz. Caryll then Gray		dvd Jany 22d 1723-4
Octo 4th 1674	Mr John Brett Junior		dead Augt 9 1705
Octo 30th 1674	Mrs Loeffs		dead
Novr 6th 1674	Mr Robert Ferguson	(Ejected min. of Godmarsham, Kent.)	
	chosen Assistant to Dr Owen		dismist
" " "	Mrs Hannah Ferguson		dead
March 5th 1674	Mrs Kennington,	Dr Owen's daughter	dvd Aprill 12th 1682
July 11th 1675	Sr Thomas Overbury		dvd 1684
Decem 24th 1676	Jane Brown		departed
Jan 12th 1676-7	Mr Sam. Antrim		departed
April 15th 1677	Ann Dixon then Curtis		gone to the Baptists
April 14th 1678	Jonathan Everard		gone to New England
Jann 19th 1678(9)	Mr Joseph Caryll		dvd May 3d 1683
" " "	Mr Phillip Lassell		departed
Octobr 24th 1680	Countess of Anglesey		dead
Nov 21st 1680	Mrs Meadows		gone from us
May 8th 1681	Mr Barnardiston Brett		dead
June 5th 1681	Mrs Lassell		departed
Jan. 15th 1681(2)	Mr John Warner	Excommunicated	} June 19th 1692
" " "	Mrs White	Excommunicated	
June 4th 1682	Susan Coxon then Priddian		Excommunicated Oct 28th 1697
July 2d 1682	Mr David Clarkson,	(Ejected min. of Mortlake)	
	chosen Teacher of y ^e Church		dvd June 14th 1686
Augt 27th 1682	Mrs Eliz. Clarkson		dead Jany 2d 1708-9
Octo 7th 1687	Dr Isa. Chauncy,	(ejected min. of Woodborough, Wilts.)	
	chosen Teacher of y ^e Church		dead Feb 28. 1711-12
April 28. 1690	Mrs Ann Peele		dismist from Mr Griffith, dead.
May 25th 1690	Mrs Barnett		declared no member,
			turned Quaker Sept 13th 1691
July 1691	Mr Edward Terry,	(ejected min. of Greenford Magna.)	
	Chosen Assistant to Dr Chauncy.		dead
Feb 28th 1691(2)	Mrs Sarah Chaunsey		dvd April 1697
Nov. y ^e 6th 1692	Mrs Dixon		dismist to
			Deptford 2d Sept 1709
Jan 1st 1692(3)	Mrs Margaret Chauckly		dismist from Epsom. dead

Dr Isaac Chauncey having resign'd his Office of Teacher or Pastor, April 15th 1701, Mr Isaac Watts being at that time his Assistant in Preaching, y^e Church after long Delays, chose Mr Watts to be their Pastor Jan. 14th 1701-2, who was Ordain'd March 18th following [Dy'd Novr 25 1748]

The Names of those Members yt continued in y^e Communion since Mr Isaac Watts was chosen Pastor.

(These were 74 in number ; 26 men and 48 women, of whom 6 had been in fellowship with Dr Owen, and 14 with Mr Caryll, before the union of the two societies in 1673. The names which seem of interest are as follows :—)

Sir John Hartopp	dyd Aprill 1st 1722
The Lady Hartopp	dyd Novr 9th 1711
Mrs Dorothy Owen y ^e Dr's Widdow	dyd Jan. 18th 1703-4
Mrs B. Bendish	dy'd July 1726
Mr Wm Berman hindered from attendance by Age and Weakness	dyd Octo. 7th 1703
Mr William Pickard, Deacon	dyd Aprill 10th 1709
Mr Joseph Watts Deacon	dyd June 13th 1712
Lady Vere Wilkinson	dyd Deer 12th 1708
Mr John Gerrard Deacon	dyd 1705
Mrs Eliz. Clarkson	dyd Jan 2d 1708-9
* Mrs Mary Screen	
* Mr John Powell	
* Dr Isaac Chancey, late Pastor,	dyd Feb 28th 1711-12
* Mrs Eliz. Stileman, Widdow	
Mr Danll Scott (^{afterwards} _{deacon})	dy'd 1730
Mr. Edward Terry, formerly assistant to Dr Chancey,	dyd

* *(These were, except one who died within a year of her admission, the only members enrolld during the reign of James ii.)*

Added to y^e Church since Mr Watts's Ordination amongst us, March 18th 1701-2. *(The number enrolld from this date to March 1734-5, where the list breaks off, is 230, viz., 88 men and 144 women ; giving an average of about seven additions yearly. The largest accession was 13 in 1711, the smallest 2 in 1706 ; except that in 1713 there were no members recorded. Of the 230, five appear as subjected to discipline ; one of them is noted as "discharged," one as "cast out for immorality," one as "excommunicated for drunkenness," and two simply as "excommunicated ;" one of the latter was subsequently restored. Thirteen are mentioned as having been "dismist," generally with, but in two cases without, indication of the church to which they were commended. Eight are said to have "gone into the country," or to places specified, without formal dismissal ; one "gone to New England," one "gone to Holland," and one "gone for a Soldier." Five are said to have "departed,"—presumably lapsed ; two "Withdrawn" ; and one "Withdrawn to the Baptists." On the other hand, 17 of the accessions are by dismissal from other churches named, and two are old members returned after long absence.)*

The Records of y^e Transactions of the Church of Christ, assembling at Dr. Clark's House [i.e., y^e House that afterwards was his] in Mark Lane in London ; wch was formerly under y^e care of the Revd Mr Joseph Caryll, who gather'd it in the year 16—, and since of y^e Revrd Dr Jno. Owen, Mr David Clarkson, Mr. Isaac Loeffs, of Dr Chauncey, Dr. Isaac Watts, Mr Saml Price, Mr Saml Morton Savage.

Note: The Transactions & affairs of this Church have not been kept in writing for these many years.

1701 April y^e 21st Munday, at A Church meeting y^e Revd Mr Berman was desir'd to take y^e Chair.

Resolv'd yt y^e proceedings of this Church be taken in Writing.

Resolv'd yt y^e Revd Dr Isaac Chauncy having appointed A Church meeting last Tuesday April y^e 15th, and there in y^e most solemn manner, to y^e great surprize of y^e Church, having laid down y^e Office of A Teacher, Elder, or Pastor, weh he had held many years in y^e Church, & after many Reasonings & Importunities refus'd to continue in it any longer: We believe and agree that we are destitute of A Ministerial Officer.

Resolved: yt we do nevertheless continue and remain to be A Church of Christ.

Resolved: That Mr. Berman be desir'd to assist in the work of Preaching to this Church.

It was accordingly proposed to him, and he absolutely refused it.

Resolved: That A Church meeting be held every Munday in y^e Afternoon for further determinations of Church Affairs, and to consult about y^e settlement of it.

1701 April y^e 28th, Resolved: That y^e Deacons take care to provide an Able Minister to preach in this Church every Lord's day afternoon; Mr Watts preaching wth us in y^e forenoon as he has done these two years past & more.

May 5th Resolved: That y^e Church take into consideration whether Mr. Watts be a fit Person to be called to the Pastoral Office among us.

19. Resolved: That tho' for y^e want of A Pastor we have not y^e Lords Supper administer'd amongst us, yet yt y^e usual Collection be made every Month among y^e Members only, for y^e relief of y^e Poor, and other necessary Charges of y^e Church.

June 9th Mr Watts went into y^e Country for y^e recovery of his Health.

Sept 7 Mr Isaac Watts being under continued indispositions of Body & weakness in y^e Country, & having given us but little encouragement to expect his return among us: Resolved: That Mr Tho. Bradbury of Newcastle upon Tine, having preached once amongst us to our great Satisfaction, and giving us some hints of his uncertain & unsettled state at Newcastle, he be invited to exercise his Ministerial Gifts amongst us for some time if he remove thence, & accordingly several Letters past between Mr Bradbury & y^e Church; his Answers still delay'd & put them off till next Spring, that they could not depend upon his coming, yet still they waited without despair.

21. Resolved that y^e Church keep a day of fasting & Prayer on fryday y^e 10th of October next for the Restoration of Mr Watts's health, for y^e provision of A Pastor for this Church, & for y^e Peace & Settlement of it, & for divine direction in this Affair, as they had also done before in August, tho' not set down in y^e Records of y^e Church. And God was pleased graciously to hear y^e fervent Prayers of this Church of Christ in restoring & recovering Mr Watts from his great weakness.

1701 Nov 1, Mr Watts came again to London in some measure of health, restored as we hope unto y^e fervent Prayers of this Church; and was enabled to begin his work of preaching amongst(t) us again Nov y^e 23rd to our great joy & encouragement.

1701-2 Jan. 14. A Day of Fasting & Prayer was kept by y^e Church, yt they might humble their Souls before God, and desire y^e divine direction and

blessing in their Choice & Call of A Pastor; & when several of y^e Brethren has sought God in Prayer they all wth one consent agreed to Call Mr Isaac Watts to that Office amongst them, and deputed 4 Brethren to carry y^e Message to him y^e next day; wch they did, & Mr. Watts urged them to fix on one who might more constantly preach amongst them, (viz) twice a day, wch his health would not permit him to do; & made many other objections wch were in some measure answered, & then he desir'd time to Consider of it, and to ask Counsell of God & his Friends.

18. Resolved: at Mr Watts's earnest desire, that all y^e Brethren of y^e Church that were not present at y^e time of his Call to y^e Pastoral Office, & yt usually attend y^e Ordin(an)ces in y^e Church, be desired by y^e Deacons or other Members to give their consent or dissent in this matter; which was done, & y^e report made to Mr Watts was this, viz: that all except 2 or 3 joined heartily & actively in giving a call to Mr Watts, and y^e others also sincerely acknowledged they acquiesced in y^e Vote & Act of y^e Church, tho' for particular Reasons they did not appear yt day to join in y^e solemn Call; and particularly their late Rever'd Pastor Dr Chancy, & their Revd Brother Mr Terry, who had formerly preached amongst them, encouraged & desir'd Mr. Watts to accept y^e Call, & y^e Revd Mr Berman heartily profest he had no other objection but Mr Watts's weakness of Body. Upon this Report Mr Watts took y^e matter further into consideration, & insisted upon several objections from his remaining weakness of Body &c.

Feb. 8. Mr. Watts deliver'd A Letter to y^e Church wth some Articles of Church discipline, declaring his Sentiments therein, as A Foundation of future Peace and mutual satisfaction, if God should remove all other difficulties yt lay in his way & encline his Heart to accept y^e Call.

The Letter is as follows:—

To y^e Church of Christ assembling in Mark Lane, Feb. y^e 8th 1701-2.
Beloved in our Lord,

When You first called me to minister y^e Word of God among you, I took the freedom to acquaint you That, in y^e chief Doctrines of Christianity, I was of y^e same mind wth your former Revd Pastor Dr Jno. Owen; who being dead yet speaketh: and I have been glad to find by three years' experience yt you retain y^e same Principals (*sic*) yt he preacht amongst you; now since thro' Your great affection & undeserved respect to me you have thought fit to call me to y^e Great & Solemn Office of A Pastor, I cannot but take y^e same freedom to hope that you are of one Mind wth him in y^e chief points of Church Discipline. Tho' I call no man Master upon Earth, nor confine my belief to y^e judgment of another, yet I cannot but own yt in y^e study of Gospel Order, I have found much Light and Assistance from his Works, & from those of your late Revd Pastor Dr Isaac Channey. But being desir'd by You to give some hints of my Principals (*sic*) in Writing, in order to future satisfaction and continuance of Peace and love (if y^e Lord shall fix me wth You) I have briefly written a few things whereby you may Discover something of my knowledge in y^e Mind & Will of Christ concerning his Churches.

First, I believe yt Jesus Christ y^e King of Saints has given command and power to his Saints to form themselves into Spiritual Societies & Corporations for his publick Glory and their own edification.

2. That every such Society of Saints, covenanting to walk wth God and one another in all y^e Rules & Institutions of y^e Gospel is a Church of Christ.

3. That every such Church has power to increase its own Number by y^e

addition of members, or to purge it self of corrupt Members, before it be organiz'd and made compleat by having fixed Officers among them.

4. That this Society of Saints ought to look on themselves (as) more nearly united & related to one another than to other Christians; and consequently to pray wth and for each other, to visit one another, to exhort, comfort and assist one another, & maintain such A love and Communion to & wth each others as yt they may look like fellow members of y^e Same Body both Visible & invisible.

5. The Members of such an incompleat Church before any Pastor is settled among them may pray together, and exhort one another; yet this Church has not power in itself to administer all Ordinances amongst them. But when they have chosen a proper Officer to be over them in y^e Lord, And when he is ordained by their publick Call, his public acceptance, & by solemn separation of him to yt work, by fasting & prayer, then unto yt Officer is this power committed.

6. It follows thence yt tho' y^e Pastor be named & chosen to this Office by y^e People, yet his Commission & power to administer all divine Ordinances is not derived from y^e People, for they had not this power in themselves; but it proceeds from y^e Lord Jesus Christ, who is y^e only King of his Church & y^e principal of all power; & he has appointed in his Word yt y^e call of his Church and solemn Ordination shall be y^e means whereby his Ministers are invested with this Authority.

7. That in y^e ordination of A Pastor to A Particular Church our Lord Christ, as y^e supream Governor & head of his Church, sett's him in an office of Spiritual Rule, over a willing People who freely commit themselves to his care; even as Christ also in & by his Word & his Providence now commits them unto his care & charge, of wch he must give an Account.

8. Hence it follows that Pastoral Acts, such as teaching, feeding, guiding, & overseeing Y^e Flock, exhorting, reprovng, comforting them, are not perform'd in y^e Name of y^e People, but in y^e Name, stead, & place of Christ, by y^e Pastor, as his Representative in yt Church, & as his Ambassador to it; As a Shepherd in ruling, leading, & feeding his Flock acts not in y^e name of y^e sheep; but in y^e name & place of him yt owns them, & yt has committed them unto his care; & therefore these Pastoral Acts are to be received by y^e People as clothed wth y^e Authority of our Lord Jesus, so far as they agree wth his Mind & Will; according to those Scriptures 2 Cor. 5. 20, "Now then we are Ambassadors for Christ, as tho' God did beseech you by us, we pray you in Christ's stead, be ye reconciled to God." 13 Jno. 20, "He yt receiveth whomsoever I send receiveth Me." And this regard is also due to such Acts of y^e Pastor from every Member, because they have given themselves up to him in y^e Lord.

9. Yet I believe yt even wth regard to these Pastoral Acts Christ has given to his Churches so far A Judgment of discretion, yt they are not bound to submit blindly to y^e government of y^e Pastor, unless he approve himself therein to Act according to y^e Mind & Will of Christ in his Word: and it is y^e neglect of this Consideration yt has brought in yt unbounded Authority & usurped dominion of y^e Priests, & yt implicit Faith & blind obedience of y^e People in y^e Antichristian Church.

10. I believe also yt in all those other exercizes of Church Order wch are not merely Acts of y^e Pastor, but also Acts of the Church, such as receiving & casting out Members, Appointing places of stated or occasional worship, setting apart days of Prayer, & times for Church Meetings. A Pastor ought to do nothing without y^e Consent of y^e People; and tho' y^e whole

office of A Pastor herein lyes not merely in declaring y^e mind and consent of y^e Church, yet this is part of that business & service that he oweth to y^e Church.

11. That in y^e admission of Members into y^e Church, 'Tis necessary yt y^e People be well satisfyed wth y^e Person they receive into their fellowship, as well as y^e Pastor to receive him under his care; and yt y^e Church has liberty to make objections if they are dissatisfyed wth his fitness for Church Communion; nor can y^e Pastor receive in any Member or cast out any one, contrary to y^e mind of y^e People, or without their actual free consent.

12. I belive (*sic*) yt when y^e Pastor admitts a Member upon y^e profession of his Faith and Hope and y^e satisfaction of y^e Church, he doth in y^e Name of our Lord Jesus Christ & by y^e consent of y^e Church receive him into fellowship wth Christ & wth yt Church in all Gospel Priviledges & Ordinances.

13. The Duties of A Pastor are chiefly such as these: preaching and labouring in y^e Word & Doctrine, praying earnestly for his Flock in publick & in private, Administring y^e Seals of y^e Covenant of Grace, Baptism & y^e Lord's Supper, being instant in Season & out of Season, teaching & exhorting, comforting & rebuking, wth all long suffering & doctrine, eontending for & preserving y^e Truth, approving himself an example to y^e Flock, Visiting y^e Sick & y^e Poor, praying wth them & taking care of them, making enquiries into y^e State of his Flock especially as to spiritual affairs, endeavouring to stir up & promote Religion in their Households & Families, & labouring by all means & methods of Christ's appointment to further their Faith & Holiness, their comfort & their increase. And 'tis the Duty of y^e People to attend upon his ministrations, to pray for him, to encourage & support him, & wherein soever he acts according to y^e Will of Christ to receive him wth all due regard.

14. That it is y^e proper business of y^e Pastor also to present Persons and Cases to y^e Church, and to ask y^e Votes or Consent of y^e Church as one yt is sett to go before y^e Flock; except when he is necessitated to be absent, or thro' any Indispositions incapable when present, or where y^e Pastor himself is so far concern'd in y^e case to be proposed as may render it improper for him to propose it.

15. For y^e better performance of all these things, & by reason of y^e various necessities of a Church, other Officers are also appointed by Christ, of several Names in Scripture, especially for Churches where y^e Members grow numerous; all whose business is to assist y^e Pastor in those Affairs wch cannot so fully be managed by himself alone, each of them acting according to their proper place, office, and business, wch y^e Lord has appointed them unto in his Word.

Lastly: That in y^e management of every affair in y^e Church there ought to be a Spirit of Gentleness, Meekness, Lowliness of mind, Love, Affection & tenderness, both in y^e Pastor and People towards each other; for Jesus y^e Great Shepherd of his Church was most humble & compassionate, most gentle & meek, & his Saints are called his Sheep, from their like Dispositions; and yt y^e edification of y^e Church being one great end for wch Christ has given this office to his Ministers, all lesser concerns and differences ought to be managed wth a continual regard to this great end, and for y^e publick honour of Christ in his Churches. Thus I have given a short account of some of the chief Principals (*sic*) of Gospel Order.

If I am so unhappy in any of my expressions to be obscure, & to want explaining, I am ready at any time to declare my meaning, & also to give

the reasons of my judgment in any of y^e foregoing Articles, shewing yt they not only agree wth y^e judgment of your Reverend Pastors aforementioned, but—wch is more considerable—that they are all in my apprehension suitable to y^e Will of Christ concerning Churches & Pastors revealed in his Word.

Christian Friends dearly beloved, I cannot but tell you that while I have been writing these Articles, especially y^e 7th, 8th, & 13th, I shrink at y^e very thoughts of Your call of me to so weighty an office in y^e Church of Christ; And I find such discouragements from y^e awfulness and greatness of y^e work, yt makes me cry out feelingly Who is sufficient for these things? And this inclines me still to suspend my Answer, & to renew my request to you (tho' often in vain renewed) of quitting all thoughts of me, & choosing one whose gifts, graces, & abilitys may be more capable of discharging so Vast A Trust, & filling up y^e Duties of so Sacred an office.

Yors in y^e service of y^e Gospel,

IS. WATTS.

(This letter was printed, very incorrectly, in Dr Rippon's Annual Register for 1801; and with some inaccuracies in Milner's Life of Dr Watts. In view of its importance it is here given literatim; only correcting ambiguous punctuation, and supplying a few missing capitals, which are Italicised.)

1701-2. The Church heard y^e Letter read twice over, & some particulars of it a third time, & answered one or two Objections yt were offer'd by one Brother or two at y^e most; & then wth one Voyce acknowledged yt these were y^e Principles & practises of Church Order wch they thought agreeable to y^e Mind of Christ, & wch they intended to walk by; and several of y^e Chief members express'd themselves joyfully that Mr Watts's judgment in Gospel Order was so much agreeable to theirs, and so plainly laid down in these Articles. And when they had done this their continued & urgent desires of his acceptance of y^e call of y^e Church were declared to Mr Watts by y^e two Officers of y^e Church—Upon which he desir'd further time to consider of it.

Febr. 15th. Mr Watts declared unto us yt it had pleased God to answer many of his Objections, & make his way somewhat clearer; and upon y^e desire of y^e Church he promised to ask a Letter of Dismission from y^e Church under y^e care of Mr Thos Rowe, to wch he has been related these 8 years past, in order to his being received a Member of this Church in Mark Lane; that being Incorporated wth them he might be wth greater satisfaction separated to Office over them in y^e Church, according to y^e usual practise of Congregational Churches.

Febr. 27. Mr Watts brought A Letter of Dismission and recommendation from Mr Thos Row, wch is as follows:—

To y^e Church of Christ of wch the Revd Dr Channey was lately Pastor,

Forasmuch as our Dear Brother Mr Isaac Watts, who was wth great satisfaction admitted a Member amongst us, and has since walked as becomes y^e Gospel, to y^e Glory of God, & to the honour of his holy profession, doth now desire his dismission from us, we do in compliance therewith discharge him from his membership amongst us in order to his being received by You. Praying that his Ministerial Labours, and those gifts and Graces wherewith y^e Ld Jesus Christ, y^e great head of his Church, hath been pleased so richly to furnish him, may be abundantly bless'd to y^e Conversion of Souls & your Edification: To whose Grace and blessing we do from our hearts commend both him & you,

Subscribed wth y^e consent of y^e Church by

{ THOS ROWE, PASTOR
NATH: PEACOCK
JNO ANTRIM

Now tho' 'tis not y^e practise of this Church to require a New profession of Faith & Hope of every one yt is recommended to their fellowship from A Sister Church yt walks in y^e same Gospel order ; Yet it was desired of Mr Watts as a minister of Christ, & being to hold forth y^e Gospel of Christ more publikly, yt for y^e more abundant satisfaction of y^e Church, & for their Edification & Comfort, he would render y^e reasons of his hope unto them ; well he did & was received to fellowship wth Them by y^e Mouth of Mr Wm Pickard the Deacon, who was deputed by the Church.

March y^e 8th. Mr Watts being now further urged to accept of y^e repeated call of y^e Church, as he had been every Lord's day since they first called him, he owned yt God had removed at last mighty difficulties out of his way & inclined his heart unto them ; & notwithstanding the dreadfull Providence of that day, the Death of his Majesty King Willm y^e 3rd, who had been a Nursing Father unto y^e Churches of Christ, yet God suffer'd him not to consult wth Flesh & Blood, but venture upon y^e service of Christ in his Church, leaving all future events to y^e Divine Providence.

Then at y^e Church meeting was a day appointed for the separation of him by fasting & prayer unto y^e Pastoral Office, and y^e approbation & assistance of several Pastors was desir'd for y^e more publik & comfortable solemnizing y^e work of y^e Day.

March y^e 18, Wednesday. The Revrd Mr Tho. Rowe (*Girdlers' Hall*) Mr Matt. Clark (*Miles Lane*), Mr Thos. Collins (*Lime Street*), Mr Robt Bragg (*Lime Street*), Mr Thos Lloyd and Mr Thos Ridgley (*Thames Street*), were present, and gave their Hearty approbation of Mr Watts as a fit person to be chosen by this Church.

Mr Clark began y^e work of y^e day wth prayer ; then Mr Wm Pickard one of y^e Deacons, deputed by the Church, put this Solemn Question to y^e Church :—

Do you all agree to chuse Mr Isaac Watts to y^e office of a Pastor in this Church & promise to submit yourselves accordingly to him in y^e Lord ? To which A Vote was given by every Brother present in y^e affirmative.

Then Mr Watts was desir'd to declare publikly and Solemnly his Consent, wch he did in these Words :—

Brethren, You know wt a constant aversion I have had to any proposals of A Pastoral Office for these 3 Years, even ever since y^e Providence of God called me first amongst you ; also yt since You have given me an Unanimous & Solemn call thereto, I have heartily proposed several methods for your settlement without me. But your Choice & your affections seem'd still to be settled and unmoved. I have objected warmly & often my own indispositions of Body, wch incapacitate me from much service ; And I have pointed often to Three Reverend Divines that are Members of this Church, whose Gifts might render them more proper for Instruction, and whose Age for government. These things have I urged till I have provoaked You to sorrow and Tears, and till myself have been almost ashamed. But your perseverance in Your Choice, & Your love, Your constant profession of Edification by my Ministry, The great probability you show me of building up this famous & decay'd* Church of Christ if I accept y^e call, and your prevailing fears of its dissolution if I refuse, have given me ground to believe yt y^e Voyce of this Church is y^e Voyce of Christ by You. And to answer

* (The correctness of this epithet will appear from the fact that while there were 171 members in 1673 and 151 had since been received—making a total of 322, only 74 remained in fellowship in 1701. The probable explanation is that Dr. Chauncey, though an able theologian, was an unattractive preacher.)

this call I have not consulted with Flesh and Blood ; I have laid aside y^e thoughts of myself, to serve y^e Interest of y^e Lord ; I give up my own ease for your Spiritual Interest, Profit, & Increase ; I submit my Inclinations to my duty, And in hopes of being made an Instrument in y^e hands of Christ to build up this ancient Church, I return this Solemn Answer to your call : That wth a great sense of my own inability in Mind & Body to discharge y^e Duties of so sacred an Office, I do in y^e Strength of Christ venture upon it, & in y^e Name of our Lord Jesus I accept your call ; promising in y^e presence of God & his Saints my utmost diligence in all the Dutys of A Pastor so far as God shall Inlighten and strengthen me. And I leave this Promise in y^e hands of Christ our Mediator to see it performed by me unto you, Through the assistance of his Spirit & his Grace.

The Revrd Mr Thos Collins succeeded in y^e carrying on the work of y^e day by prayer ; & Mr Thomas Row preacht A Sermon proper to y^e occasion from that Scripture Jerem. 3, 15 : “ And I will give You Pastors according to my own heart, wch shall feed you wth Knowledge and understanding.”

The substance of y^e Sermon was a(s) follows, viz :—

First, how is A Pastor said to be y^e gift of God ? (1) as y^e office is of God's appointment ; (2) as his work is all described by God in his Word, so yt his power, authority, or work is not to be extended or limited by himself or y^e People ; (3) as all y^e Characters and Qualifications of A Pastor are laid down by God in Scripture ; (4) as all his gifts proceed from God as a giver ; (5) as y^e Inclinations of Pastor and People are influenced by God, the People choosing & y^e Pastor accepting ; (6) as his assistance in his work is from God.

Secondly, What are y^e Characters of A Pastor after God's own heart ? (1) He stands in y^e Counsel of God, & delivers not his own Mind, but y^e Mind & Will of God to y^e Church ; (2) he designs y^e Glory of God above all ; (3) he is not ashamed of y^e Gospel ; (4) rightly divides y^e word of truth, & gives every one their portion ; (5) approves himself to y^e Consciences of Men, & strives to affect their hearts more than their ears ; (6) is sensible of his own Insufficiency for y^e work ; (7) is patient & meek to bear the infirmities of any of his Flock, as A Nurse strikes not again tho' y^e Child strike her, as A Physician returns not peevishness when his Patient is peevish and froward (*MS. forward*) ; (8) is not covetous, nor over carefull about his Worldly Interest ; and herein y^e care and wisdom of Christ appears in appointing Deacons in his Church to take care of y^e Pastors as well as of y^e Poor ; (9) not a scfpleaser, but who seeks to please all for their edification ; (10) faithfull to God, to the Flock, & to his own Conscience.

Thirdly, wt are y^e ends and designs of God in giving such Pastors to his Church ? 'Tis to feed them ; wch in a large sence of y^e Word includes (1) feeding them wth Knowledge of Truths and Duties ; (2) wth y^e Seals of the Covenant of Grace, Baptism, & especially y^e Lord's supper ; (3) wth Rule & Government ; So ποιμην, A Shepherd, and ποιμαίνω, to feed or Shepherdize in old Authors signifies to rule & govern ; By his Example. Now all these Acts of y^e Pastor tend to nourish y^e Flock & cause it to grow, & may be Imply'd in y^e word 'Feed.'

Use : To y^e People. If this be y^e end of y^e Pastoral Office, If these be y^e Qualifications, if both y^e Person and Qualifications be y^e gifts of God ; then (1st) receive your Pastor as a Gift of God, (1) admiring y^e grace of God herein, (2) wth thankfulness to God, (3) wth due esteem of y^e Pastor, (4) wth obedience and submission to him in y^e Lord, (5) wth due attendance upon his ministry : & do not pretend yt your greater edification in another

place calls you off from your attendance here ; for we are apt to mistake an affection warm'd or anything else, for true edification ; learn therefore to pass a due judgment of Edification, & trust in Christ to bless y^e provision he has made for you : (6) receive yr Pastor wth y^e other part of y^e double honour mention'd 1 Tim. 5, 17, viz—providing for his support : (7) wth Prayer for him.

2dly. If Pastors are y^e gifts of God, let all yt want them pray to God for them, & if these be their Characters let us pray that God would give these Qualifications also.

Use : to Pastor and People. (1) Avoid all Debates ; let all be done in a way of love and meekness ; & observe this caution, let not y^e Person offending, whether Minister or People, be y^e last person yt shall hear of y^e offence, but remember our Saviour's Rule—tell it him first between him and thee ; (2) Both Pastor & People, study y^e rule of their several duties, y^e Word of God. If we walk by y^e rule, how much beauty, how much Glory is their (*sic*) in Church Order, & wt expectations of y^e Presence of Christ. Remember also why 'tis you separate from other Communions, viz., because they walk not according to Rule ; and do not suffer y^e same neglect to be charg'd upon you.

The Sermon being ended, Mr Benoni Rowe (*Fetter Lane*) farther carried on y^e work of Prayer. Mr Thos Ridgley followed ; and Mr Watts, as entering upon his office, finished y^e duties of y^e day wth Prayer, Singing, & y^e Blessing. [N.B. No Confession of Faith or Charge mentioned, nor at Mr Price's . . .]

We hope y^e Presence of our Lord Jesus Christ was in our Assembly this day, & receive it as A token for good.

March y^e 29th. Our Pastor admrd y^e Lords Supper amongst us, having preached y^e foregoing Thursday a preparatory Sermon from 1 Cor. 10, 17, "We being many are one Bread & one Body, for we are all Partakers of yt one Bread;" wherein he shewed how much our Communion wth each other as well as wth Christ was set forth & sealed in this great Ordinance, designing to unite all y^e hearts and affections of y^e Church to each other, yt y^e day of Communion might be as a new Covenant wth y^e Lord & wth each other also.

We finished y^e Celebration of y^e Lords Supper by Singing A Gospel Hymn suitable to y^e Ordinance, taken from Rev. 1st, 5, 6, 7, wth one Heart & one Voyce, to y^e Glory of onr Redeemer & our great consolation & Joy. (*Probably "Now to the Lord, that makes us know &c.," H. 61 in 1st Bk., at that time unpublished.*)

Further extracts, illustrating the ordinary work and discipline of the church under Dr. Watts's pastorate, may be given in another paper.

T. G. CRIPPEN.

From a Diary of the Gurney Family.

A Fellow-Prisoner with John Bunyan.

FORMAL documents are not the only material out of which history can be constructed. Every now and then we come across manuscripts of a less conventional type, which give us personal reminiscences and impressions which are of the utmost value in enabling us to realise the past. In the archives of old nonconformist families diaries still exist which throw a flood of light upon such fascinating periods as the persecution under the later Stuarts ; and which bring before us some of the great figures most dear to modern nonconformity. I am hopeful that the Congregational Historical Society will, among other "finds," disinter many buried documents as interesting as the one that is before me as I write.

Mr. Augustus Hare has recently entertained a very large circle of readers by his narrative of the Gurneys of Earlham, the well-known Quaker family to which Elizabeth Fry and Joseph John Gurney belonged. The manuscript volume with which I have been entrusted contains records of the Bedfordshire branch of the Gurney family ; and was written by William Brodie Gurney in 1845. Some passages, embodying the family traditions, are of singular interest ; and I have been allowed to make excerpts for the benefit of the readers of these *Transactions*. It appears that the Bedfordshire Gurneys had for ancestor a Thomas Gurney, born in the parish of "St. Benet Finck," in the city of London, who had a difference with his family on some question of property, and so removed into the country. He was a Quaker, and at one time travelled with George Fox "to propagate the sentiments of the

Quakers," and a family heirloom was a pocket knife with the inscription "Given to me by George Fox at Lichfield, T.G." Through John Gurney, the son of Thomas, the strong Baptist tradition of the family became established. He lived at the mill at Crawley, near Woburn in Bedfordshire, and either his name, or that of his son Thomas, occurs in most of the deeds of the old Baptist causes in Bedfordshire. It is with this son Thomas that the more deeply interesting portions of the narrative are concerned. He was evidently in the way of being a genius, dabbled in astrology, became an expert in shorthand (thus founding a tradition maintained by his descendants to the present time), developed a rare skill in mechanical contrivances, won some reputation for his clocks and watches, and wrote poems on predestination directed against John Wesley's heresies. In 1730 he married Martha, the daughter of Thomas Marsom of Luton; and she brought to the Gurney family an equally noble tradition of nonconformist fidelity and testimony. Her grandfather, Thomas Marsom, was pastor of the Church at Luton, Bedfordshire. "He was in the ministry upwards of 50 years and suffered in Bedford jail with John Bunyan and others."

The whole of the narrative, as it has reference to Bunyan and the days of persecution, is so interesting that I make no apology for transcribing it in full.

"It is well known that he (Thomas Marsom) suffered much persecution for attending what were at that time termed unlawful assemblies or conventicles. During many years they were held in private houses, or in the woods, or in other retired places. Whenever he left home to attend these meetings he cautiously avoided letting those of his family who remained at home know where he was gone, lest they should be induced to practise falsehood or evasion for the purpose of concealment, in case of informers seeking to obtain information by which they could sacrifice the lives and liberty of these men, 'of whom the world was not worthy,' to their own corrupt ends."

After some reflections on the superior fervour and devotion of his ancestors, and the lukewarmness of his own day, my chronicler proceeds :

“This good man being frequently discovered by fellows of the baser sort, whose employment was to hunt down nonconformists, Mr. Marsom and several others were often fined and imprisoned. On one occasion when a fine of £40 was imposed, the officer seized goods in his shop, but when they were put up to auction, so much was he respected and loved in the town that no one would bid for them; and they were restored to him when he was released from prison at a distance of, I think, several years.”

It should be said here that Mr. Marsom was one of those Christian ministers who accepted no salary from his congregation, but supported himself by engaging in business.

There follows a curious story about one of these “informers”:

“One of the most infamous of the informers often swore that he would lodge Marsom in jail ‘if his legs rotted off’ in pursuit of him. He did lodge him in jail. After the change of times this man was imprisoned for some crimes, and while in jail, was afflicted by a complaint, in consequence of which his legs rotted. He died in jail, but Mr. Marsom, acting on the Saviour’s rule, returned him good for evil. He contributed to his support by sending him food, and also the bed on which he died.”

We now come to Mr. Marsom’s association with Bunyan in their common suffering for conscience’ sake.

“Their suffering in Bedford jail was increased by their numbers. There were at one time *sixty* nonconformists imprisoned there together! It has been asserted by some who would extenuate the crime of their persecutors, that Bunyan was imprisoned only in the house of the keeper of the jail, but that is incorrect. There is no doubt that in consequence of his high character the keeper shewed him some indulgence, and that he was permitted at times to leave the prison and go home to his own house for a night or so. But his prison was a room in the jail, and when my father was in Bedfordshire as a youth, his father shewed him the window of the room in which Bunyan and others were confined, *which was over the gateway.*”

Then follows this picturesque touch in the story :

“ A late writer has asserted that Bunyan learnt lace-making and supported and amused himself by practising it. But my grandfather used to state that *he wove tag laces for stays or boots* which were hung out of the windows and sold *for the benefit of the prisoners*, many people feeling it an honour to possess an article furnished by such hands, and the price of which contributed to their support.”

This is in confirmation of the “ anonymous friend,” quoted by Dr. Brown, who says : “ I have been witness that his own hands have ministered to his own and his familie’s necessities, making many hundred gross of long-Tagg’d laces, to fill up the vacancies of his time, which he had learn’d for that purpose since he had been in Prison.”

We have glimpse then of Bunyan in the room over the gateway, learning to weave tag laces for stays or boots, so as to gain money to benefit the other prisoners. What else Bunyan did with his leisure in the jail the world knows. This is what Mr. Gurney has to say about it :

“ When Bunyan had finished the manuscript of the first part of *Pilgrim’s Progress*, he read it to his fellow-sufferers in Bedford jail, with a view to obtaining their opinion upon it. The descriptions of some of the characters introduced disturbed the gravity of some of his auditors. At the first reading, some of them, among whom was Mr. Marsom (who was of a sedate turn) doubted the propriety of printing it. But on reflection he requested leave to read it alone, and examined it, and on this perusal, as he afterwards informed his family, he strongly recommended to Bunyan to print it. This difference of opinion with respect to the work is referred to in ‘ *The Author’s Apology for Pilgrim’s Progress* ’ ” :

“ Well, when I had thus put my ends together I shewed them others, that I might see whether they would condemn them or them justify. Some said ‘ John, print it ! ’ Others said ‘ Not so ! ’ Some said it might do good, others said ‘ No.’ ”

The references to Bunyan conclude with a pleasing

story concerning a mince-pie ! One can only hope it is authentic.

“ I believe the following anecdote is not well known, I will therefore introduce it as I have heard it from my father and my aunt ; premising, however, that young people of the present day who are not aware of the superstitions that prevailed at that period in reference to partaking of Christmas pies and matters of that kind, including hot-cross-buns, as proofs of attachment to the semi-popery of the Established Church, will hardly feel the full force of the distinction. When John Bunyan had been a considerable time in prison, a lady residing in the neighbourhood of the jail sent her servant with a mince-pie, and a message that she had sent him a Christmas pie, begging his acceptance of it. Bunyan replied ‘ Give my service to your mistress, and tell her I thank her for the pie, and will eat it, for I know how to distinguish between mince-pies and superstition.’ ”

And here for the present I take leave of this old diary, promising, however, some further extracts in a future number if all goes well. In the burial ground at Maze Pond the following inscription is to be read on the grave of Thomas Gurney. It was written by Mr. Toplady and my diarist says that it “ beautifully depicts the character ” of the man it celebrates.

“ Here rests what was mortal of Mr. Thomas Gurney ; a man whose uncommon genius was counterpoised with humility, sweetened by benevolence and crowned with grace. Enlightened betimes into the distinguishing doctrines of the everlasting gospel, he zealously and ably contended for them, lived an ornament to them, and died in the comfort of them. June 22, 1770, aged 65.”

C. SILVESTER HORNE.

Early Nonconformist Bibliography

IT is proposed in the present and following papers to register, with occasional brief annotations, the principal works of the Early Nonconformists; especially those who were concerned in the advocacy or vindication of Congregational Independency.

It is all but universally admitted that the Primitive Churches, though perhaps not *Congregationalist* in theory, were *Congregational* in fact. And the same is almost certainly true of the isolated societies of Lollards, Anabaptists, &c., of whom we find traces in England and elsewhere prior to the year 1560. But until the Reformation there was practically no literature dealing with competing theories of Church Order. Episcopacy, whether we regard it as a natural evolution or a lamentable devolution, was of gradual growth; and was accepted as a matter of course until prolatie and papal tyranny became intolerable. Only then did men revert to Holy Scripture and the Writings of Christian Antiquity in search of a more excellent way. Some, as Luther and Cranmer, thought they found this in a remodelled episcopacy, subject to the head of the State: others, as Calvin and Knox, inclined to the Presbyterian system. But at the accession of Elizabeth even the most advanced reformers in England would have been content with Cranmerian Episcopacy, if liberty had been granted in respect of a few points, mostly ceremonial, which they deemed objectionable and some of them thought to be sinful. Unhappily the least consideration for a tender conscience appeared to Elizabeth like a concession to that spirit of popular liberty which was as hateful to the Tudors as to the Stuarts. The despot's maxim *Cujus regio ejus religio* found expression in the first Act of Uniformity, and religious dissent became inevitable.

The earliest Nonconformist writings would seem to have been evoked by the publication, in 1564, of the *Advertisements partly for due order in the publique administration of Common Prayer and vsinge the holy Sacramentes, and partly for the apparell of all persons ecclesiasticall*. This well known document was several times re-issued, and may be found in any edition of Sparrow's "Collection of Articles, Injunctions, Canons, &c." A Miscellany printed about 1593, entitled "Part of a Register" (of which a description is given below), contains three pieces which originated in the issue of these "Advertisements" and the proceedings to which they gave rise; but it is not certain whether they came to the editor of that miscellany in print or in manuscript. However, no earlier editions are known. The titles are:—

- (i.) *The Ministers and Elders of the Churches within the Realme of Scollande, to their brethren the Bishops and Pastours of Englande, who have renounced the Romane Antichrist, & doe professe with thê the Lord Jhesus in synuceritie, desireth the perpetual increase of his holy spirit. Sent in Anno 1566.*
- (ii.) *The true report of our Examination and conference (as neare as wee can*

call to remembrance) had the 20 day of June, Anno 1567. Before the Lord Maior, the Bishop of London, the Deane of West. Maister Wattes, and other Commissioners.

- (iii.) A friendly caveat to Bishop Sands then Bishop of London, and to the rest of his brethren the Bishops; written by a Godly, learned, and zealous Gentleman, about 1567.

This last is a violent invective, somewhat in the style of the Marprelate tracts. The writer calls the bishops "Dissembling hypocrites, deluders of the Queen, shameless slanderers, belly-serving beasts, blind bussards, Protestant wolves," &c. He concludes with the following monition:—

"Fare you well, and doe no worse;
Love the Church more than your purse.
Take in good woorth, I write no name;
You in my case, would doe the same."

The earliest author whom we can distinctly identify with Protestant Nonconformity is ANTHONY GILBY, of whom some account is given in Brook's Puritans, vol. I., and Cooper's Athenae Cantabrigienses, vol. I. He was a native of Lincolnshire, graduated at Christ's College, Cambridge, in 1531, was minister somewhere in Leicestershire, retreated to Frankfort in 1554, became vicar of Ashby-de-la-Zouch in 1563 or 4, and died about 1585. He wrote much with which we are not here concerned; but notice must be taken of:—

A Pleasavnt Dialogue, Betweene a Souldior of Barwicke, and an English Chaplaine. Wherin are largely handled and laide open, such reasons as are brought in for maintenance of Popishe Traditions in our English Church. 8vo. 1566; reprint 12°, 1581. There are copies of both editions in the Bodleian, and of the second at Lambeth Palace.

To my louynge brethren that is troublid about the Popishe apparrell, two short and comfortable Epistels. 16°, 1566. Copies in the Bodleian and at Lambeth.

A Viewe of Antichrist, his lawes and ceremonies, in our English Church unreformed. 1570. No copy of the original edition is known, but it is reprinted in *Part of a Register*. This treatise commences with the often-quoted Genealogy of the Pope, beginning *The Divell begot darcknes, Darkenes begot ignorance, Ignorance begot Errour, and his brethren &c.* The tract, of 16pp., well deserves reprinting.

A Godly and zealous letter written by Mai. A.G., 1570. To my Reverend Fathers and Brethren in Christ . . . that labour to roote out the weedes of Poperie. 4to. 7pp. Only extant in *Part of a Register*.

PERCIVAL WYBURN, D.D., was ordained in 1560; in 1561 he became Canon of Rochester, and in 1563 vicar of St. Sepulchre, London, but the following year he was sequestered and deprived for refusing subscription. He died about 1606. An account of him is given in Brook's Puritans, vol. 2, and in Cooper's Athen. Cantab. vol. 2. His only extant work is:—

A Comfortable epistle written (as it is thought) by Maister D. W. Doctour of Divinitie, in his owne defence, and the brethren that suffer deprivation for the popish ceremonies vrged by the Bishops, about the yere 1570. This is the first treatise in *Part of a Register*, 12pp.

The same miscellany contains an anonymous tract, of which no separate issue is known:—

Certaine Questions, Argumentes, and Objections, Conteyning a full answer to all the chiefe reasons that are used for defence of popish apparrell, and other ceremonies vrged; with foure causes why they should be remooued. Written about An. 1570. 18pp.

Having vainly sought relief from the obnoxious ceremonies at the hands of the Queen and the bishops, the Puritans appealed to Parliament. The appeal was drawn up and presented by JOHN FIELD, A.M., fellow of Lincoln College, Oxford, and THOMAS WILCOCKS, A.M., of St. John's College in the same University. A full account of these eminent divines is given in Brook's Puritans, and further details in Wood's *Athenae Oxonienses*. Both were voluminous authors, and much of their Expository and Devotional work was of permanent value. But the writings with which we are here concerned are those in which they called in question the fundamental principles of episcopacy. These are *An Admonition to the Parliament*, 16°. Several editions appeared in 1571; and another, enlarged, in 1572. Copies are in the British Museum, the Bodleian, and several other public libraries; and there is a modern reprint. The *Admonition* is also imbedded in all editions of Whitgift's *Answer*.

The Copie of a Letter, with a Confession of Faith, written by two faithfull servants of God, unto an Honorable and vertuous Ladie." In *Part of a Register*, 19pp.

THOMAS CARTWRIGHT, B.D., the father of English Presbyterianism, was born about 1535; professor of divinity at Cambridge 1570, from which office he was soon ejected; died 1603. His *Life*, by Brook, is a well-known standard biography. His numerous Expository works, both Latin and English, were long held in great esteem; some of them have been reprinted within the last half century, but they do not come within the present review. Those of his writings with which we are concerned are:—

A Seconde Admonition to the Parliament, 12°, 1572. Copies are in the British Museum, the Bodleian, and several other public libraries. The two *Admonitions* were reprinted together about 1589; and again, 4to., 1617. This edition is in the Bodleian and in Williams's Library; and there is a modern reprint.

A Replye to an Answere made of M. Doctor Whitegifle, against the Admonition to the Parliament, 4to., 224pp., 1573. Copies are in the British Museum, Bodleian, Congregational Library, Williams's, &c. The *Reply* was reprinted in 1589 and in another undated edition; and is incorporated in Whitgift's *Defence of the Answer*.

The Second replie of Thomas Cartwright: against Maister Doctor Whitgiftes second answer, touching the Church Discipline, 4to., 31-666pp., 1575. Copies in the British Museum, Bodleian, Congregational Library, Williams's, &c.

An Examination of M. Dr. Whitgiftes censures. Contained in two tables set before his booke entituled: The defence of the Answere to the Admonition against the Replie of T.C. 16°, 1575. The only known copies are in the libraries at Lambeth Palace and York Minster; there is said to be an old undated reprint.

The Rest of the second replie of Thomas Cartwright, agaynst Maister Doctor Whitgiftes second answer, touching the Church Discipline. Imprinted MDLXXVII., 8vo., 8-265-13pp. Copies in the British Museum, Bodleian, Congregational Library, Williams's, &c.

A Brief Apologie of Thomas Cartwright against all such slanderous accusations as it pleaseth Mr. Sutcliffe in his severall pamphlettes most iniuriously to load him with. 4to., 28pp., 1596. Copies in the Bodleian, York Minster, and Trinity College, Cambridge.

A Christian Letter of certain English Protestants, unfained fauourers of the present state of Religion, avthorized and professed in England; unto that Reuerend and learned man Mr. R. Hoo[ker] requiring resolution in certaine

matters of doctrine . . . expreslie contained in his five books of Ecclesiasticall Policie. 4to., 49pp., 1599. Copies in the Bodleian and at Lambeth; and reprinted in Hanbury's edition of Hooker, 1830.

The following writings of Cartwright are still in MS. :—(i.) A letter against Brownism, to his sister-in-law, Mrs. Stubbes; among the Harleian MSS. in British Museum [7581, iii.]; (ii.) *A Reproof of Certain Schismaticall persons, and their Doctrine concerning the Hearing and Preaching the Word of God.* 32pp., at Lambeth [MSS. cxiii., 187.]

Reverting to the *Admonition Controversy*, we find an anonymous tract :—*An Exhortation to the Bishops to deale brotherly with theyr Brethren.* 8vo., 1572. Copies in British Museum, Bodleian, and Lambeth. It was reprinted the same year; and again, with the two *Admonitions*, 4to., 1617.

EDWARD DEERING, B.D., fellow of Christ's College, Cambridge, died 1576. An account of him is to be found in Brook's Puritans. His Collected works, consisting chiefly of Sermons, Letters, and a Catechism, were printed 1597; but the following is not included :—

Articles deliuered vnto Maister Edwarde Diringe, with his aunsweres therevnto. Likewise, *An aunswere vnto 4 Articles, by Maister Edwarde Dering.* These articles were exhibited against him in the Star Chamber in 1573. It does not appear whether his Answers were then published; but they appear on pp. 73-85 of *Part of a Register*.

RICHARD GREENHAM, A.M., rector of Dry Drayton, Cambs., (born 1531, died 1591), is best remembered as the private tutor of Robert Brown. His works, consisting chiefly of sermons and practical treatises, were collected after his death; the fourth and most complete edition in folio, 1605. This, however, does not contain :—

The Apologie or Aunswere of Maister Grenham, Minister of Dreaton, vnto the Bishop of Ely; being Comanded to subscribe, and to vse the Romish habite. 1573; printed, or perhaps reprinted, in *Part of a Register*, pp. 86-93.

ROBERT JOHNSON: fellow of King's College, Cambridge, and Chaplain to Lord Keeper Bacon. He was suspended for nonconformity in 1571; and in 1573, after examination before the Queen's Commissioners, imprisoned in the Gatehouse, where he died 1574. We find *Maister Robert Johnson's Aunswere to the Bi. of Lyncolnes Articles whereunto he should have subscribed worde as the Bishops Register deliuered them vnto him.* 6 Aug. 1573.

A Letter written by Master Robert Johnson to Master Edwine Sandes, Superintendent of popish corruptions in the Dioces of London. 2 Feby., 1573-4.

The examination of Master Robert Johnson, the 20 day of Februari, Anno 1573-4, at Westminister Hall, before the Queenes Ma. Commissioners and others. *A Letter written by Ma. Ro. Johnson, and sent to Maister Gabriell Goodman, Deane of Westminster, about April, Anno Dom., 1574.*

These, with another short letter, in *Part of a Register* 25pp.

WALTER TRAVERS, B.D., fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, was a member of the Presbyterian Church at Wandsworth in 1572, afterwards—from 1578—English Minister at Antwerp, and subsequently domestic chaplain to the Lord Treasurer Burleigh. In 1583 he was lecturer at the Temple, though ordained after the Presbyterian manner. After being silenced by Whitgift, he became provost of Trinity College, Dublin. The date of his death is uncertain, but he was living in 1624. His principal works are as follows :—

Ecclesiasticæ Disciplinæ et Anglicanæ Ecclesiæ ab illa aberrationis, plena e verbo Dei, & dilucida Explicatio. 16°, 12-296pp.; Rochelle, 1574. Copies are in British Museum, Bodleian, Williams's, and other public libraries.

A full and plaine declaration of Ecclesiastical Discipline ow't off the word off God, and off the declininge off the Church off England from the same. 4to., 10 194pp.; Geneva 1574. Copies are in British Museum, Bodleian, and Trinity College, Cambridge. Reprinted at Geneva, 1580; Cambridge, 1584; London, 1617 and 1644.

An Answer to a Supplicatorie Epistle of G.T. for the pretended Catholiques. 160, 387pp., 1583; other editions are 16°, 389pp., 1593; 16°, 400pp., n.d., &c.

A Defence of the Ecclesiastical Discipline ordayned of God to be used in his Church. 4to., 208pp., 1588. Copies in British Museum, Lambeth, and Bodleian.

A Supplication made to the Privy Counsell by Master W. T. 4to., 2-26pp., Oxford 1612. Copies are in the Bodleian, Williams's Library, &c. Reprinted in 1618, and in Hanbury's edition of Hooker, 1830.

Travers is understood to have been the principal author of *De Disciplina Ecclesiastica ex Dei Verbo descripta*, commonly called *The Book of Discipline*; printed in Latin at Geneva in 1574, and in English at Cambridge in 1584. Almost the whole English edition was seized and destroyed; but a single copy escaped, and was reprinted in 1644, with the title, *A Directory of Government anciently contended for; and, as far as the time would suffer, practised by the first Nonconformists in the days of Queen Elizabeth: found in the study of that most accomplished divine, Thomas Cartwright, after his decease; and reserved to be published for such a time as this.* There is a copy in the Congregational Library.

Travers also wrote *A Justification of the Religion now professed in England, wherein it is p(ro)ved to be the same which was taught by our Saviour Jesus Christ and His Holy apostles.* Written for their use that have desired such prooffe: By M. Waller Travers, Minister of the word of God. Brook enumerates this amongst his works; but a MS. copy in a contemporary hand - perhaps the autograph - in the Congregational Library, has a note inserted, *This tract has never been printed.*

As an invaluable record of the historic controversy which, though occurring on the Continent, may fairly be regarded as the commencement of English Protestant Nonconformity, we may here notice:—

A Brieff discours off the troubles begonne at Frackford in Germany Anno Domini 1554. Abowle the Booke off off common prayer and Ceremonies, and continued by the Englishe men theyre, to thende off Q. Maries Raigne, in the which discours, the gentle reader shall see the very originall and beginninge off all the contention that halthe byn, and what was the cause off the same MDLXXV. 4to., 2-215-1pp. Supposed to have been printed at Zürich. The author is believed to be WILLIAM WHITTINGHAM, A.M. He was born 1524; fellow of All Souls, Oxford, 1545; retired to the Continent, 1554; ordained at Geneva in the Presbyterian manner by Calvin, whose sister he married; dean of Durham, 1563; died 1569. He was a principal contributor to the Geneva translation of the Bible, and the translator of several learned works; but is perhaps most popularly known as the author of several Metrical Psalms in the "Old Version," including the famous Old 124th. Copies of the *Brieff discours* are in the British Museum, Bodleian, Lambeth, and elsewhere. A reprint, 1642, London 4to., 184pp., is in the Congregational Library; there were also reprints in 1708, 1754, and 1846.

The following tracts are found in *Part of a Register*; it is not clear whether they had an earlier separate existence:—

Maister R. H. his letter to the B. of Norwich, 1576; 6pp. This is probably

Robert Harrison, whom we shall find associated with Brown; but *may be* Robt. Harvey.

The troubles of M. RICHARD GAWTON of late preacher at Norwich, about Anno 1576; 7pp. This Gawton was successively at Snoring, Norwich, Bury St. Edmund's, and Redbourn—where he died in 1616.

The judgement of certaine godlie Preachers vpon the Question propounded, answering the reasons of a good brother as followeth. 11pp. This is anonymous; the preachers conclude that, while the ceremonies, &c., are enforced, “unles we would plainly disclaime and renounce the Lord his discipline, neither may wee enter into the Ministerie, nor being entred, long continue therein.” Reasons are annexed against the sign of the cross in Baptism, and against kneeling at the Lord's Supper.

FRANCIS MERBURIE. *The conference betweene mee and the Bishop of London in the presence of Sir Owen Hopton, D. Lewys, M. Recorder, and Archdeacon Mullins, high Commissioners in the Consistorie in Pauls, the 5 of November last past, Anno 1578. 6pp.* Merburie was a preacher at Northampton; beyond this nothing is known of him.

None of the foregoing, with the doubtful exception of *R.H.*, favoured Congregationalism; but all were averse to the imposition of questionable ceremonies, and most of them to prelacy. We come now to the protagonist of Congregational Independency.

ROBERT BROWNE was born at Tolethorpe in Rutland about 1550. He entered Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, in 1570; and graduated 1572. Before the last date he seems to have been domestic chaplain to the Duke of Norfolk. Between 1575 and 1578 he was *perhaps* a schoolmaster in Southwark, and an occasional preacher at Islington. He then returned to the University, and became a popular preacher in Cambridge, until inhibited by the bishop. About 1580 he removed to Norwich, when he became pastor of the First regularly organized English Congregational Church; the greater part of which, the next year, emigrated with him to Middleburg in Holland. Here Browne's most important works were written and printed, but in 1584 he removed to Edinburgh, where he found his ecclesiastical opinions as unpopular as elsewhere. Returning to England, he endured much persecution and at least one imprisonment; and was at length induced to conform. Toward the end of 1586 he was appointed Master of the Grammar School at St. Olave's, Southwark; and in 1591 rector of Thorpe-Achurch in Northamptonshire. Much reproach has been cast upon Browne for his conformity, and his later life is said—on very doubtful evidence—to have been scandalous. As to his conformity, considering that two persons had actually been hanged merely for circulating his writings, it is questionable whether on any other terms he would have been allowed to live; and as to the scandals of his old age, there seems good reason to believe that for several years, between 1617 and 1626, he was secluded on account of mental disorder. He died in 1632 or 3. His extant works are:—

A Treatise of Reformation without tarying for anie, and of the wickednesse of those Preachers, which will not reforme till the Magistrate commaunde or compell them. 4to., 18pp., 1582. Only three copies known, at Lambeth, at the British Museum, and at Yale College: but lately reprinted in Boston, U.S.A.

A Treatise vpon the 23 of Matthewe, both for an order of studying and handling the Scriptures, and also anoyding the Popishe disorders, and vngodly communion of all false Christians, and especiallie of wicked Preachers and hirelings. 4to., 44pp., 1582. The only known copies are in the Lambeth Palace Library, and British Museum. By the arrangement of the British

Museum volume, these two Treatises appear to have been intended as Prefaces for the following :—

A Booke which Sheweth the life and manners of all true Christians, and howe unlike they are vnto Turkes and Papisles, and Heathen folke. Also the pointes and partes of all Diuinitie, that is of the reuealed will and worde of God, are declared by their seuerall Definitions, and Diuisions in order as followeth. 4to., IIIpp., 1582. Copies are in the Bodleian, Lambeth, British Museum, Trinity College, Cambridge, and the Congregational Library.

An Answer to Master Cartwright his Letter for joyning with the English Churches; whereunto the true copie of his sayde letter is annexed. 4to., 2-85-IIIpp., 1583. Copies in the Bodleian and Williams's Library.

A True and Short Declaration, Both of the Gathering and Joyning together of certaine Persons; and also of the Lamentable Breach and Diuision which fell amongst them. 4to., 24pp., 1584. Reprinted 1888, from the unique copy at Lambeth.

Several other pieces of Browne's appear to have been circulated in MS., and one or more may have been printed; but these are no longer extant. We have merely the titles of his *Conference with M. P. and M. E., Aunswere to Steephen Bridewell, his first booke against Brownists, and a treatise against one Barow.* From the last, and from some other unnamed writing of his, extracts are preserved in Bancroft's memorable Sermon at Paul's Cross, 9 Feb., 1588. He also compiled a treatise containing *Latine tables and definitions*, probably a schoolbook, of which he gives some account in an autograph letter now among the Lansdowne MSS. in the British Museum. A collected edition of Browne's extant works is much to be desired. An interesting appendix would be the Achurch parish register during his incumbency; which contains nearly 550 entries of baptisms, marriages, and burials, some with quaint remarks, carefully made in his own handwriting.

Intimately associated with Browne was ROBERT HARRISON. But little is known of him. He is described as a country schoolmaster; united with the original Brownist church at Norwich; emigrated to Holland, and after Browne's retreat became pastor of the emigrant church at Middleburg, where he died in 1588 or-95. He wrote :—

Three Formes of Catechismes, conteyning the most principall points of Religion. 16°, 64pp., 1583.

A Little Treatise vpon the firste verse of the 122 Psalm. Stirring up unto carefull desiring & dutifull labouring for true Church Governement. 16° 6-124pp., 1583. Copies in British Museum, Bodleian, and Lambeth. Reprinted at Leyden 1618.

Mention is made of *A Letter intercepted from R.H. one of Brownes faction, discovering in part his great disliking of the said Brownes schismatical practices;* 1583. But no copy is now to be found.

Harrison is named, together with Browne, in the *Proclamation against certaine seditious and scismaticall and erroneous Bookes and libelles;* issued by the Government, 30 June, 1583. An original copy of this is in the British Museum; and it is reprinted in Dexter's *Congregationalism of the last Three Hundred Years.* The judicial murder of Thacker and Copping took place a few days before its issue. A publication relating to this atrocity was entered on the Registers of the Stationers' Company about five weeks later: *A Discourse upon the death of Elias Thaker and Fohn Coppinge, executed at Sainct Edmondes Bury;* but no copy is known to exist.

We next come to a group of anonymous publications :—

- (i.) *The Unlawfull practises of Prelates against Godly ministers, the maintainers of the Discipline of God.* 16°, 29pp., 1583. There is a copy at Lambeth; it was reprinted in 1588, and again in *Part of a Register*.
- (ii.) *A Dialogue concerning the strife of our church, wherein are answered diuerse of those vniuste accusations wherewith the godly preachers and professors of the gospel are falsely charged, with a briefe declaration of some such monstrous abuses, as our Byshops have not been ashamed to foster.* 12°, 136pp., 1584. Copies in British Museum, Bodleian, Lambeth, Williams's Library, &c.
- (iii.) *An Abstract of Certain Acts of parlement: of certaine her Maiesties Iniunctions: of certain Canons, Constitutions, and Synodalles prouinciall: established and in force, for the peaceable gouernment of the Church, within her Maiesties Dominions and Countries, for the most part heretofore vnknown and vnpractized.* 4to., 6-266pp., n.p., n.d., (1584). Copies in British Museum, Bodleian, Lambeth, and the Congregational Library. This was answered by R. Cosin, D.D.

DUDLEY FENNER was minister at Cranbrook, Kent, but, being dissatisfied with his episcopal ordination, he was re-ordained in the Presbyterian form at Antwerp. Returning to England he was suspended and imprisoned for non-conformity; and on his release retired to Middleburg, where he ministered to an English congregation, and died in 1587. He published about a dozen books, of which the following come within the range of the present review:—

A Treatise vpon the first Table of the Lawe; 12°, 44pp., no date. A copy is in the Congregational Library.

A Cownter-poyson, modestly written for the time, to make aunswere to the obiections and reproches, wherewith the aunswerer to the Abstract would disgrace the holy Discipline of Christ. 16°, 16-195pp., 1584. Copies in the Congregational and several other public libraries; and reprinted in *Part of a Register*.

A Defence of the Reasons of the Counterpoyson for Maintenaunce of the Eldershippe, against an aunswere made to them by Doctor Copequot in a publike sermon at Pawles Crosse vpon Psalm lxxxiij., Anno 1584. 16°, 31pp. Copies in British Museum, Bodleian, Lambeth, and Williams's Library; reprinted in *Part of a Register*.

A Defence of the Godlie Ministers, against the slaunders of D. Bridges, contayned in his answere to the Preface before the Discourse of Ecclesiasticall Government, with a Declaration of the Bishops proceeding against them. 4to., 4-151pp., 1587. Copies in the Bodleian, Lambeth, and Williams's Libraries.

The Grounds of Religion, necessary to be known of every one that cometh to the Table of the Lord. 12°, 12pp., 1587. In the Congregational Library.

The following are anonymous:—

The Lamentable complaint of the Communalltie, by way of Supplication to the high Court of Parliament, for a learned Minsterie, in Anno 1585. 16°, 83pp. In British Museum, and Lambeth Library. Reprinted in 1588, and in *Part of a Register*.

The humble petition of the Communalltie to their most renowned and gracious Soueraigne the Lady Elizabeth, &c. 16°, 41pp., 1585. In Lambeth Library. Reprinted 1588, and in *Part of a Register*.

A Petition made to the Conuocation house, 1586, by the godly ministers tending to reconciliation, and translated into English; 1586. No original copy known; but reprinted 1588, and in *Part of a Register*.

HENRY BARROWE and JOHN GREENWOOD. Their tragic story is known to all men. Their names are inseparable, and their joint authorship of two or three treatises will be a sufficient reason for placing all their works together. The life of Barrowe, recently written by Dr. Powicke, has supplied a long felt want.

Works of BARROWE :—

A Brief of the examination of me Henry Barrowe, the nineteenth of November 1586, before the Arch Bishope, Arch Deacon and Doctor Cussins, so neere as my memorie could cary, being at Lambeth, &c. 1586. The only known copy of the original edition is in the Bodleian; it was reprinted in 1593, 1662, and in the Harleian miscellany.

A Brief Discoverie of the false Church. As is the mother such the daughter is. 4to., 263pp., 1590. Copies at Lambeth and Williams's Library. Reprinted, but very incorrectly, 1707, 8vo., 16-391pp. Copies of the reprint in British Museum and the Congregational Library.

A Collection of certaine Schlaunderous Articles gyuen out by the Bissshops against such faithfull Christians as they now uniously deteyne in their Prisons together with the aunswere of the said Prisoners thereunto. Printed at Dort, 4to., 50pp., 1590. Copies in British Museum, Bodleian, Lambeth, and Williams's Library.

A Petition directed to her most excellent Maiestie, wherein is deliuered
 1. *A Meane how to compound the Ciuill dissention in the church of England.*
 2. *A prooffe that they who write for Reformation, do not offend against the stat. of 23 Eliz. c. 2. and therefore till matters be compounded deserves more fauour &c.* 4to., 84pp., 1590. Copies in the Bodleian and at Lambeth. Reprinted 1593.

A Letter to an honourable Lady and Countess of his kindred. Left in MS., printed in Ainsworth's *Apologie*, 1604.

Works of GREENWOOD :—

M. Some laid open in his coulens. Wherein the indifferent Reader may easily see howe wretchedly and loosely he hath handled the cause against M. Penri. Done by an Oxford man, to his friend in Cambridge &c. 12°, 4-124pp., 1589. Copies in British Museum, Bodleian, Lambeth, and Williams's Library.

An Answer to George Giffords Pretended Defence of Read Prayers and Devised Leilourgies with the vngodly canills and wicked scandlers comprised in the first part of his book entitled A Short Treatise, etc., by F. G., Christs Poore Afflicted Prisoner in the Fleete at London, for the truth of the gospel. Printed at Dort, 4to., 2-66pp., 1590. Copies in British Museum, Bodleian, Williams's and other Libraries. Reprinted same year, and again in 1640.

Works of BARROWE and GREENWOOD jointly :—

A True Description, out of the Word of God, of the Visible Church. Printed at Dort, 4to., 8pp., 1589. Copies in British Museum, Lambeth, and Congregational Library. Reprinted, London, with hostile criticism, 1590; Amsterdam before 1602; again, with hostile criticism, London, 1613; London, 1641; In Wall, *More Work for the Dean*, 1681; In Hanbury, *Historical Memorials*, 1839; In W. Walker, *Creeeds and Platforms*, New York, 1893.

A Collection of Certain Letters and Conferences, lately passed Betwixt Certaine Preachers, and Two Prisoners in the Fleet. Printed at Dort, 4to., 4-70pp., 1590. Copies in the Bodleian and at Lambeth.

A Plaine Refutation of M. Giffards Booke, intituled, A short treatise against the Donatistes of England. 4to. This edition was entirely suppressed. Only two copies escaped, neither of which is believed now to exist; but one served for a Reprint, 4to., 20-260pp., 1605; of which copies are in British Museum and Williams's Library; also another, undated, in the Bodleian.

The Examinations of Henry Barrowe, John Greenwood, and John Penrie, before the High Commissioners and Lordes of the Councel. Penned by the prisoners themselves before their deaths. 4to., 32pp., 1593. Copies in British Museum, Bodleian, and Williams's Library. Reprinted 1662, and in the Harleian Miscellany, vol. iv.

JOHN PENRY was born in Wales, 1559; matriculated at Cambridge, 1580; removed to Oxford, and admitted M.A., 1586; retreated to Scotland, 1589; returned to London, 1592—at which time he first joined a company of Separatists; martyred 29 May, 1593. His works are:—

A Treatise containing the Aequity of an Humble Supplication which is to be exhibited vnto hir Gracious Maiestie, and this High Court of Parliament, in the behalfe of the Countrey of Wales, that some order may be taken for the preaching of the gospel among those people. Printed at Oxford, 8vo., 62pp., 1587. Copies in the Bodleian and Williams's Library.

An exhortation vnto the gouernours and people of hir Maiesties Countrie of Wales, to labour earnestly to haue the Preaching of the Gospell planted among them. 8vo., 66pp., 1587, and an enlarged edition, 8vo., 65pp., 1588. The first edn. is only to be found in the Bodleian; the second is in British Museum, Bodleian, Lambeth, and Williams's Library.

A Viewe of some part of such publike wants and disorders as are in the service of God, within her Majesties countrie of Wales, together with an humble Petition, vnto this high Court of Parliament for their speedy redresse. 8vo., 83pp., 1588. Copies in British Museum, Lambeth, and Williams's Library. A reprint, edited by J. O. Halliwell, appeared in 1861.

A Defence of that which hath bin written in the questions of the ignorant ministerie, and the communicaling with them. 16°, 63pp., 1588. Copies in the Bodleian, Lambeth, and Williams's Library.

Th' Appellation of John Penri, vnto the Hight Court of Parliament, from the bad and injurious dealing of th' Archb. of Canterb. and other of his colleagues of the high commission: &c. 16°, 2-52pp., 1589. Copies in British Museum, Bodleian, and Lambeth.

A Treatise wherein is manifestlie proved, that Reformation and those that sincerely favor the same, are unjustly charged to be enemies, vnto hir Maiestie, and the State. 4to., 72pp., 1590. Copies in British Museum, Bodleian, Lambeth, and the Congregational Library.

An Humble Motion with submission vnto the Right Honourable LL. of hir Majesties Priuie Councell. Wherein is laid open to be considered, how necessairie it were for the good of this Lande, and the Queenes Majesties safetie, that Ecclesiasticall discipline were reformed after the worde of God, and how easily there might be provision for a learned Ministerie. 4to., 1590. Copies in British Museum, Bodleian, Lambeth, &c. Reprinted in 1641, copies in British Museum and Congregational Library.

A brieve discourey of the vnturthes and slanders (against the true government of the Church of Christ) contained in a sermon preached the 8 of Februarie, 1588, by Dr. Bancroft, and since that time set forth in Print with additions by the said Authour. 4to., 6-56pp., 1590. Copies in British Museum, Bodleian, Lambeth, and the Congregational Library.

Theses Geneueenses. Propositions and Principles of Divinity Propounded

and disputed in the University of Geneva. 4to. Edinb. 1591. The translation of these theses is usually ascribed to Penry, and the Preface appears to the present writer to be unmistakeably his. A copy is in the Congregational Library.

I John Penry doo heare set downe sumarily the whole truth and nothing but the truth in regard of my faith towards my God and dread souereigne Queene Elizabeth (with letters to his wife and the church). 4to., 12pp., 1593. The only known copies are at Trinity College, Cambridge, and at the Prince Library, Boston, U.S.

Historie of Corah, Dathan, and Abiram, &c. Applied to the Prelacy Ministerie and Church-assemblies of England. Printed in Penry's name, sixteen years after his death, but the authorship is not undisputed. 4to., 4-46pp., 1609. A copy is in the Bodleian.

There are also two letters of Penry in the sixth edition of Paget's *Heresiography*, 1661.

No literary undertaking is more to be desired in the interest of Nonconformity than a complete and carefully edited collection of the works of JOHN PENRY, THE PILGRIM MARTYR.

Mention has already been made of Travers's *Full and Plaine declaration of Ecclesiasticall Discipline*, first issued 1574, and reprinted 1584. A reply to this was published in 1587, by John Bridges, D.D., Dean of Salisbury, under the title *A Defence of the Government established in the Church of England*. This elicited numerous responses, which are memorable in the history of Ecclesiastical controversy. The earliest, by Dudley Fenner, has been already mentioned; next appeared

A Defence of the Ecclesiastical Discipline Ordayned of God to be used in his Church. Against a Replie of Maister Bridges, to a briefe and plain Declaration of it, which was printed Anno 1584. 4to., 208pp., 1588. Copies are in British Museum, Bodleian, and Lambeth.

JOHN UDALL, matriculated at Cambridge 1578, commenced M.A. 1584, and became minister at Kingston-on-Thames. He was deprived, but permitted to minister at Newcastle-on-Tyne. Subsequently he was imprisoned, and sentenced to death, for writing the following treatises. There seems to have been no intention of actually taking his life; but while details were being settled as to his banishment, he died in prison, 1592. Besides a Hebrew Grammar, Commentary on the Lamentations, and several sermons, he wrote:—

The State of the Church of Englande, laide open in a conference betweene Diotrefhes a Byshop, Tertullus a Papist, Demetrius an Usurer, Pandocheus an Innekeeper, and Paule a Preacher of the worde of God. 12°, 1588. Copies in British Museum, Bodleian, and Lambeth. Reprinted in *Part of a Register*, also 1637 and 1879.

A Demonstration of the trueth of that Discipline which Christ hath prescribed in his worde for the government of his Churche in all times and places, vntill the end of the world. 8vo., 24-102pp., 1588. A copy in the Congregational Library. Reprint 8vo., 86pp., 1589; copies in Lambeth and other libraries, usually bound up with *Part of a Register*. Again reprinted 1880.

MARTIN MARPRELATE is "the most eminent prose satirist of the Elizabethan age." Yet his identity is an unsolved, and probably insoluble, enigma. He has long been popularly identified with Penry; and undoubtedly the murder of Penry was actuated by a sincere belief that he was the redoubtable satirist; nor is it open to question that he was concerned in the publication of the tracts.

But against his actual *authorship* we have not only his own disavowal, supported by the testimony of Udall—who probably knew the secret; the internal evidence appears overwhelming. The bitterness of Martin finds expression in gibes, that of Penry is akin to tears. Dexter gives reasons for ascribing the tracts to Barrowe; Powicke thinks those reasons inconclusive, and the ascription unlikely; Arber believes the tracts to be the joint work of Penry and Job Throckmorton. In the opinion of the present writer, the available evidence points rather to Throckmorton than to either Penry or Barrowe. Throckmorton is best remembered as being acquitted after trial for alleged complicity with the Hacket and Coppinger plot. He died in 1628.

The Marprelate tracts appear to have been elicited, in the first place, by Dean Bridges' Reply to the reprint of Travers's *Full and plaine Declaration of Ecclesiastical Discipline*. Accordingly, each of the first two issues commenced (by way of title) with *Oh read over D. John Bridges, for it is a worthy work; or an epitome of the fyrste Booke of that right worshipfull volume, written against the Puritanes, in the defence of the noble cleargie, by as worshipfull a prieste, John Bridges, Presbyter, Prieste or elder, doctor of Diuillitie, and Deane of Sarum.*"

The title pages are all very lengthy, and need not be here reproduced. It will suffice to give the short titles by which they are usually known, with the approximate date of issue, and place where printed.

- (i.) *An Epistle To the right puisante and terrible Priests, my cleargie. Masters of the Confocation-house.* 4to. 54pp. Printed at East Molesey in October 1588. This is the least rare of the tracts. Original copies are in Williams's, the Congregational, and other Libraries. It was reprinted 1842, and again 1880.
- (ii.) *An Epitome of the first book of Dr. Bridges' Defence,* 4to. 46pp. Printed at Fawsley in Decr. 1588, and issued about Feby. 1589. Copies are in British Museum, Bodleian, Lambeth, and Williams's Library. Reprinted in 1843.
- (iii.) *Certain Minerall, and Metaphisicall Schoolpoints, &c.* Broadside. Printed at Coventry, and issued Feby. 1589. Very rare, and never reprinted. There is a copy at Lambeth Palace.
Bishop T. Cooper, of Winchester, having published *An Admonition to the People of England*, against "Martin the Libeller," the secret press promptly issued:—
- (iv.) *Hay any work for Cooper.* Printed at Coventry, March 1589. 4to. 58pp. Copies in British Museum, Bodleian, Lambeth, and Williams's Library. Reprinted 1642; this reprint is in the Congregational Library. Another reprint, 1845.
- (v.) *Theses Martinianae: that is, certain demonstrative Conclusions...Published and set forth by...Martin Junior.* 4to. 31pp. Printed at Wolston, July 1589. Copies in British Museum, Bodleian, and Lambeth.
- (vi.) *The just censure and reproofe of Martin Junior, ...by his reverend and elder brother Martin Senior, sonne and heire vnto the renowned Martin Mar-prelate the Great.* 4to. 32pp. Printed at Wolston about the end of July 1589. Copies in British Museum, Bodleian, and Lambeth.
- (vii.) *A Dialogue. Wherin is plainly laide open the tyrannicall dealing of L. Bishoppes against God's Children.* 12°, 32pp. Printed at Rochelle in the summer of 1589. Copies in British Museum, Bodleian, and Lambeth. Reprinted 1640, 4to. 28pp. Copies in British Museum, Bodleian, and

Congregational Library. (The style of this tract suggests a doubt whether it is by the same author as the rest.)

(viii.) *The Protestation of Martin Marprelat.* 4to. 32pp. Printed at Haseley about September 1589. Copies in the Bodleian and Lambeth Palace.

No collected edition of these renowned satires has ever appeared, and some of them have never been reprinted. A well edited collection is much to be desired; and there is reason to hope that such a work will shortly be forthcoming.

The various replies to Martin Marprelate scarcely come within the range of Nonconformist Bibliography. Most of them, though written by men of literary eminence in their day, exhibit more scurrillity than wit. Beside Cooper's *Admonition*, already referred to, the following may be enumerated:—

1. *A Whip for an Ape, or Martin displayed.* April 1589.
2. *Mar-Martin ?* by T. Nash. April or May, 1589.
3. *Marre Mar-Martin; or Mar-Martin's Meddling.* May or June 1589. (Attacks both sides).
4. *A bayte for Momus; by Tobie Bland.* June 1589.
5. *Anti-Martinus.* July 1589.
6. *A Counter Cuffe to Martin Junior—by Pasquil of England,* i.e. T. Nash. August 1589.
7. *Martin's Month's Mind: by Marphoreus, ?* Thos. Nash. August 1589.
8. *Pappe with an Hatchet. Alias, a figge for my God sonne.* Believed to be written by J. Lilly. Sept. 1589.
9. *The Returne of the renowned Cavaliero Pasquill of England.* October 1589.
10. *A Myrroure for Martynistes.* Ascribed to T. Turswell. Dec. 1589.
11. *A Friendly Admonicion to Martin Marprelate and his males: by Lewis Wright.* January 1590.
12. *An Almond for a Parrat, or Cuthbert Curry-knave's Almes: by Thos. Nash.* 1590.
13. *Sir Maricn Marr-people: by J. Davies.* October 1590.

None of these replies, except 8 and 12, appear to have been reprinted. Of greater importance is *Plaine Perceval the Peacemaker of England, his Reconciliation.* 4to. 34pp. 1589. A copy is in the Congregational Library, and it was reprinted 1860. The author is understood to be RICHARD HARVEY; but it is not quite clear whether he was the R.H. who was suspended by the Bishop of Norwich in 1576, or one of the same name who graduated at Cambridge in 1581. The latter wrote—on the Anti-Martinist side—“*A Theological Discourse of the Lamb of God and his enemies...with a detection of old and new Barbarisme, now commonly called Martinisme.*” 1590.

One of the most important Nonconformist publications of the period under review is:—

“*A Parte of a Register, contayninge sundrie memorable matters written by diuers godly and learned in our time, which stande for, and desire the reformation of our Church, in Discipline and Ceremonies accordinge to the pure worde of God, and the Lawe of our Lande.* 4to., 4-546-8pp. Supposed to have been printed at Edinburgh between 1590 and 1593. It contains about thirty tracts or treatises, most of them reprints, of which the titles and particulars are given above. Usually Udall's *Demonstration of Discipline* is bound up at the end. Copies are in the Congregational and other public Libraries.

With this volume properly ends the literature of the First Period of English Nonconformity. Strictly speaking, none of the writers were Congregationalists, except Browne, Harrison, Barrow, Greenwood, and Penry during the last year or two of his life. But they sowed the seed out of which larger conceptions of religious freedom were to grow. After the martyrdom of Penry, most of the London Separatists were allowed to escape to Holland; and the Second Period of Nonconformity is illustrated by the literature of The Exiled Church. Only one more treatise—though printed on the Continent—appears to claim notice here. The authorship is uncertain; but it is *probably* the joint work of Henry Ainsworth, who at the time of its publication was in Amsterdam, and Francis Jolinson, who remained in prison in London.

A True Confession of the Faith, and Humble Acknowledgment of the Alegeance, which wee hir Maiesties Subjects, falsely called Brownists, doo hould towards God, and yeild to hir Majestie and all other that are ouer vs in the Lord. Printed, probably at Amsterdam, 1596. Copies in British Museum, Bodleian, and Lambeth Palace. Reprinted (with some variations) in 1598, 1602, in Ainsworth's *Apologie* 1604, 1607, and in W. Walker's *Creeds and Platforms*, New York, 1893. An edition in Latin, with slight modifications, 1598; and—with a different title—1607. Editions in Dutch, before 1600, 1614, and 1670.

Hereafter we hope to give some account of the literature of the Exiled Church; and possibly a selection from that of English Congregationalism down to the Restoration.

T. G. CRIPPEN.

Notes and Queries

NOTES & QUERIES.

Mrs. Gaskell, in her Life of Charlotte Brontë, has the following :

“I believe that there was such a violent contest respecting the choice of a pastor about this time in the Upper Chapel at Heckmondwike, that the Riot Act had to be read at a Church Meeting.”

Can anyone throw light on this statement? Have the Heckmondwike records anything to say in support or disproof of it?

It is well-known that in the early days of Independency there was an “outbreak” of women preachers. Can anyone tell us if anything is known about Mrs. Attaway, “the mistress of all the she-preachers in Coleman Street”?

*** Answers to the above queries will be welcomed by the Secretary, and any members or friends who have questions of general interest to suggest, will render service to the Society by forwarding them to the Secretary for insertion in the next issue of Transactions.*