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## The Congregational Historical Society

Meeting in the Memorial Hall, London.

The second Annual Meeting of the Society was held in the Board Room, Memorial Hall, on Wednesday, May 14th, 1902, at 3 p.m.

The chair was taken by the President, Dr. J. D. McClure, and the meeting opened with prayer, offered by the Rev. J. OGLE.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed. The SECRETARY then presented the report, which shewed that the membership had increased, and now stood at one hundred and twenty-five.

A second issue of *Transactions* was published last autumn, and a third is now in the press. The autumnal meeting at Manchester had proved a great success, and arrangements were made for a similar meeting at Glasgow. The adoption of the report was moved by the Rev. BRYAN DALE, and seconded by Mr. T. E. GRICE, and carried.

The TREASURER'S statement shewed a balance of £84 0s. 2d. £42 of this, however, consisted of the subscriptions of life members, and should, therefore, be largely held in reserve. On the Treasurer's suggestion that an auditor should be appointed, Mr. J. MINSHULL kindly offered to act in that capacity, an offer which was gladly accepted. Mr. Minshull was thanked for his generosity.

The Officers were re-appointed with the addition of the Rev. T. G. Crippen as Assistant Secretary. The name of Mr. P. Howard Silcock, B.A., Maidstone, was added to the Committee. After an interesting discussion on the work of the Society the meeting was closed with prayer, offered by Rev. D. F. FORSYTH, D.D.

TREASURER'S ACCOUNT TO APRIL, 1901.

<b>Dr.</b>	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	<b>Cr.</b>	£	s.	d.
Members' Contributions							Secretary, Stamps, Stationery, &c.	3	12	6
61 at 5/-	15	5	0				Printing	2	16	3
1 at 10/-		10	0				Cheque Book		2	6
10 at 21/-	10	10	0					6	11	3
1 at 42/-		2	2	0				54	6	9
2 at 105/-	10	10	0							
1 at £21	21	0	0				BALANCE AT BANK			
				59	17	0				
1 at 21/-				1	1	0				
				<hr/>						
				£60	18	0				

TREASURER'S ACCOUNT FOR YEAR ENDING MARCH 31st, 1902.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	
Balance brought forward				54	6	9	Printing & issuing						
Members' Contributions							Transactions (1)	19	14	11			
95 at 5/-	23	15	0				" (2)	23	6	4			
1 at 10/-		10	0								43	1	3
15 at 21/-	15	15	0				Report of Manchester Meeting				1	19	8
1 at 20/-		1	0	0			Stamps and Incidentals				1	2	0
2 at 105/-	10	10	0								46	2	11
1 at £21	21	0	0				BALANCE AT BANK				84	0	2
				72	10	0							
Donation						3							
Sales				3	3	4							
				<hr/>									
				£130	3	1					£130	3	1

Compared with Cash Book and Vouchers  
and found correct.  
May 21st, 1902. (Signed) JOHN MINSHULL.

(Signed) W. H. STANIER,  
Treasurer.

## Lists of the Early Separatists

IT is a well-known story that on June 19, 1567, a company of persons "to the number of a hundred," holding a religious service at Plumbers' Hall, in the city, under "pretence of keeping a wedding," was surprised by the Sheriffs. Eighteen or nineteen were taken and sent to the Compter; and next day eight were brought up for examination before Bishop Grindall and other ecclesiastical commissioners. The names of these eight were:—

### List I.

Boweland, Thomas  
 Hawkins, Robert  
 Ireland, James  
 Morecraft Richard

Nixson William  
 Roper [~~J~~ohn]  
 Smith John  
 White William

[See *Remains of Archbishop Grindall* (Parker Society) pp., 201-216.]

2. As to this company three mistakes have been made, in supposing, viz.: (1) that it was a lineal representative of John Rough's congregation broken up nine years before; (2) that it was "separatist" in the sense of Independent; (3) that those arrested did not regain their liberty till April, 1569. There is more than enough to expose mistakes one and two in the evidence of the prisoners; the third is discovered by the following:—"Persons found together within the parish of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields in the house of James Tynne, Goldsmith, the fourth day of March, 1567" viz.:—

### List II.

#### MEN

- 1 Andertone James, Distafe Lane
- 2 Bonde Robert & his wife, St Gyles at Ludgate
- 3 Boulte[n] John, St Martins
- \*4 Bowllande Thomas, Temes St
- 5 Bowyer Myghell, Mark Lane
- 6 Burdbye Edwd<sup>e</sup> & his wife, St Gyles at Ludgate
- 7 Burrie Edde, More Lane
- 8 Cottingham Wylliam, Distaff Lane
- 9 Edwardes Jone, Aldermanbury
- 10 Evanes Jone, Holborn

## Lists of the Early Separatists

- 11 Goldlinge Markes, Smithfield
- 12 Goldinge Symonde, do
- 13 Grenne Wyllm & his wife, Holborn
- 14 Hancoke Thomas, Aldersgate St
- 15 Harysone Thomas (*place illegible*)
- \*16 Irelande James, Checker allye in Southwark
- 17 Johnstone John, Bishopsgate St
- 18 Kyng John, Islington
- 19 Knowles John, St Benet
- 20 Leonarde John & his wife, Holborn
- 21 Ludburte Thomas, Little Wood St
- \*22 Marcrofte Richd & his wife, Aldersgate St
- 23 Nycholls Roger, St Martins in the field
- \*24 Nyxson Wylliam, Queenhithe
- 25 Partridge Randall, Old Fish St
- 26 Poorke Christofer, do
- 27 Rodggers Samuel, Smithfield
- 28 Rypplye Lawrance, Aldgate
- 29 Sclyforde Rowland, London Stone
- \*30 Smythe John, Distaff Lane
- 31 Speker Garrete, St Clementes Parish
- 32 Strynger Jone, St Andrewes Undershafte
- 33 Todde Robart, Dysstafe Lane
- 34 Tomlyne Wylliam, Charterhowse Lane
- 35 Waterhowse Androwe, Dowgate
- 36 Wayddye George, Flyt Streete
- \*37 Whighte William, Jones St
- 38 Wyllds Bryane, Charterhowse Lane
- 39 Yonge Wylliam, Temes St

## WOMEN

- 1 Appletaste Alis, Sowthewarke
- 2 Bamford Eliz<sup>e</sup>, Bowe Lane
- 3 Bawdwyne Katheren, Aldersgate Strete
- 4 Browne Margerye, Burder Lane
- 5 Buggburte Ellene, Hart St
- 6 Carye Anys, St Gyles at Ludgate
- 7 Escoote Elyne, St Bennetes Parishe
- 8 Fawkener Eliz, St. Androwes-under-snafte
- 9 Gylte Eliz<sup>e</sup>, Lyttell Wod Stret
- 10 Hassellwode Katheren, Berebynder Lane
- 11 Hassellwode Alis, Paternoster Rooce
- 12 Hawkes Annys, St Antonyes
- 13 Holtore Cycellye, Aldersgate Strete
- 14 Jones Margarete, St Myghells in Cornwell
- 15 Langtone Eliz<sup>e</sup>, Swethen Lane

- 16 Langtone Eliz<sup>e</sup>, Algate
- 17 Lacye Annys, Aldersgate Strete
- 18 Lyttellcoate Annys, Hoggesdone
- 19 Phyllipes Anne, St Thomas Apostels
- 20 Phennyx Eliz, St Marye Overies
- 21 Ropper Annys, St Andrewes-under-Shafte
- 22 Rowles Annys, Holborne
- 23 Sawyer Margarete, Temes Strete
- 24 Sclake Eliz<sup>e</sup>, St Gyles at Ludgate
- 25 Smythe Annys, Dysstafe Lane
- 26 Stockes Margarete, Aldersgate Strett
- 27 Staltone Annys, Cornwell
- 28 Turner Eliz<sup>e</sup>, More Lane
- 29 Vanes Alis, In the Tower
- 30 Vennye Margerye, Bred Strette
- 31 Vennye Mawdelyne, do
- 32 Whighte Katheren, Ludberye
- 33 Wrighte Annys, Barmesaye Streete

[See S. P. Dom: Eliz: xvi., 46.]

Among these 72 names—or 77 counting the wives—are found six of the men examined on June 20, 1567 (marked \*)—all, in fact, except Robert Hawkins and John Roper. And, of course, if the leaders had been let go, it is reasonable to infer the release of the rest.

A noticeable name, occurring for the first time, is that of John Boulton, afterwards pilloried along with Robert Browne as an apostate.\*

\* See Ainsworth's *Counterpoysen*, p. 39.

3. Seven of the women appear to have been retained, and thirteen or fourteen of the men. Subsequent arrests increased the latter to twenty-four; and then, "after a year's imprisonment" all were discharged at the instance of Bishop Grindall\*, and by a warrant from him to the Governor of Bridewell dated April 22, 1569.

\* Grindall's *Remains*, p. 317.

List III.

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>*1 Anderton James</li> <li>*2 Benson John</li> <li>*3 Bolton John</li> <li>*4 Bowland Thomas</li> <li>5 Colman Christopher</li> <li>6 Hawkins Robert</li> <li>7 Hawksworth Roger</li> <li>8 Hynckesman Walter</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>*9 Ireland James</li> <li>10 King [<i>Richard</i>]</li> <li>*11 Lacye Alexander</li> <li>12 Langton Richard</li> <li>*13 Leonard John</li> <li>14 Lydford Thomas</li> <li>15 Nayshe John</li> <li>*16 Nykson William</li> </ul> |
|---|--|

17 Roper [John]	21 Turner William
*18 Smythe John	*22 Waddy George
19 Sparrow Robert	*23 Wight William
*20 Todd Robert	24 Yates Robert

Besides 7 (un-named) women.

[*Lansdowne MSS.*, xii., p. 68.]

Here we meet again with seven of the eight examined by Grindall, only that Robert Hawkins takes the place of Richard Morecraft. John Bolton, too, has not yet come to the end of his endurance.

4. At this time the company, of whom these 31 may have formed the majority, looked for spiritual guidance and oversight to two preachers, William Bonham and Nicholas Crane, who had also been some time in prison, and "afore their enlargements" were licensed by Grindall to "keep a Lecture" on the strict understanding that they eschewed all private conventicles. The bishop's evident intention was that they should be free to preach only in certain authorised churches, and that there only should they perform baptism or marriage—though apparently he did not forbid them doing so "according to the word and order of the Geneva Book." But both preachers and people construed the case otherwise. They seemed to think that the bishop had given them leave to meet, preach, baptize, or marry in private houses. Thereupon he recommitted Bonham to prison and banished Crane from his diocese. And when the people submitted a formal complaint to the Privy Council, Grindall was so incensed that he advised that "all the heads of this unhappy faction should be with all expedition severely punished to the example of others, as people fanatical and incurable."\*

\* See *Remains* pp. 316-319, January 4, 1569/70. In view of the promise made by Bonham and Crane (see p. 318) it is not easy to excuse their action.

5. In the mournful days which followed some at least of the congregation became organised into a church with Richard Fitz as minister, John Bolton as elder, and Thomas Bowland as deacon. Minister and deacon died in prison; the elder chose rather to lose his life by seeking to save it. Others shared the same fate as Bowland and Fitz: one Giles Fowler is mentioned, and Randall Partridge. (see List ii, 25.) Bowland must have passed the last 3 years of his life mostly in prison (see Lists i, ii, & iii); evidently a man of unflinching spirit! Of Fitz the one visible remnant is half a page of black-letter declaring the *\*Trewē markes of Christes Churchē*. What of the rest? Not a few may have been among the "great multitude" confined in the Gatehouse, Bridewell, the

[\* S.P.D. Eliz: addenda, XX 107 i.]

Counters, the King's Bench, the Marshalsea and the White Lion ; others shew up bravely among the 27 names subscribed to a "supplication" of the Privy Church which came out—addressed to the Queen—in 1571, and beginning: "O Englande, if thou returne, returne unto me saythe the Lord."

## List IV.

Men	Women
1 Awbyn James	1 Abraham Joane
2 Burre Edey	2 Balfurth Eliz :
3 Davy Jhon or John	3 Cole Sara
4 Fox Abraham	4 Evance Annes
5 Haies George	5 Fox Constance, Whitechappell
6 Kinge John	6 Hall Annes [Streate
7 Leonarde Jhon or John	7 Havericke Joane
8 Sparowe Harry	8 Hill Elizabeth
9 Tilmans Martin	9 Ireland Joane
10 Thomas John or Jhon	10 Leanordes Eliz <sup>e</sup>
11 Weston Jasper	11 Mayer Mary
	12 Race Mary
	13 Rumney Eliz :
	14 Slacke Eliz :
	15 Stokes Helene
	16 Wever Mary

[S.P.D. Eliz : addenda, XX 107. On sheet 107, ii, is a "Declaration" by some member of the same church (I take it)—black-letter 2 page.]

Comparing this with List ii we find five names in common, Edde Burrie, John Kinge, John and Elizabeth Leonarde and Elizabeth Slacke. Comparing it with iii, only one name common to both is found, John Leonarde : but we cannot doubt that there was a family relationship between John Kinge (Lists ii & iv) and Richard King (List iii) ; Joane Ireland (List iv) and James Ireland (List iii) ; Helene Stokes (List iv) and Margarett Stockes (List ii) ; Robert Sparrow (List iii) and Harry Sparowe (List iv). The Sparrows and Kings respectively may have been brothers ; perhaps Margaret was a sister of Helene Stokes ; and one thinks of Joane as the courageous wife of James Ireland, now dead or pining to death in prison.

All the signatures, it should be noted, are autographs set down across the sheet in more or less sprawling fashion—mostly illiterate in character (as one might expect)—and in some cases written with the prefix "by me." No address is given except that of Constance Fox, in "Whitechappell Streate," and no precise date. But mention of "the 13th year of" the Queen's reign assigns it to 1571.



Of one man, William White, the chief spokesman before Grindall, (see Lists i, ii, iii) we have information from another quarter. On January 18, 1573, he was examined before the Lord Chief Justice, and was brutally handled. He had then been in prison "two years." He begged justice—at least "a copy of" his "presentment."

L. C. J. "You shall have your head from your shoulders; have him to the Gatehouse."

White. "I pray you to commit me to some prison in London, that I may be near my house."

L. C. J. "No, Sir, you shall go thither."

White. "I have paid fines and fees in other prisons; send me not where I shall pay them over again."

L. C. J. "Yes, marry, shall you; this is your glory."

White. "I desire no such glory."

L. C. J. "It will cost you twenty pounds, I warrant you, before you come out."

White. "God's will be done." \*

\* See Neal i, 290-3, note. He is described as a "substantial citizen of London." See, also, his letter to Grindall (Dec. 19, 1568) quoted by Waddington, *Historical Papers* 1st. Series, p. 9.

6. We make a leap of 15 years and come to this—a list of 21 Brownists examined on the 8th day of October (Sunday), 1587, in the Bishop of London's Palace, Fulham, and "called for being at private conventicles this day in Henry Martin's house, in St. Andrewes-in-the-Wardrobe."

#### List V.

\* I "Crane, minister, made by Bishop Grindall when he was Bishop of London; and before that he was a student in law in the Inns of Chancery. He saith that all the book (meaning the Common Prayer book) is not Gospel."

2 Henry Martin of the same sect.

\* 3 George Smalls do

\* 4 Edward Boyes do

5 Anne Jackson do

\* 6 George Collier do

7 Catherine Onion

8 Robert Lacy—of Gray's Inn, gentleman, of St. Andrews in Holborn—of the same sect—he refuseth to take the oath

9 Thomas Freeman—of the parish of St. Botolph without Aldersgate—of the same sect—Brownist

\* 10 Edith Burroughs—of Stepney

\* 11 Mr John Greenwood, preacher, deprived of his living in Norfolk about 2 years past, taken at the said Private conventicle in Martin's house, he is committed to the Clinke

- \*12 Margaret Maynard of Bread St—she saith there is no Church in England, she hath not been at Church these ten years, committed to Bridewell
- \*13 Alice Roe—widow—of St. Andrews-in-the-Wardrobe
- 14 Agnes Wyman of Stepney
- \*15 Robert Griffith of the same sect
- \*16 John Chandler of Stepney, of the same sect
- 17 Edmund Tomson of Stepney, of the same sect
- \*18 Henry Tomson of Stepney, of the same sect
- 19 Robert Redbourne } servants to Mr Boyes of the parish of
- 20 Thomas Russell } St. Brides, in Fleet St.
- 21 Peter Allen, servant to Mr Allen a Salter, of the parish of St. Botolph's nr Billingsgate "

[S.P.D. Eliz : ceiv 10.]

All these are new names except that of (Nicholas) Crane. After his expulsion from the diocese of London he presently reappears with Bonham as one of the ministers who erected a presbytery at Wandsworth (in Nov. 1572)\*—a sure sign that neither he nor Bonham had at that time reached the Congregationalist position.

\* Neal i, 266

Robert Lacy (related to the Alexander Lacy of list iii?) is interesting as the friend whom Barrow offered for "bail" at his first examination. With nine others he was, it would seem, set at liberty. The remaining eleven (marked with an \*) were kept close prisoners, and are found in our next list which internal evidence places 19 months later—in May or June, 1589. It is entitled "The names of sundry faithful Christians imprisoned by the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London for the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ." There are 26 names, and those additional to the eleven already given are as follows:—

List VI.

- 1 Badkin Robert, "bailed by Master Young."  
(Newgate).
- 2 Barrow Henry, arrested six weeks after Greenwood, committed  
(In the Fleet). for 24 weeks to the Gatehouse, and then to the Fleet along with Greenwood.
- 3 Bromell William, prisoner 12 months.  
(Bridewell).
- 4 Bryghte George, "committed from Newgate sessions by the  
(Counter, Wood St.). Recorder of London for commending a faithful Christian which was there indicted"—died in Wood St. Counter.
- 5 Chandler Alice, wife of John, bailed by Master Young.  
(Newgate).

- 6 Clarke (*John?*)\* "committed by the constable for saying they did evil to enforce Master Legate without a warrant."  
(Counter, Wood St.)
- \* See List X, (21).
- 7 Denford William, "close prisoner."  
(Newgate).
- 8 Frances John, prisoner 10 months, having a wife and children.  
(Newgate).
- 9 Jackson Roger (or Robert), "taken out of his bed from his wife in the night."  
(Counter, Poultry).
- 10 Jackson Roger (or Richard), died in Newgate.  
(Newgate).
- 11 Legate Thomas, dragged to prison "out of his bed in the night time."  
(Counter, Wood St.).
- 12 Purdye John, "cast into 'Little Ease,' the 'Mill,' and beaten with cudgels in 'Bridewell,' for refusing to hear the Priest of that house."  
(Bridewell).
- 13 Roper Christopher { List ii, Annys Roper  
(Counter, Poultry). } and *cf.* List iii, *John Roper*
- 14 Smythe Quyntin, "taken from his labour, cast into the dungeon with irons, his bible taken from him."  
(Newgate).
- 15 Studley Jerome, prisoner 15 months "having a wife and six children, and nothing but his labours in his calling to sustain them."  
(Counter, Poultry).

[Harl: MS., 6948, fol. 2<sup>a</sup>, 2]. Reprinted by Arber in *Introductory Sketch to the Marprelate Controversy*, pp. 38-40.]

Of the previous eleven John Chandler "having a wife and eight children" has died in prison (the Poultry-Counter); Robert Griffin (or Griffith) has been "bailed being very sick"; Alice Row and Margaret Maynard (aged widows) have died of the "infection" of Newgate; so has old Nicholas Crane, "a man of 66 years having a wife and children." The rest have now lain in prison 19 months since the Lord's day when they were committed by Aylmer "for hearing a portion of Scripture in a friend's house read by" Mr. Greenwood. Of the more recent prisoners, Jackson (10) has also died.

Deducting the "deceased" (six) and the "bailed" (three), there were then 17 actual prisoners at this date—May or June, 1589. Lists VII & VIII.

But by February 25, 1590, the number has risen to 52—appears from the list which Aylmer, Bishop of London, sent, with a "Brief of the Positions holden by the new sect of Recusants," to the London preachers whom he required to visit the prisoners for conference.

About the end of March of the same year the sufferers sent a petition to the Lord Treasurer (Burghley), and added a list of the

prisoners, living and dead, which was evidently meant to be exhaustive. This has 59 names of prisoners still alive, while the "deceased" now number ten—four having died within the last 9 or 10 months, viz :

- Thomas Stephens (otherwise unmentioned).
- Henry Tomson (see Lists v, vi).
- Jerome Studley (see List vi)
- John Purdye (see List vi, whom Barrow described as "a grave, sober, and very godly and honest" man).

[a] The fifty-nine include six of those taken in 1587, viz :

- 1 John Greenwood
  - 2 Widow (Edith) Burroughs
  - 3 George Smalls (or Snells)
  - 4 George Collier
  - 5 Thomas Freeman
  - 6 Edmond Tomson
- } "close prisoners" all the time.
- } whose absence from the list of 1589 suggests that they were released, and have been re-taken.

[b] The list includes all the seventeen prisoners (counting the deceased) of May or June, 1589—except Edward Boyes, who, as a well-to-do tradesman, may have been able to offer sureties sufficiently large to obtain his discharge.

[c] Then, in common with the bishop's list (of February), it has the following fresh names :—

<u>In Bishop's List, February, 1590.</u>	1	<u>In Petitioner's List, March, 1590.</u>
The Counter, Wood St.	Andrews Robert	Bridewell
	2 Barnes John	The Gatehouse
Blakborowe	3 Blacborrow William	The Clink
	4 Bowman Christopher	The Counter, Wood St.
	5 Browne Christopher	The Clink
Buser—in Counter, Wood St.	6 Bucer John	Bridewell
In Newgate	7 Burt William	do.
	8 Canadyne Thomas	The Gatehouse
Anthoone Clakston—in Newgate	9 Claxton Antony	Bridewell
Cranford	10 Crawford John	The Gatehouse
John Debenham	11 Debnam Father	do.
Dodson	12 Dodshoe William	do.
Endford	13 Eyneworth Thomas	The Counter, Poultry
In Counter, Wood St.	14 Fisher John	Bridewell
In Newgate	15 Forester William	do.
In Newgate	16 Forrester James	do.
Fouller—in Counter, Wood St.	17 Fowler William	do.
	18 Hayward Richard	The Counter, Poultry
In Counter, Wood St.	19 Hutton William	Bridewell

## Lists of the Early Separatists

Kniffen	20 Knisstone George	The Counter, Poultry
	21 Lancaster John	do.
Lemar	22 Le Mare Thomas	The Clink
	23 Lane Walter	The Fleet
In Counter, Wood St.	24 Lee Nicholas	Bridewell
do.	25 Maltuse Richard	do.
Michall	26 Mitchel Thomas	The Clink
	27 Nicolas John	The Gatehouse
	28 Nicolson Edmund	The Clink
In Counter, Wood St.	29 Rippon Roger	Bridewell
In Counter, Wood St.	30 Skarlet Richard	do.
Skipworth	31 Skipwith Rowlat	The Counter, Poultry
	32 Smith Andrew	The Clink
Sparowe	33 Sparrow John	do.
	34 Studley Daniel	The Fleet
	35 Waterer Roger	Newgate

[For List VII, see *Lansdowne MS.* 109, 1—also *A Collection of Certain Scandalous Articles...*, 1590. For List VIII, see *Lansdowne MS.* 75, fol. 42. (cp. *Strype Annals*, vol. iv, pp. 127-8). The date is fixed by the statement that “many of us” have been “shut up close prisoners” “the space of two years & a half,” *i.e.*, since Oct. 8, 1587. Barrow, &c., were very precise in noting time. They usually counted by lunar months.]

[*d*] Eight are peculiar to the list of March, viz ;

1 Anger —	5 Johnes Anthony
2 Cook —	6 Marsh Edmund
3 Gualter John	7 Reason Thomas
4 Hayes Luke	8 Umberfield Richard

We may presume that these were “captures” effected since February. On the other hand, three names (those of Thomas Settell, the minister, Richard Wheeler and William Clarke) contained in the February list are missing, an indication, perhaps, that their release on “bail” had taken place. It is noteworthy also, as a sign of more lenient treatment, that, while in February none of the prisoners was in Bridewell, eighteen had been transferred there in March.

We step across an interval of some eighteen months, and light on a list, not of prisoners, but of the men who were present in the house of one Fox in St. Nicholas Lane in Sept. 1592—when the little London church may be said to have fully organised itself for the first time, with Francis Johnson as pastor, John Greenwood as teacher, Daniel Studley and George Kniveton as ruling elders, Christopher Bowman and Nicholas Lee as deacons.

Looking through the eyes of Daniel Buck, himself a Separatist at the time, we see :—

List IX.

- |                                     |                                    |          |
|-------------------------------------|------------------------------------|----------|
| 1 Johnson Francis                   | }                                  | Officers |
| *2 Greenwood John                   |                                    |          |
| *3 Studley Daniel                   |                                    |          |
| *4 Kniveton George                  |                                    |          |
| *5 Lee Nicholas                     |                                    |          |
| *6 Bowman Christopher               |                                    |          |
| 7 Abraham (or Aburne) Robert        | (see List iv, Abraham Joane)       |          |
| *8 Barnes John                      | 22 Marten George                   |          |
| 9 Beck John                         | 23 Mason William                   |          |
| 10 Brey Robert                      | *24 Michel Thomas                  |          |
| 11 Byllot Arthur                    | *25 Nicholas John                  |          |
| 12 Bristoe Da(vid)                  | 26 Pulbery Abraham                 |          |
| 13 Collins Will(iam)                | *27 Rippon Roger                   |          |
| 14 Diggins Chr(istopher)            | *28 Roper Ch(ristopher)            |          |
| 15 Digson Thomas                    | 29 Shepperd Will(iam)              |          |
| 16 Fairlambe (or Fairland)<br>Peter | 30 Settell Thomas                  |          |
| 17 Grave Edward                     | *31 Snell George                   |          |
| *18 Jackson Robert                  | 32 Sympkins Ch(ristopher)          |          |
| 19 Lee Thomas                       | *33 Tomson (or Thompson)<br>Edmond |          |
| 20 Manners George                   | 34 Wever William                   |          |
| 21 Marshall Will(iam)               | 35 Wythers Henry                   |          |

"(with some women) and others whose names he doth not remember."

[Harleian MS., 7042, f. 205. Examination of Daniel Buck, March 9, 1592/3.]

Remarkable is the number, no less than thirteen, (marked \*), whom we have met with in our last list, shewing that persecution had for the time been abating. Remarkable, too, as proof of persistent fidelity are (in addition to John Greenwood's) the names of those "old disciples" and sufferers George Snell and Edmond Tomson (see List v.) as also those of Robert Jackson and Christopher Roper (see List vi.)—the last a scion, let us hope, of the family that produced the Roper of 1567. One imagines, moreover, that among the women was faithful Edith Burroughes, surely the "ancient widow" who so well "honoured her place" a few years later as "deaconess" of the Amsterdam Church.

The re-appearance of Thomas Settell, also, should be noted; and the presence of that unstable brother, Peter Fairlambe, who afterwards wrote the "Recantation of a Brownist" (1605).

It is a familiar story how, on December 5 following, Francis Johnson and John Greenwood were taken "late in the night" at the house of Edward Boyes on Ludgate Hill; how next day Boyes and Johnson were committed to the Clink and Greenwood recommitted

to the Fleet; how a few days later Daniel Studley and Thomas Settell were taken in Nicholas Lane upon a Lord's day and others soon after—including Roger Rippon; how Rippon succumbed to the infection of Newgate in February; how his coffin was carried openly to the house of Justice Young, bearing upon it a railing accusation against him and the Archbishop; how the immediate result was a furious renewal of the hunt for "Brownists," winding up with an arrest of 56 in Islington woods on Sunday, March 4, 1593. From the examinations which ensued, spreading over the next six or seven weeks, our tenth list is compiled.

List X. Seventeen were among those who "constituted" the Church in September, and these may come first—with a summary of the particulars "deposed" by each.

- 1 Aburne (or Abraham) Robert—Examined April 3. Leather dresser, servant to one Mr. Rooke, Southwark—introduced to the brethren by one Win. Howton (see List VIII, Hutton, 19)—met them at Bridewell and heard one Stanhope openly preach there—was then received into the congregation and has often met with them since in houses, fields and woods—sometimes to the number of a hundred, sometimes 60 at least—gives corroborative details of the church meeting in September, adding that Robert Stokes and George Collier and one or two more were then excommunicated—says that doctor and pastor are maintained by voluntary contributions, each member giving what he can weekly, &c.  
Has not been to a parish church for eighteen months & sees no reason to recant.
- 2 Barnes John—Examined March 8. Tailor.
  - a Knew R. Rippon, was not privy to the carrying of the coffin nor to the libel thereon, nor to the writer.
  - b Knows Penry and saw him last Sunday—will say nothing about him.
  - c At his first entry to the society simply made a declaration to "follow them so far forth as the word of God did warrant him."
  - d Will not go to Church, &c.
- 3 Billot Arthur—Examined April 5. Aged 25.
  - a Hath been a scholar and a soldier—of Llanteglos by Fowley in Cornwall.
  - b Was taken with Penry, &c., at *Ratcliffe*\* a fortnight past.  
\* Folio 61a, adds—"in the wood by Islington."
  - c Hath been joined two years—persuaded by the book called *Certain Conferences*.
  - d Is the man that put Barrow's & Greenwood's books to the print at Dort.
- 4 Bristow (or Bristoe) David—Examined April 5. Tailor, St Martin le Grand, aged 30.
- 5 Bowman Christopher—Examined April 4 (and 5). Goldsmith, Smithfield, aged 32.
  - a Prisoner 5 weeks, suspected to have knowledge who made the libel about the coffin.
  - b A deacon of the church—chosen September last.
  - c Has not been at church these five years, has spent four of them in prison, being one of "them that delivered the supplication" to the Queen "the last Parliament before this."
  - d Drew his opinions from the Reformist preachers—e.g., Chadderton, Snape and King "whose course made him enter into further search."

- c* Been at the meetings as often as he could—states where.  
*f* Received from (and returned to) Robert Stokes about 2 years ago one of Barrow's books *The Discovery of the False Church*.  
*g* Married his last wife in Penry's house—Mr. Settell prayed.  
*h* Won't go to church and "may use his gifts to God's glory" in drawing others.
- 6 Buck Daniel—Examined March 9.
- a* Knows nothing about the coffin—was shewn "a copy of the libel" at his own shop in Southwark by a stranger (a Wiltshire man).  
*b* Was at the constable's house (Islington) last Sunday in the afternoon—above 40 present, including some not of the society—saw Penry *inter alios*—George Johnson was "reader."  
*c* Gives account already mentioned as to setting up of the church.
- 7 Diggins Christopher—Examined April 3 or 5. Weaver, St. Olave's, Southwark, aged 24.
- a* In prison 6 or 7 weeks for helping to carry the coffin.  
*b* Has been at assemblies of the congregation "every Sabbath day for two years," but will not say where.  
*c* Its numbers have increased but have aimed at nothing but the "service of God and true satisfaction of his Majesty."
- 8 Grave Edward—Examined April 5. Fishmonger, St Botolph's parish, age 25. Taken a week ago.
- 9 Johnson Francis—Examined April 5. Minister, but by the assemblies chosen to be pastor of the congregation, being about 31.
- a* First committed to the counter, being taken in an assembly in St. Nicholas Lane; and committed again, being taken in Mr. Boye's house in Fleet St., and hath been twice examined before, &c.
- 10 Kniveton George—Examined April 4. Apothecary, Newgate Market, aged 24.
- a* In prison a fortnight—taken with Penry and others in the house of one Lewes in Stepney.  
*b* Not been at Church for 2 years, hath held his present opinions for 5 years, is an "elder."  
*c* Had a conference with MR. BROWNE,\* who persuaded him not to receive the communion, and since with Barrow, Greenwood & Penry.  
 \* Was this Robert Browne?
- d* Has attended assemblies (at St. Nicholas Lane, Bilson's house Christ Church, in the woods at Islington and Deptford, at John Barnes's near St. Bartholomew) commonly on Sundays, sometimes on week-days.  
*e* Is content to have conference, but will not come to church till "resolved by learned men."
- 11 Marshall William—Examined April 5. Shipwright, Wapping, aged 32.
- 12 Mason William—Examined April 5. Shipwright, aged 21.
- a* Hath been of these assemblies since a little before Christmas last—was persuaded by Roger Rippon and Edward Chandler, has met with the assemblies 12 times, viz. : in Nicholas Lane, at Dan Buck's near Aldgate, at Nicholas Lee's house.  
*b* Has given 6d. a week which the deacons received.  
*c* Chandler had Barrow's works and read them.  
*d* He will go to church.
- 13 Nicholas John—Examined March 8. Glover, Smithfield.



## Lists of the Early Separatists

- a* Knows nothing of Penry or the libel, or the coffin—"only Rippon's wife did tell him on Friday night, as he thinks, that her husband was dead."
- b* Was taken at the wood on Sunday was a fortnight
- 14 Pulbery Abraham—Examined March 7. "Free of the Cowpers" (Coopers), London, aged about 25.
- a* Was in Cheapside when the dead corpse of Roger Rippon was carried by, heard the paper publicly read, had seen the same beforehand, and agreed with it, knew that the coffin was destined for Mr. Young's house.
- b* Was at the wood near Islington with others on Sunday last, had a sword about himself, Mr. (George) Johnson expounder that day, when he joined with them made a promise that "he would walk with them as they would walk with the Lord."
- 15 Settell Thomas—Examined April 5. Minister, late of Cowe Lane, aged about 38.
- a* Prisoner 15 weeks for being at assembly in Nicholas Lane.
- b* Renounces the ministry received from the bishops, has been 7 years against the Church of England discipline, has not been to a parish church these 3 years, has held his present opinions 1½ years.
- c* As to Barrow, Greenwood and Penry's books he will not be his own accuser, will draw as many his way as he can, and refuseth to go to church.
- d* Witnessed the excommunication of Robert Stokes by Mr. F. Johnson, the other officers and the congregation consenting.
- e* Has never served in any office but hath spoken in prophesy.
- 16 Sim(p)kin Christopher—Examined April 5. Coppersmith, Aldersgate Street, aged 22.
- 17 Wevar William—Examined April 5. Shoemaker, Gray's Inn Lane, aged 40, servant to George Smith.
- a* Has attended the assemblies 18 months and was persuaded thereto by Robert Badkyn (see List VI).
- 18 Withers Henry—Examined April 5. Shipwright, Deptford, aged 37, taken in the wood a month past.

## Others, examined on April 5, were :—

- 19 Boyes Edward—Haberdasher, Fleet St., aged 33.
- a* Committed 16 weeks past.
- b* Has been three years of this society (see List v.),\* and was moved thereto by Mr. Egerton, Mr. (Cowper) Cooper and Mr. Wiggington their sermons.
- \*So that his connection with the society in Oct. 1587, was merely nominal.
- 20 Broadwater Henry—Scrivener, aged 26, taken six weeks past.
- 21 Clerke John—Husbandman, Welsoken in Norfolk, aged about 50.
- a* Committed three years since (see List vi.) being taken in an assembly of Brownists, converted to his present opinions by the preaching of one Colshill—but has none of Barrow, Greenwood and Penry's writings nor has he persuaded any.
- b* Indicted as a recusant about 1½ years since
- c* Will not come to church.

- 22 Collier George—Haberdasher, St. Martin's parish Ludgate, aged 38.  
*a* Committed 5 years ago with Greenwood, Crane and others (see List v.), and never examined all this time.

*b* Being required to go to church and have his liberty, he says he will not.\*

\* This casts grave doubt on Robert Aburne's statement that Collier was excommunicated. Note that another eye-witness, Settell, says nothing of it.

- 23 Curland William—Shipwright.  
*a* For a fortnight attended assemblies 5 or 6 times.  
*b* "Will be persuaded if he may be bailed."
- 24 Darvall William—Carpenter, Shoreditch, aged 25.
- 25 Denford William—Schoolmaster (see List vi.) aged 50, lodged at Mayre's\* house, Foster Lane, (*a*) committed a month past, (*b*) will not go to church till the parishes are reformed—(*c*) has not received communion for 5 years.

\* *i.e.*, Lemar or Lemare's (List viii, 22)?

- 26 Gibbart (or Gilbarte) Edward—Stonemaker, servant to Isaac Tripe, "of uncertain abode," aged 21.  
*a* Has been  $\frac{1}{4}$  year at the assemblies.
- 27 Giles William—Tailor, servant to Mr. Chenjatt of Walbrook, aged 22.  
*a* Won't answer how long he has attended the assemblies.  
*b* Won't repeat the Lord's prayer.
- 28 Hewet Thomas—Purse-maker, Martin le Grand, but born at Swanton in Leicestershire, aged 30, taken in the wood.
- 29 Hukes John—Shipwright, born in Chatham, aged about 21.  
*a* Taken in the wood a month past.  
*b* Promises to go to church.
- 30 Parkes John—Clothworker, aged 50.  
*a* Committed a month past.  
*b* Has been of the church three months.  
*c* Is willing to have conference.
- 31 Pedder Leonard—Shoemaker, Blackfriars, aged 30.  
*a* For two months of this sect.
- 32 Penry John—Minister, about 30, "being demanded where he was the 19th day of March he answereth that he was in London or thereabouts, and that there was one Edward Grave" (see No. 8 *supra*, and List ix, 17) "that lay with him at Hogsden and from thence at Ratcliffe."
- 33 Smith Quintin (see List vi)—Feltmaker, servant to his brother at Southwark, aged 30.  
*a* Has been "an attender" at the assemblies 2 years.
- 34 Smith William—Minister, Bradford, Wilts, aged 30.  
*a* Ordained by Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, licensed by Bishop of Sarum.  
*b* Imprisoned eight weeks since for carrying the coffin.  
*c* Has been at assembly in Nicholas Lee's house by Smithfield, went there to see and hear their order.  
*d* Came up to London to confer with Johnson, Greenwood, &c.  
*e* Refuseth to attend church, but is willing to have conference.

[N.B.—We have here the Smith who has often been mistaken for John Smyth.]

- 35 Waterer Roger (see List viii, 35)—Haberdasher, aged 32, taken in the wood, taken once before 34 years ago.
- 36 Unwin (or Onyon) Katherine (see List v)—Widow, late of Christchurch, now dwelling at Aldgate, aged about 35.

- a* Has been in the Gatehouse, Westminster, about a month for being with Penry's wife and others when she delivered the petition to the Lord Keeper.
- b* She seemeth conformable....., but wanteth (*i.e.*, lacketh) sureties to be found for her.

N.B.—Between her first appearance in October, 1587, and this, she comes up in connection with the article on "Certain Wicked Sects & Opinions;" (Harleian MS, 7042, fol. 13-14) 158<sup>o</sup>-9. She had omitted to have her child baptized and "ran away for fear of punishment." She is described as "one of their chief conventiclers."

Three more cases complete the list :—

- 37 William Clerke (see List viii*d*)—Examined 8 March. Worker of Caps, of the parish of St. Botolph's.
- a* Knew R. Rippon, but nothing else.
- b* Has been of the congregation 4 or 5 years, promised to stand with the said congregation so long as they should stand for the truth and the glory of God, about 20 were present when he joined.
- c* Will not pledge himself to go to church, but will put in good security to be of good behaviour.
- 38 Johnson George—late Schoolmaster in St. Nicholas Lane, born in Richmondshire, aged 29.
- Examined on March 7 (three days after arrest in a wood beyond Islington).
- a* Says he was not "privy or party" to the libel on R. Rippon's coffin.
- Examined on April 2.
- b* Says he was drawn to his present opinions by the word of God and Mr. Egerton's preaching.
- c* Refuseth to say if he has any of Barrow, Greenwood, or Penry's books or hath drawn any to the assemblies.
- d* Is sure that however great their number might be they "would but walk in the ordinance of God according to his word."
- 39 Sparrow John (see List viii, 33)—Fishmonger, citizen of London, aged 60 years.
- a* Been in prison in the White Lion, Southwark; and in the Clink these four years.
- b* Committed by Privy Council for delivering a petition to the Queen's Majesty.
- c* Never before been examined or indicted.

N.B.—We have met with a Robert Sparrow (see List iii) and a Henry (see List iv) : was this another of the same family?  
[Harleian MS., 7042 ff 35-38 (cp. 6848, 32-36) also ff 59-64.]

Glancing over the names as a whole we cannot but be struck with the facts (1) that the great majority were so young; (2) that they were mostly of the tradesman or artizan class; (3) that so few drew back or wavered; (4) that Katherine Unwin was the only woman.

List XI.

Lastly, in the margin of the preface to the first edition, 1596, of the Brownists' "True Confession of Faith. . . ." is a list of "twenty four souls" that "have perished in the prisons of London only," "through the barbarous cruelty" of the Bishops.

*a* These include nine of the ten named in the List of 1590, viz.:—

1	John Chandler	in the Counter, Poultry
2	George Dinghie ( <i>i.e.</i> Bryghte)	Wood St
3	Richard Jackson	in Newgate
4	Widow Maynard (called Mother Maner)	"
5	Widow Row (called Mother Roe)	"
6	Nicholas Crane	"
7	Thomas Stephens	"
8	Henry Tomson	in the Clink
9	John Purdye	in Bridewell

The omission (strange to say) is Jerome Studley.

*b* Eight others certainly died later than March or April 1593, when they underwent examinations, viz :

10	Robert Auburne (called Awsburne)	in Newgate
11	Scipio Billot <sup>1</sup> (gentleman)	"
12	Robert Bowle <sup>1</sup> (citizen of London)	"

<sup>1</sup> Convicted March 23, 1593, same day with Barrow, Greenwood & Daniel Studley.

13	John Barnes (being sick unto death, was carried forth and departed this life shortly after).	
14	William Denford	in the Gatehouse
15	Thomas Hewet	in the Counter, Wood St

*c* Assuming that the rest died between March of 1590 and February 1593, the date of R. Rippon's death, we see that Barrow's statement in the *Supplication* (March 1593), that up to then 17 or 18 had died, is exactly true.

16	Father (John) Debnham, in the White Lion, about 70 years of age. (List viii, 11).	
17	Drewet Thomas (?Legate) (List vi, 11).	in Newgate
18	Farrer Margaret, being sick unto death was carried forth from Newgate and ended her life within a day or two after.	
19	Howton (or Hutton) William. (List viii, 19).	in Newgate
20	Gualter John. (List viii, <i>d</i> ).	"
21	Lane Walter. (List viii, 23).	in the Fleet
22	Myller Judith	in Newgate
23	Rippon Roger	"
24	Tailour Anna	"

*d* Happily it is clear from this that in 1596 there had been no deaths due to imprisonment within the previous three years.

A list of some length and of considerable importance in relation to the Amsterdam church might be gathered from the names mentioned by George Johnson in his *Discourse of some Troubles, &c.*\* (1603).

\* A copy of this rare book is in Sion College Library, and another in Trinity College, Cambridge.

I have not yet been able to examine this carefully, but a rapid perusal has shewn that—besides the Johnsons, Studley, Bowman and Knifton—men of note, more or less, in the church were Thomas Michel and Robert Jackson, A. Pulbery, George Marten, George Collier, Wm. Shepheard and John Nicholas. The two last (with two others) are those, says George Johnson, who “go hither and thither, to and from England, with talks and reports.”

FRED. J. POWICKE.

Devonshire and the Indulgence  
of 1672

II

COLLINS ROBERT, M.A., OTTERY ST. MARY.

He was ejected from the living of Tallaton, Devon ; and his name appears, under date May 1656, as a member of the Exeter Assembly, as minister of Tallerton. He was a man of wealth, and, therefore, much attracted the informers, and was so persecuted that he fled to Holland.

CROMPTON WILLIAM, M.A., EXETER.

Mr. Crompton was the son of a minister at Barnstaple, Devon ; and was ejected from the living of Collumpton. His name also appears, May 1656, as a member of the Exeter Assembly of ministers, in the seventh division. He continued there for some years, it is said without the encouragement he deserved ; and it may be that this caused him to go to Exeter, and while there to take out a licence. He died in 1696.

The titles of his works indicate the subjects in which he felt peculiarly interested, as well as the general tastes of the congregations of that period. He published "A Remedy against Superstition," "A Brief Survey of the Old Religion," "Foundation of God for Salvation of the Elect," "Sovereign Omnipotency," "The Saints' Security," "A Treatise on Prayer ; on James v, 16," "A Wilderness of Trouble leading to a Canaan of Comfort."

## DOWN MARK, M.A., EXETER,

ejected from St. Petrock's, Exeter, and his brother from St. Edmund's, Exeter. One of his brother's daughters married Mr. Whiddon, the ejected minister, of Totnes; and another John Flavel, the Puritan divine, of Dartmouth.

## EBDINE EDWARD, "DAME DRAKE'S," TOPSHAM.

Through the labours of Ames Short, who came to Topsham in 1645, and in 1650 removed to Lyme Regis, Puritanism got a hold in Topsham, 1662. The incumbent of Topsham conformed; but a congregation of dissenters was formed under Mr. B. Berry, ejected from Mary Tavy.

## FACEY LEWIS, WERRINGTON,

ejected from Upton Hellions, near Crediton. Took out licence at Werrington, near Launceston, but in Devon.

## FACEY WILLIAM, "MARTIN DUNSFORD'S," TIVERTON.

Who William Facey was does not appear. He took out licence for the house of Martin Dunsford, Tiverton. The Dunsfords were a Nonconformist family, and towards the end of the 18th century a Martin Dunsford, possibly a descendant of the above, wrote a history of Tiverton, and other works.

FARRARD RICHARD, "OWN HOUSE," MUSBERRY,  
ejected from the rectory of Musberry.

## FLAVEL JOHN, B.A., DARTMOUTH.

This was one of the most celebrated Puritan divines in the west of England. His father was a minister, and the son was at University College, Oxford.

He was first curate to Mr. Walplate, the rector of Diptford, South Devon; and on Mr. Walplate's death became rector. In 1656 he removed to Dartmouth, as lecturer or joint minister with Mr. Allen Geare, who is said to have been a sickly man. Mr. Geare succeeded Antony Harford as vicar of Townstall, Dartmouth, which included the chapelry of St. Saviour's in the town.

On the death of Mr. Harford the living, which was the property of the Corporation, fell to their gift; and troubles appear to have arisen. Calamy states that John Howe and Robert Jagoe were candidates, and that the votes were equal; and he then goes on to record the well-known story of Howe preaching before Cromwell, his relative and chief supporter in Dartmouth, Mr T. Boon, having gone to Cromwell, and explained the difficulty they were in at Dartmouth: that it was in consequence of Howe's preaching with such ability at such short notice, that he was made Cromwell's chaplain, hence the reason of his not going to Dartmouth; that he was also unwilling for his competitor to go there, and so the new choice fell on Mr. Geare.

Later writers on Nonconformity have ridiculed the story of Howe's preaching before Cromwell and its results; but whilst it is clear that there is a mistake somewhere, it is also clear that there is some foundation for the statement that the Dartmouth people wished that John Howe should settle among them; for there is still preserved



among the muniments of the Corporation of Dartmouth the following document.

The document is endorsed :—

An agreement made by General  
Desborough concerning Mr Geare  
and Mr Flavel.

7th August, 1656.

For the composing of the differences in the Corporation of Dartmouth and their Trustees It is this day before the Right Honorable Generall Desborough agreed as followeth :—That the presentation made by Edward Spurway and Mr John Plumleigh (Feoffees or Trustees of y<sup>e</sup> Rectory impropriate of Townstall in trust for the Corporation of Dartmouth) of Mr Allen Geare to the Vicaradge of Townstall and Chaple of St. Saviors by consent shall stand. And that all *caveats* entered against it shall be forthwith withdrawn and all writes of *Quare impedit* or other writes or proceedings against the Institution and induction of the said Mr. Geare shall be discontinued and withdrawn to the end Mr Geare may have free Institution and induction upon the same presentation.

That Mr John How or some able pious Minister shall be appointed (?) as Lecturer at Townstall and Dartmouth to be chosen by Mr Thomas Boone Esqr Mr Stephen Knowling Mr Obidiah Widger Mr Edward Elliott Mr Robert Barber Mr Anthony Plumleigh Mr Richard Aylwin Esqr Mr John Whiteway Esqr.

That y<sup>e</sup> profits of the Vicaridge and the augmentations now or hereafter to be settled

on both or either Churches shall be equally divided between them.

That the weekly lecture in the Chaple shall be performed by both Ministers in turne and the revenue for maintenance thereof by subscriptions be equally divided between them.

That the profitts of y<sup>e</sup> said Rectory (wch the Corporation of Dartmouth doe freely give for y<sup>e</sup> said Ministers better encouragment) or other publicke maintenance shall be equally divided between them. But the rents issuing out of the same and all rates and taxes first fruits and tenths are to be first deducted nor is any tyeth to be demanded.

That it is intended by all parties and the true meaning hereof is that Mr Geare shall officiate at the usual hours on the Lords day in the Chapel and Mr How at Townstall unless it shall be otherwise agreed between themselves.

And it is further intended and agreed that both the said Ministers shall signify their consents by subscribing their hands hereunto.

Signed, Thos Boone	Will Barnes
Steph Knowlinge	Edw Wheeler
Robert Bake	Joseph Cubitt
Rich Alywin	Edw Spurwaie
	John Plumleigh
John Flavel	Allen Geare

From this document it appears that the feoffees or trustees of the rectory of Townstall in trust for the Corporation (the owners of the living) had presented Mr. Geare, but difficulties had arisen and *caveats* been entered; that it was ultimately agreed he should be instituted and inducted to

the living, and an assistant should be appointed called a lecturer, and Mr. Howe or some able pious Minister should have this appointment, the stipend being divided ; and the agreement being signed by John Flavel shows that he was put in instead of Howe.

Major-General Desborough, referred to in the agreement, was one of Cromwell's Major-Generals, who looked after the Church as well as the State. He had oversight of the Western District, comprising Devon and Cornwall, and in 1654 was returned to Parliament for Totnes ; but in October of that year elected to sit for County Cambridge. He was elected for both places, and decided to sit for Cambridge.

In 1655 some Quakers were committed to prison by the Mayor of Plymouth ; they appealed to Major-General Desborough, who appears to have presided at the sessions at Exeter, July 10th, 1655, when they were fined £5, and to be imprisoned till paid, and find sureties for good behaviour, for refusing to take the oath, using provoking words, and refusing to be "tryed by the Countrey."<sup>1</sup>

July 8, 1659, he was appointed Keeper of the Rolls of the County of Devon.

Geare and Flavel laboured harmoniously until the Act of Uniformity ejected them in 1662, and must have done good work in Dartmouth ; though they, like many of the divines of those times, did not agree with the Quakers, in whose records is the entry :—

"At a Meeting at the High Gaol Exeter in 11th month 1682 directing inquiries into the dates and other particulars of sufferings of Friends in previous years Sarah Tripe and Eliza her sister being accused by Robert Lanes of Dartmo. to be witches

<sup>1</sup> Hamilton's Quarter Sessions, 1878.

through y<sup>e</sup> instigation of Allen Geare and Jno Flavell 2 priests of Dartmo y<sup>e</sup> 18th of 8th mo 1659 Mem: To peruse the record abt London to see whether theare recorded.”<sup>2</sup>

After his ejection in 1687, Flavel, writing to Clement Lake, of Crediton, who had become a Quaker, says “No Quaker that understands and professeth the Principles of Quakerism, can be a Christian.”<sup>3</sup>

Geare died a few months after his ejection ; the entry of his burial in St. Saviour’s registers is “1662 Mr Allen Geare Vicar of Dartmouth and Townstall 17 Dec.”

The Corporation of Dartmouth appear to have had trouble in supplying the pulpit after the ejection, as will be seen from the following entries in the Corporation accounts ; and had to scour the neighbourhood for preachers.

“Pd Mr Jno Crocker of Stoekfleming (Stoke Fleming) to preach in Dartmouth 24th of August 1662 is	12/6
To Mr _____ of Littlehemsom. (Little- hempston near Totnes) for preaching 30 August nothing (a barrel of Anchovies and a barrell of Olives)	8 -
Pd Mr Ellis of Allington for preaching the 7 Sept	14 -
Pd Mr Lewis Sharpe 14 Sept	13 -
Pd Mr Clifford Newton Ferrers 28 Sept nothing (sent a barrell of Anchovies and a barrell of Olives)	9 -
Pd Mr. Emberry of Torr for preaching Oct 5th	13 -
Pd Mr Nicholas Downing for preaching Oct 12th	16 -
Pd Mr John Perring for going to several places to procure preachers to come here	6/6

<sup>2</sup> *Early Records of the Society of Friends in Devon*, by Robert Dymond, F.S.A., 1673.

<sup>3</sup> From contemporary pamphlet entitled *Something by way of testimony concerning Clement Lake of Crediton Devon with something he wrote in his life time by way of answer unto John Flavell, Independent preacher of Dartmouth, 1692.*

On the ejection Flavel remained in Dartmouth, and laboured among his people; and when the Oxford Act passed, removed to the neighbouring parish of Slapton. The dedication of "A Saint indeed," is "From my Study at Ley in Slapton, Oct 7 1667." He went to Dartmouth when he could, and to many places in the neighbourhood. There is a tradition in the family of the writer that Flavel came to Totnes, disguised as a lady riding on horseback, to baptize the child of a Nonconformist. In Kingsbridge estuary there is a rock known as the Salt-Stone, about 100 feet long by 50 feet wide, and equidistant from 3 adjoining parishes—a sort of no man's land—where Flavel met the Nonconformists who resorted there at low water: the justices, it was understood, could not legally interfere with them there.

He afterwards seems to have stayed at Hadscott Hall, belonging to the well known Devonshire family of the Rolles, situated near South Molton, and it is presumed it was in this rural retreat he gathered materials for his "Husbandry Spiritualized."

He returned to Dartmouth, took out a licence under the indulgence of 1672, and suffered considerable persecution. The records of the Corporation contain lists of persons fined for non-attendance at church; and the lists shew that there were a considerable number, and that many were leading people. The muniments of the County of Devon shew that at Michaelmas sessions 1670 the mayor of Dartmouth brought in 11s. 8d. fines he had levied.

When the indulgence was withdrawn the persecution became so great that Flavel went to London. He afterwards returned to Dartmouth, and in 1687 a chapel was erected by his people, where he conducted services.

Flavel's last sermon was preached only five days before his death, at Ashburton, Devon, in the old meeting house known as Great Meeting, which forms part of the present congregational chapel. The sermon was from 1 Cor. x. 12. He was on his way to attend the meeting of the assembly of ministers at Topsham, of which he was the Moderator, held with a view to a union between the Presbyterians and Independents. He died suddenly in the arms of Rev William Evans of Collumpton, on 26 June 1691, in the 64th year of his age.

He was buried in St. Saviour's church, Dartmouth, where a brass with a Latin inscription to his memory was put up, but was subsequently removed by order of the magistrates. It was then put up in the meeting house, and is now in the Flavel Memorial church, Dartmouth.

When thrown out of St. Saviour's church an addition was made to it as follows :—

“This Memorial was erected  
In the Church of St Saviours  
But being removed by di-  
rection of the Magistracy  
Is placed here by the Friends  
Of the deceased Anno Dom 1709.”

The brass was the work of Mordecai Cockey, a brazier of Totnes, a member of a leading Non-conformist family.

Recently a replica of the brass has been put up in St. Saviour's church, Dartmouth, by P.F.S. Evans, Esq., J.P., of Bristol, great grandson of the Rev. Evans in whose arms Flavel died, and who was buried in the same grave with Flavel a few years after.

The Congregational church, Princess Street,

Devonport, possesses a silver communion cup with the inscription :

1663

I. F.

D.

It is said to have been Flavel's communion cup. The date is the year after the ejection, and the initials would represent John Flavel, Dartmouth.

The cause at Devonport was founded about 1751 by Andrew Kinsman, a convert of Whitfield, who also founded the church at the Tabernacle in Britonside, Plymouth. The cup appears to have come into the possession of a family named Tanner from whom it came to Mr. Kinsman.

The authorities of Princess Street church only heard of the tradition that the cup had belonged to Flavel and been used by him as a communion cup about 17 years since, and they then examined the cup and found the date and initials.

FORD THOMAS, "O.H.", EXETER.

GAY JOHN, BARNSTAPLE,

of Exeter College, Oxford. Left the University because he could not submit to the terms imposed. He appears to have been a relative of the poet Gay.

GAYLARD ROBERT, EXETER,

ejected from Ide, near Exeter ; one of the early ministers of Bow Meeting.

GIDLEY JOHN, M.A., EXETER.

## GLANVILLE JOHN, "O.H." PLYMOUTH.

Amongst those prosecuted in the mayoralty of William Jennens, the Church-and-King mayor of Plymouth, 1662-3 (a very zealous persecutor) was John Glanvill.

## HANMER JONATHAN, M.A., DEVON,

was grandfather of the poet Gay. He was born at Barnstaple, 1605, was a member of a Barnstaple family, and was, previous to going to the University, a pupil at the grammar school of that town. He took his degree of M.A. at Emmanuel College, Cambridge, and was ordained priest, St. Margaret's, Westminster, 1632. He ministered first at Instow, then at Bishop's Tawton, and was lecturer of Barnstaple when ejected by the Act of Uniformity. He died Dec. 16, 1687. A John Hanmer was Constable of Barnstaple 11 August (15 James I.) and mayor 1614. In 1827 a slab was discovered in Barnstaple church yard, with an inscription shewing that his wife and several children were buried there. On the indulgence of 1672 a meeting house was built near the Castle, known as Castle Meeting, and a regular Church formed on the Congregational plan; Mr. Hanmer was probably interred there.

## HANMER JOHN, M.A., BARNSTAPLE,

son of Jonathan Hanmer. He was not ejected from any living, but refused to take the oaths and comply with the demands for conformity. He was, therefore, obliged to quit college, and was silenced for some years.



In May 1692 he was chosen co-partner with Mr. Peard, his father's successor at Castle Meeting. In 1700 there was a secession from Castle Meeting, owing to Mr. Hanmer being rendered almost incapable of ministerial work, and the seceders erected a chapel in Cross Street. He died 1707.

In 1749 the two congregations united, and services were continued at each place alternately. The Castle Meeting was sold in 1806.

## Early Nonconformist Bibliography.

### III.

**I**N the last paper we described the principal works proceeding from, or relating to, the Exiled Church in Holland. We must now revert to England, and summarise the Puritan and Nonconformist literature of a controversial kind which appeared between the martyrdom of Penry and the death of James I.

Of the numerous earlier writings in opposition to the principles of Puritans, Precisians, Nonconformists, and Separatists, the most notable bore the names of S. Bredwell, G. Gifford, R. Some, and M. Sutcliffe. An attack by the latter on JOB THROCKMORTON (before mentioned as a *probable* author of the Marprelate Tracts), elicited the following reply :—

*The Defence of J. T. against the slaunders of Maister Sutcliffe, taken out of a cotype of his owne hande, as it was written to an honourable personage, etc.* 4to., 40pp., 1594. A copy is in the British Museum.

The Mediaeval Church having advanced ecclesiastical holy-days to an equality with, if not precedence over, the Lord's day, the more advanced reformers went to an opposite extreme. Hence a rigid Sabbatarianism was from the first a characteristic of the Puritans. In this spirit NICHOLAS BOWNDE wrote *Sabbathum Veleris et Novi Testamenti : or the true doctrine of the Sabbath.* 4to., 1595. Attempts were made to suppress it, and the book is of extreme rarity ; an imperfect copy is at Lambeth. A reprint, 1605, is at Caius College, Cambridge. Another reprint, 4to., 20-480pp., 1606, is in the Bodleian, British Museum, York Minster, and Prince's Library, (Boston). The influence of this book among the Puritan gentry is said to have provoked the first issue of the notorious "Book of Sports," 1618.

The history of HENOCK CLAPHAM is very obscure. At the publication of his first known book, he was preacher to an English congregation in Amsterdam, which may or may not have been a branch of the Exiled Church. But at a later time his sympathies were certainly *not* with the Separatists. His works are :—

*Theological axioms or conclusions : Publikly controuerted, discussed, and concluded by that poore English congregation in Amstelredam : to*

whom H. C. for the present ad-ministereth the Ghospel, Together with an Examination of the saide conclusions by H. C. Hereunto is added a little Tractate entituled *The Carpenter*. 4to., 1597; a copy at Trinity College, Cambridge.

*Antidolon: or a sovereigne remedie against Schisme and Heresie; gathered to analogie and proportion of faith from that parable of tares, Matt. 13.* 4to., 1600. Copies in the Bodleian and York Minster.

*Doctor Andros his Prosopopeia answered, and necessarily directed to his majestie, for removing of Catholike scandale, etc.* 4to., 1605. A copy is in the Bodleian.

*Errorr on the Right Hand, through a preposterous Zeale, acted by way of dialogue. Errorr on the left hand through a frozen securitie.* 12mo. 1608. Copies in the British Museum and Bodleian.

*A Chronological Discourse, touching the Church, Christ, Anti-Christ, Gog and Magog, etc.* 4to., 1609; in the Bodleian.

It is desirable that all these writings of Clapham should be carefully examined.

GEORGE CRANMER was moved by the publication of Hooker's "Ecclesiastical Polity" (1593-7) to write a *Letter to Mr Richard Hooker concerning the new Church discipline, 1598*. It is uncertain whether it was then printed; but it was published in 1641 and again in 1642. It is reproduced in Walton's "Life of Hooker," and in Hanbury's edition of "Hooker's Works."

An anonymous tract appeared in 1600, entitled *The Reformation of Religion by Josiah, a commendable example for all Princes professing the Gospel to follow; with a warninge to all faithfull and true-hearted subiectes, to encourage their princes in so happie a course.* 16mo., 27pp. Copies are at Lambeth and in Williams's Library.

THOMAS DIGGES is named as the author of *Humble Motives for Association to maintaine religion established: published as an antidote against the pestilent treatises of secular priests.* 12mo., 2-42pp., 1601. Copies are in the Bodleian and British Museum. Nearly two years afterwards appeared anonymously, *A Brief censure upon the Puritane pamphlet, entituled, Humble Motyues for Association etc., reproving it of so many untruths, as there be leaves in the same.* 16mo., 75pp., 1603. Copies in the British Museum and York Minster.

The "Millenary Petition" elicited the following:—*The Answer of the Vice Chancelour, the Doctors, both the Proctors, and oihier the Heads of Houses in the Vniversity of Oxford . . . to the Humble Petition of the ministers of the Church of England desiring Reformation of certain Ceremonies & abuses of the Church.* Oxford. 4to., 12-32pp. (the Petition is on pp. 1-5), 1603. Reprinted in 1608 and 1612. Copies of one or other edition are in many libraries.

Notwithstanding the uncompromising attitude of king and

bishops—exhibited in the Convocation which adopted the “Constitutions and Canons Ecclesiastical” that are still nominally in force, and in the abortive Hampton Court Conference, earnest efforts were still made by ministers averse from separation to obtain reforms both of polity and ceremonies. Among such ministers were :—

WM. STOUGHTON. He wrote in the Presbyterian interest, *An Assertion for true and Christian Church-Policie* ; 16mo., 18-439-10pp 1604. Copies in the British Museum, Bodleian, Congregational and other libraries. Reprinted 4to., 1642.

WM. BRADSHAW (1571-1618), wrote : *A Treatise of Divine Worship : Tending to prove that the Ceremonies imposed upon the Ministers of the Gospel in England, in present controuersie, are in their vse unlawfull.* 16mo., 47pp., 1604. Copies in the British Museum, Williams's, &c.

*A shorte Treatise of the crosse in Baptisme.* 16mo., 4-25pp., 1604. In the British Museum and Bodleian.

*A Consideration of certain Positions Archiepiscopal.* 16mo., 12pp., 1604. At Williams's.

*A Treatise of the Nature & Use of Things Indifferent. Tending to proue that the Ceremonies in present controuersie . . . are neither in nature or vse indifferent.* 16mo., 2-30pp., 1605. Copies in the British Museum, Bodleian, &c.

*English Puritanisme. Containeing : The maine Opinions of the rigidest sort of those that are called Puritanes in the Realme of England.* 16mo., 35pp., 1605. In many libraries.

*A Protestation of the Kings Supremacie, made in the name of the afflicted ministers, and opposed to the shamefull Calumniationes of the Prelates.* 16mo., 2-22pp., 1605. In many libraries.

*A Proposition Concerning Kneeling in the very act of Receiving. Howsoever published to satisfie Professours, yet humblie submitted to the judgement of Prophets.* 16mo., 30pp., 1605. In the British Museum, Bodleian, Williams's, &c.

*Twelue General Arguments Prouing that the Ceremonies Imposed upon the Ministers of the Gospel in England by our Prelates, are unlawful, &c.* 16mo., 1605. In the British Museum, Bodleian, and York Minster.

Some of the foregoing were several times reprinted ; and all of them were reissued in 4to., 1660. They are usually in a volume with the general title *Several Treatises of Worship and Ceremonies.* This reprint is in the British Museum, Congregational, and many other libraries.

*Puritanismus Anglicanus.* 16mo., 28-92pp., Frankfort, 1610. This is the “English Puritanisme,” translated by W. Ames, who added an Introduction. Reprinted (as wholly by Ames), Amsterdam, 1658. Both editions are in the Congregational Library ; the first is in the British Museum, Bodleian, &c.

*The Vnreasonableness of the Separation : Made apparent by an examination of Mr. Johnson's pretended Reasons.* 4to., 116pp., Dort,

1614. In the British Museum, Williams's, &c. Reprinted, with additions, 4to., 1640; in the Congregational Library.

The following is anonymous: *An Abridgement of that Booke which the Ministers of Lincoln Diocess deliuered to his Maestie . . . being the first part of an Apologie for themselves and their brethren that refuse the subscription and conformitie which is required, etc.* 4to., 7-8opp., 1605. Reprinted in 8vo, 1617 (by Brewster at Leyden), 1641, 1660. Copies either of the original or one of the reprints are in many public libraries.

SAMUEL HIERON (1576—1617), a Puritan minister of Modbury, Devon, wrote *A short Dialogue proving that the Ceremonies and some other Corruptions now in question, are defended, by none other Arguments then such as the Papists haue heretofore vsed, etc.* 4to., 5-69pp., 1605. Copies in the British Museum, Bodleian, and Congregational Library.

*A Defence of the Ministers Reasons for Refusall of Subscription to the Booke of Common Prayer, and of Conformitie, against the seuerall Answeres of T. Hutton, W. Cowell, M. I. Burgess, Tho. Sp[arkes].* 4to., 8-226pp., 1607. In the British Museum, Bodleian, Williams's, and other libraries.

*The Second Parte of the Defense of the Ministers Reasons for refusal of Subscription and of Conformity, &c.* 4to., 16-243pp., 1608. Copies in the British Museum, Bodleian, Congregational, and other libraries.

*A Dispute upon the Question of kneeling in the Act of Receiving the Sacramentall Bread and Wine . . . or a third parte of the Ministers Reasons, etc.* 4to., 8-166pp., 1608. Copies in the British Museum, Bodleian, and Congregational Library.

We next come to another group of anonymous publications:—

*The Brownists Petition to King James*, 1604, is the title of a 4to. tract at Queen's College, Cambridge. In the absence of more definite information, it seems probable that it may be part of the "Apology or Defence" by Fr. Johnson and Ainsworth. Another tract in the same library, dated 1608, is entitled, *The Brownists Petition to King James. With a Dispute upon the Question of kneeling in the act of receiving the Sacramentall Bread and Wine*. These should be examined.

*Certaine Considerations Drawne from the Canons of the last Sinod . . . for Non-Subscription, for the not exact use of the Order and Forme of the Booke of Common Prayer, etc.* 4to., 16-68pp., 1605. Copies in the British Museum, Bodleian, and Congregational Library.

*Certaine Demands with their Grounds drawn out of Holy Writ.* 4to., 1605. In the Congregational Library.

In the British Museum is *A Treatise of Kirke Governement, consisting*

of two partes, whereof this former conteineth a Demonstration of true Christian Discipline according to the word of God used in the Kirke of Scotland. . . . The Second Part . . . . containing a refutation of Episcopall Governement by Lord Bishopes, etc. 16mo., 30-30pp., 1606.

*Certaine Arguments to perswade and provoke the High Court of Parliament . . . . to promote and advance the sincere ministers of the Gospel . . . . now degraded, deprived, silenced, or admonished, etc.* 4to., 1606. In the Bodleian, York Minster, and Congregational Library.

*A Myld and Iust Defence of certeyne argumets . . . . on behalfe of the Ministers suspended and deprived, etc.* 4to., 6-164pp., 1606. In the Bodleian, Congregational, and other public libraries.

*The Removall of certayne Imputations laid vpon the Ministers of Devon and Cornwall by one M. T. H., and in them vpon all other Ministers elsewhere refusing to subscribe.* 4to., 6-66pp., 1606. In the British Museum, Bodleian, and elsewhere.

*The argument of Master Nicholas Fuller, in the case of Thomas Lad and Richard Maunsell, his clients; Wherein it is plainely proued, that the Ecclesiasticall Commissioners have no power by vertue of their Commission to imprison, to put to the oth ex officio, or to fine any of his Majesties Subjects.* 4to. 4-32pp., 1607. In the British Museum and Bodleian. The Congregational Library has a reprint, 4to., 1641.

*A Survey of the Booke of Common Prayer, by way of 197 Querues grounded on 58 Places, Ministring just matter of question, etc. A petition of 22 Preachers in London is annexed.* 18mo., 1610. Copies in the British Museum and Bodleian.

ROBERT PARKER (before mentioned in connection with H. Sanford) was associated with Jacobs and Ames. In 1607 he published *A Scholasticall Discourse Against Symbolizing with Antichrist in Ceremonies: especially in the Signe of the Crosse*: fol. 6-196-16-144-8pp. There are copies in the British Museum, Bodleian, and Congregational Library.

Two years after Parker's death appeared his *De Politeia Ecclesiasticæ Christi, et Hierarchia opposita, etc., Libri Tres.* 4to. 16-368-456pp., Frankfort, 1616. There are copies in the British Museum, Bodleian, York Minster, &c. There was a reprint in 1638.

R. BUCKLAND is named as the author of *An Embassye from heaven; wherein Christ giueth to understand his iust indignation against al such as being Catholickely minded, dare yeelde their presence to the rites and praier of the malignant Church.* 8vo., n.p., ? 1609. This is in the Bodleian; it is not clear from the title whether it is Puritan or Popish.

George Downname, afterwards Bishop of Derry, having been active in rhetorical defence of the established order, the eminent Puritan commentator, PAUL BAYNE, replied with *The Diocesans*

*Tryall. Wherein all the Sinnewes of Doctor Downhams Defence are brought into three heads, and orderly dissolved.* 4to., 1621. A copy is the Bodleian. Reprinted in 1641 and 1644.

LEONARD BUSER, a Baptist, had been among the exiles at Amsterdam, but was in London when he published *Religious Peace; or a Plea for Liberty of Conscience*: 1614. This was probably the first English publication in which the principle of religious freedom was asserted without qualification. It was reprinted in 1646 (4to., 44pp.); and by the Hanserd Knollys Society, 1846.

It is not necessary to occupy space with the numerous publications against Puritanism and Separatism which abounded in the period now under review, and of which the most conspicuous authors were Barlow, Bilson, Cowell, Dove, Hutton, Morton, and Powell. But the following deserve particular notice:—

T. WHITE. *A Discoverie of Brownisme: or a briefe Declaration of some of the errors and abominations daily practised and increased among the English Company of the Separation remayning for the present at Amsterdam in Holland.* 4to., 6-30pp., 1605. Copies in the British Museum and York Minster.

O. ORMEROD. *The Picture of a Puritane: or a Relation of the opinions, qualities, and practices of the Anabaptists in Germanie, and of the Puritanes in England. Wherein is firmly prooued that the Puritanes doe resemble the Anabaptists, in above fourescore seuerall things. Whereunto is annexed a short treatise, entituled, Puritano-papismus, or a discoverie of Furitan-Papisme, etc.* 4to., 11-81-32pp., 1605. Copies in the British Museum, Bodleian, and Congregational Library.

PETER FAIRLAMBE. *The Recantation of a Brownist, Or a Reformed Puritan. Written by one that hath altogether, bin led in the same erroneous oppinions for many yeeres together; and thereupon banished the Realme, etc.* 4to., 58pp., 1606. Copies in the British Museum, Bodleian, and Congregational Library.

W. CRAWSSAWE. *The Sermon Preached at the Crosse. Feb. xij, 1607, by W.C., Justified by the Author, both against Papisl, and Brownist, to be the truth.* 4to., 16-174pp., 1608. Copies in the British Museum, Bodleian, and Congregational Library. Reprinted 1609.

RICHARD BERNARD, or BARNARD, of Batcombe (1567-1641), was a Doctrinal Puritan, who seemed once on the point of joining Clyfton, Robinson, &c.; but concluded that conformity was a less evil than Separation. His Biblical and practical writings were long highly esteemed. His works of interest in this connection are:—

*Christian Advertisements and Counsels of Peace. Also dissuasions from the Separatists Schisme, commonly called Brownisme etc.* 16mo., 16-200pp., 1608. Copies in the Bodleian and Congregational Library.

*Plain Evidences: The Church of England is Apostolicall; the Separation Schismaticall. directed against Mr. Ainsworth the Separatist, and Mr. Smyth the se-baptist, etc.* 4to., 1610. Copies in the British Museum, Congregational Library, and Queen's College, Cambridge.

*A Key of Knowledge, for the opening of the Secret Mysteries of St Johns Mystical Revelation.* 4to., 60-352pp., 1617. In the British Museum and Bodleian.

*The Seaven Golden Candlestickes: England's honour; the great mysteric of Gods mercie yet to Come.* 8vo., 1621. A copy in the Bodleian.

*A Short View of the Praelaticall Church of England: Wherein is set forth the horrible abuses in Discipline and Government, layd open in leune Sections, etc. Whereunto is added a Short draught of Church-government.* 4to., 4-39pp., 1641 (two impressions). Reprinted with additions, 1661. Both editions are in the Bodleian, Congregational, and other libraries.

D. OWEN was the author of a violent pamphlet entitled *Herod and Pilate reconciled; or the Concord of Papist and Puritan for the coercion, deposition, and killing of kings discovered.* 4to., Camb. 1610. Copies in the British Museum and Bodleian. Reprinted 1643, with title *Puritan-Fesuilismus; the Puritan turned Jesuite*; again 1652, 1663, and in Dutch 1660.

HUGH BROUGHTON (mentioned before in connection with Ainsworth) wrote *An Admonition to Mr F. Blackwell, one of the Companie of Amsterdam, which damn all which come to Christian Churches, etc.* ? 1618. No original copy known, but included in his Works, fol., 1662; copies in many public libraries.

KING JAMES I issued *The Kinges Maiesties Declaration to His Subjects concerning lawfull Sports to be used.* 4to., 2-9pp., 1618; commonly called *The Book of Sports*. Original copies in the Bodleian, and Congregational Library.

E. JESSOP wrote a *Discovery of the Errors of the English Anabaptists. As also an Admonition to all such as are led by the like spirit of error. . . . By E.I., who sometime walked in the same errors with them.* 4to., 12-103pp., 1623. Copies in the Bodleian, and in Dr. Dexter's collection.

PATRICK SCOT, who a couple of years before had fabricated a "Recantation" in the name of the Scottish Presbyterian divine, David Calderwood, proceeded in 1625 to issue *Vox Vera: or*



*Observations from Amsterdam. Examining the late insolencies of some Pseudo-Puritans, Separatists from the Church of Great Brittain.* 4to., 62pp. Copies in the British Museum and Bodleian.

With this we may fitly close our notices of the anti-Puritan writings of the Jacobean age.

Among the earliest literary memorials of Puritan New England, the first place would naturally be claimed by the writings of GOVERNOR BRADFORD, but for the fact that they remained for 200 years in manuscript. We therefore begin with

R. CUSHMAN, one of the pilgrims who had embarked in the "Speedwell"; but being unable, on the abandonment of that vessel, to find a berth in the "Mayflower," he followed his comrades the succeeding summer. To him we owe

*A Sermon Preached at Plimmoth in New-England, December 9, 1621. In an assemblie of his Maiesties faithfull subiects there inhabiting, etc. With a Preface, Shewing the state of the Country, and Condition of the Savages, etc.* 4to., 8-19pp., 1622. Only three copies of the original are known, one in the Bodleian, one in Dr. Dexter's collection, and one in a private library (C. Deane, LL.D.) at Cambridge, N.E., but there are at least fifteen reprints, more or less complete; including a facsimile (Boston, 1870), which is in the British Museum.

EDWARD WINSLOW, one of the most active of the "Mayflower" pilgrims, published

*Good Newes from New England: or a true Relation of things very remarkable at the Plantation of Plimoth in New England, etc.* 4to., 66pp., 1624. The only original copy I have heard of is in Dr. Deane's private collection (Cambridge, N.E.); but the work is accessible in Young's "Chronicles of the Pilgrim Fathers." Boston, 1844.

More than twenty years later, one Samuel Gorton having made serious charges against the colonists, Winslow published

*Hypocrisie Unmasked: by A True Relation of the Proceedings of the Governour and Company of the Massachusetts against Samvel Gorton, etc. Together with a particular Answer to the manifold slanders and abominable falsehoods which are contained in a Book written by the said Gorton, and entituled Simplicities Defence, etc. Whereunto is added a briefe Narration (occasioned by certain aspersions) of the true grounds or cause of the first Planting of New England; the President of their Churches in the way and worship of God; their Communion with the Reformed Churches; and their practise towards those that dissent from them in matters of Religion and Church-Government.* 4to., 8-104pp., 1646. Reprinted 1649, with another title, viz. *The Dangers of Tolerating Levellers in a Civil State etc.* Copies of the original are in the British Museum and the Bodleian, and in Dr. Dexter's collection. The *Brief Narration* is accessible in

Young's "Chronicles of the Pilgrim Fathers." In this is preserved the famous farewell address of John Robinson.

JOHN COTTON, who had been vicar of Boston in Lincolnshire, emigrated in 1633, and became "teacher" of the first church at Boston, Massachusetts. His works, controversial, expository, and devotional, are very numerous. The following demand notice here :—

*God's Promise to his Plantation*, 4to., 4-20pp., 1630. Copies in the British Museum and two or three American libraries. Reprinted in 1634, and again at Boston in 1686. Copies of the reprints in several American libraries, but I know of none in England.

*Questions and Answers upon Church Government*. Dated 1634, but doubtful if printed so early. The only copy I find mentioned is at Yale College.

*A Cobby of a Letter of Mr Colton of Boston in New England, sent in answer of certaine Objections made against their Discipline and Orders there, Directed to a Friend. With the Questions propounded to such as are admitted to the Church-fellowship, and the Covenant it Selfe*. 4to., 2-6pp., 1641. Copies in the Bodleian and British Museum.

*The way of Life. Or, Gods VVay and Course, in bringing the Soule into, keeping it in, and carrying it on, in the wayes of life and peace*. 4to., 8-482pp., 1641. Copies in the Bodleian, British Museum, Congregational, and other libraries.

*Gods Mercie mixed with his Iustice, or his Peoples Deliverance in times of Danger*. 4to., 16-135pp., 1641. In the Congregational Library and some American collections. Reprinted 1658; the reprint is in the British Museum.

*Abstract or [error for of] the Lawes of New England*. 4to., 16pp., 1641. I doubt if there is a copy in England. Reprinted 1655, and in the Massachusetts historical collection.

*A Modest and Cleare Answer to Mr Balls Discourse of set formes of Prayer*. 4to., 4-52pp., 1642. Copies in the Bodleian and British Museum.

*A Brief Exposition of the whole Book of Canticles. . . . A work very usefull and seasonable to every Christian, but especially such as endeavour and thirst after the setting of Church and State according to the Rule and Pattern of the Word of God*. 16mo., 2-264pp., 1642. At Yale College, and in one or two private American libraries. Reprinted in 8vo., 1648, in the Congregational Library; again in 1655, in the British Museum and other libraries.

*The Churches Resurrection, or the Opening of the Fift and Sixt verses of the 20th Chap. of the Revelation*. 4to., 30pp. Copies in the Bodleian and British Museum.

*The Powing out of the Seven Vials: or an Exposition of the 16 Chapter of the Revelation, with an Application of it to our Times. Very fit and Necessary for this present age*. 4to., 8-178pp. (but in several

series), 1642. In the Bodleian, British Museum, and Congregational Library. Reprinted 4to., 4-156pp., 1645.

*The Doctrine of the Church, to which are Committed the Keyes of the Kingdom of Heaven.* 4to., 1642. The only copy I know of is in the Bodleian. A revised edition, 1643, is in the British Museum. Again reprinted, 1644.

*The True Constitution of a particular Visible Church, proved by Scripture.* 4to., 2-14pp., 1642. In the Bodleian and British Museum.

*The Keyes of the Kingdom of Heaven, and Power thereof according to the Word of God . . . tending to reconcile some present differences about Discipline.* 4to., 1644. There are at least three varieties of title page; also a 2nd edition of the same year. Copies in the British Museum, Congregational Library (2nd edn.), and several American libraries.

*Sixteen Questions of Serious and Necessary Consequence, Propounded unto Mr John Cotton of Boston in New England, Together with his Answers to each Question.* 4to., 2-14pp., 1644. In the Bodleian and British Museum. Reprinted, with slight variation of title, 1646 and 1647. The edition of 1647 is in the Congregational Library.

*The Way of the Churches of Christ in New England, or the Way of Churches walking in Brotherly equalitie, or Co-ordination, without Subjection of one Church to another, etc.* 4to., 8-116-4pp., 1645. In the Bodleian and British Museum.

*The Covenant of Gods Free Grace, Most Sweetly unfolded, & Comfortably applied to a disquieted Soul.* 4to., 4-40pp., 1645. On pp. 34-40 is Davenport's "Profession of Faith" described below. In the Congregational Library.

*The Controversie Concerning Liberty of Conscience in Matters of Religion.* 4to., 2-14pp., 1646; reprinted 1649. Copies in the Bodleian, British Museum, and Congregational Library.

*The Grounds and Endes of the Baptisme of the Children of the Faithfull. Opened in a familiar Discourse by way of a Dialogue, or Brotherly Conference.* 4to., 7-196pp., 1647. In the Bodleian, British Museum, Congregational, and other libraries.

The following was elicited by Roger Williams's memorable treatise, "The Bloody Tenet of Persecution"; to be noticed hereafter:—

*The Bloody Tenent, Washed, And made white in the blond of the Lamb; being discussed and discharged of bloud-guiltiness by just Defence. . . . Whereunto is added a Reply to Mr Williams Answer, to Mr Cottons Letter.* 4to., 2-195-144pp., 1647. Copies in the Bodleian, British Museum, Congregational, and other libraries.

*Singing of Psalmes a Gospel-Ordinance.* 4to., 2-72pp., 1647. Reprinted 1650. The Reprint in Williams's and the Congregational Library.

*The Way of Congregational Churches Cleared: in two Treatises: in*

the former, from the *Historical Aspersions of Mr R. Baylie in his book called A Disswasive etc.*; in the latter, from some *Contradictions of Vindiciae Clavium*; and from some *Mis-constructions of Learned Mr Rutherford in his Book entitled The Due Right, etc.* 4to., 12-104-44pp., 1648. Copies in the Bodleian, British Museum, Congregational, and other libraries.

*Of the Holnesse of Church-Members, etc.* 4to., 4-96pp., 1650. In the British Museum, Bodleian, Congregational, and other libraries.

*Christ the Fountaine of Life.* 4to., 6-256pp., 1651. In the Congregational and other libraries.

The following works are posthumous.

*Certain Queries Tending to Accommodation between the Presbyterian & Congregational Churches.* 16mo., 2-22pp., 1654; reprinted the following year. Copies in the Yale and other American libraries.

*A Briefe Exposition with Practicall Observations upon The Whole Book of Ecclesiastes.* 16mo., 8-278pp., 1654. In the British Museum, Bodleian, Congregational, and other libraries. Reprinted 1657; again, in 4to., 1868.

*The New Covenant; or a Treatise, unfolding the order and manner of giving and receiving the Covenant of Grace.* 16mo., 2-198pp., 1654. In the Congregational Library, and some American libraries. Reprinted 1655, 34-198pp., in the Bodleian, British Museum, &c.

*An Exposition upon the Thirteenth Chapter of the Revelation.* 4to., 10-262-8pp., 1655. In the British Museum and Congregational Library. Reprinted in 1656.

*A Practical Commentary on the 1st Epistle of John.* Fol. 1656. This is not very rare; there are several editions.

*A Censure of that Rev. and Learned Man of God, Mr J. C., lately of New England, upon the way of Mr Henden, etc.* 4to., 1656. In the Bodleian and British Museum.

*A Defence of Mr John Cotton from the Imputation of self-contradiction charged on him by Mr D. Cawdray, written by himself not long before his death.* Edited by John Owen. 16mo., 100-83pp., 1658. In the British Museum, Bodleian, Williams's, and Congregational Library.

*A Treatise of the Covenant of Grace, as it is dispensed to the Elect Seed, effectually unto Salvation.* I cannot find any account of the first edition. The second, 16mo., 26-250-2pp., 1659, and reissued 1662, is (in both issues) in the Congregational Library.

*A Sermon at Salem in 1636, with Retraction of his former Opinion Concerning Baptism.* 8vo., 2-40pp., 1713. In Prince Library, Boston, and that of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

*Treatise (1) Of Faith: (2) Twelve Fundamental Articles of Christian Religion; (3) A Doctrinal Conclusion; (4) Questions and Answers on Church Government.* 16mo., 32pp., 1713. At Yale College.

JOHN WINTHROP, Governor of the company who formed the

settlement at Salem, Mass., published *The Humble Request of His Maiesties Loyall Subjects, the Governour and the Company, late gone for New England; to the rest of their brethren in and of the Church of England; for the obtaining of their Prayers, and the removal of suspitions and misconstructions of their Intentions.* 16mo., 1630. In the Bodleian; and in the library of the American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass. Reprinted in Young's "Chronicles of Massachusetts," and in the "Life and Letters of Winthrop," 1867.

*A Short Story of the Rise, reign and ruine of the Antinomians, Familists & Libertines, that infected the Churches in New England, etc.* With an introduction by Thomas Weld, first minister of the church at Roxbury. 4to., 20-66pp., 1644. There were three issues in the same year; one of them without the preface, and with the title *Antinomians and Familists Condemned.* In the British Museum, Bodleian and other libraries. Reprint 1692, in the Bodleian, Congregational Library, &c.

*A Journal of the Transactions and Occurrences in the Settlement of Massachusetts, and the other N.E. Colonies from the year 1630 to 1644, &c.* This remained in manuscript till 1790, when an incomplete edition was published at Hartford, Conn., 8vo., 6-364-4pp. The complete work was first printed in 1825, 8vo., 2 vols., 12-424 and 429pp. There is a revised edition 1853, 8vo., 2 vols., 20-514 and 504pp.

THOMAS WELD (mentioned above) also wrote *An Answer to W. R. [William Rathband], his narration of the opinions and practices of the Churches lately erected in New England.* 4to., 1644; copies in the Bodleian and British Museum.

*A Brief Narration of the Practices of the Churches of New England. Written in private to one that desired information therein; by an Inhabitant there, a Friend to Truth and Peace.* 4to., 2-18pp., 1645, reprinted 1647. Both editions are in the Bodleian, and the first in the British Museum.

[Weld is also named as joint author with W. Durant, S. Hammond, and C. Sydenham--after his return to England--of a tract entitled *The False Jew*, 4to., 1654. It is an exposure of a religious impostor, and is in the Congregational Library, and elsewhere.]

JOHN HIGGINSON, another of the Salem Colonists, published *New Englands Plantation: Or, A Short and True Description of the Commodities or Discommodities of that Countrey. Written by a reuerend Diuine now there resident.* Four impressions were issued in 1630; but I find no account of any copy but one in the library of the Massachusetts Historical Society. Reprinted in 1836, 8vo., 14pp.

W. WOOD, *New Englands Prospect. A true, lively and experientiall description of that part of America, commonly called New England: discovering the State of that Countrey, both as it stands to*

*our new-come English Planters; and to the old Native Inhabitants.* 4to., 8-98-5pp., 1634; reprinted 1635, 1639, 1764, 1865. The only original copy noted is that preserved by the Massachusetts Historical Society.

JOHN DAVENPORT, B.D., Vicar of St. Stephen's, Coleman Street, London, retreated from persecution to Holland in 1631, migrated to New England in 1637, and became the first pastor at Newhaven. His principal writings are:—

*A Protestation on occasion of a Pamphlet entitled "A Iust Complaint," &c., published by a nameless Person.* 4to. Rotterdam, 1635. A copy is in Williams's Library.

*An Apologeticall Reply to a Booke called "An Answer to the unjust Complaint of W.B."* 4to., 1636; in the Bodleian and British Museum.

*The Profession of the Faith of that Reverend and Worthy Divine, Mr F. D., Sometimes Preacher of Stevens, Coleman Street, London. Made publicly before the Congregation at his Admission into one of the Churches of God in New England.* 4to., 8pp., 1642. In the Bodleian. Reprinted 1645; in the Congregational Library and elsewhere.

*The Saints Anchor-Hold in all Storms and Tempests, preached in Sundry Sermons, and Published for the Support and Comfort of Gods People in all times of Tryal.* 24mo., 8-232pp., 1661. In the British Museum, and several American libraries.

*A Discourse about Civil Government in a New Plantation, whose Design is Religion.* 4to., 24pp., Cambridge, N.E., 1663. Wrongly ascribed to Cotton. In several American libraries.

*Another Essay for Investigation of the Truth, in Answer to Two Questions, Concerning (1) The Subject of Baptism; (2) The Consociation of Churches.* 4to. 16-72pp., Cambridge, N.E., 1603. The introduction is by Increase Mather. In the British Museum.

*The Power of Congregational Churches Asserted and Vindicated.* 16mo., 10-164pp., 1672. A posthumous work. In the Congregational Library and elsewhere.

These are all the New England writers of importance whose earliest works were published before the setting up of the first printing-press in the Colony. Most of their writings, even those of later date, were printed in England. We may fitly close this series with the second English book printed in America—the first being merely an almanac.

*The New England Psalter; commonly called "The Bay Psalm Book";* printed by Stephen Daye at Cambridge, N.E., 1640. The version is extremely literal, but the versification is rude even to absurdity. The authors were Thomas Weld, Richard Mather and John Eliot. The first edition, one of the rarest of rare books, con-

tained psalms only ; to the second, 1647, a few spiritual songs were added ; the third, 1650, was revised by President Dunster, of Harvard College, and contained a number of scripture songs, versified by W. Lyon. The book passed through about 70 editions, and was much used by English Nonconformists ; competing with Sternhold and Hopkins and the Scottish version until the appearance of Watts's Psalms. The Congregational Library has two late editions, London 1697 and 1709.

T. G. CRIPPEN.

## John Bunyan & Thomas Marsom

IN the December number of the *Transactions*, Dr. John Brown, commenting on an article by Rev. Silvester Horne, raised a controversy as to whether a certain Thomas Marsom, of Luton, was in prison with John Bunyan or not. It is certain that Marsom was fined, and had a distraint on his goods and chattels, and the question as to his imprisonment would scarcely justify another article were it not that a tablet, which, if Dr. Brown is right, "lifts the head and lies," has been erected to him in the Baptist chapel at Luton, and that the matter has an indirect bearing on the question of the time and place at which *The Pilgrim's Progress* was written.

The allegation rests on the following evidence:—

(1.) In a record of family events compiled by W. B. Gurney, he writes:—"In a concordance now in my possession, which was the property of my aunt, after a register by Thomas Marsom of the births of his children, which is in the same handwriting in which the entries in the church book of the Baptist church at Luton (which I have inspected) are made, there is the following entry in the handwriting of my grandfather Gurney:—'The above Thomas Marsom was Pastor of the Church at Luton, Bedfordshire. He gave the ground on which the Meeting House is built to the people, and, if I mistake not, fifty pounds



towards building the Meeting House. He was in the Ministry upwards of fifty years : suffered in Bedford Jail with John Bunyan, Mr. Wheeler of Cranfield, and others. He died January the twentieth, and his funeral sermon was preached January twenty-sixth, 1725-26, at Luton, by Mr. John Needham, of Hitchin, which is dedicated to his three sons Thomas, Nathan, and Samuel. Thomas, the eldest of the three brothers, was father to my first wife.' ”

The statement that there is such an entry in the writing of Thomas Gurney (who died in 1770) rests on the testimony of W. B. Gurney, who wrote in 1840-45, and his brother Sir John Gurney, a Baron of the Exchequer, who read and revised the family record. Both were familiar with legal evidence, and both were credible witnesses. The handwriting of Thomas Gurney was well-known to both of them, for his MSS. were numerous. I have a note book of his, of 1723, in my possession.

Taking the existence of the entry in the handwriting of Thomas Gurney as proved, what were his means of knowledge and his trustworthiness? He married a granddaughter of Thomas Marsom, and if W. B. Gurney's recognition of the handwriting of Marsom in the concordance is correct, he must have been on intimate terms with him. He certainly lived in or near to Luton during the latter part of Marsom's life, and must have known him ; probably he was a member of his church, for he was so prominent among the Baptists in that district that he was trustee for some of their meeting houses. He also well understood the value of evidence, and the testimony to his character is ample. He was a personal friend of Toplady and of Erasmus Darwin.

(2.) The entry is supported by tradition. W. B. Gurney states in his family record that he has personally derived information from his aunt (the daughter of the above Thomas and Martha, *née* Marsom), who lived to a great age, and in her early life frequently visited her relations in Bedfordshire, and knew not only her parents, but also her grandparents on both sides. W. B. Gurney writes in 1840:—“Living, as she did, to the age of 84, she was able to go back for 150 years for facts within the knowledge of those with whom she had conversed.” She had known several of the Marsoms and also her grandfather, John Gurney (1681-1760), and other persons in Bedfordshire, to whom the fact one way or the other as to the imprisonment must have been known. The tradition comes also through Joseph Gurney (1744-1815). He discussed the matter on the spot with his father, “who shewed him the window of the room in which Bunyan and others were confined, which was over the gateway.” He had previously said it was in the “Gaol.” The room over the gateway of the gaol—not the “gatehouse on the bridge”—is, therefore, the place indicated by the Gurney-Marsom tradition.

Dr. Brown is mistaken in supposing that the statement dates from 1845. It rests, as above stated, (*a*) upon a memorandum written by a highly competent witness, who died in 1770; and (*b*) upon tradition handed down in a family which preserved documents, and passing in two currents, each through three persons only, viz: (1) John Gurney, his granddaughter Martha, and her nephew, W. B. Gurney, in whose writing we have

it ; and (2) Thomas and his son Joseph and his son W. B. Gurney. The tradition is confirmed in some small particulars by facts which appear in Dr. Brown's book: *e.g.*, that there were sixty persons imprisoned with Bunyan, and that he made laces for sale. The name, too, of Wheeler of Cranfield, mentioned in the above memorandum, occurs in the list given by Dr. Brown.

Dr. Brown's arguments on the other side are:—

(1.) That Marsom, who died in 1726, would not have been old enough to be imprisoned with Bunyan between 1660 and 1672, or in 1675-6. We have no clue to Marsom's age except by inference from the date of his death, 1726. Some of his family lived to a great age, and it would not be safe to base an argument on his having died younger than 76. If he was born in 1650 he would have been 22 when Bunyan was released the first time, and 25 at the second imprisonment. We have the fact that his goods were distrained for a fine, and from that we may infer that he was old enough to be imprisoned.

(2.) That Marsom lived in Hertfordshire till 1694, and would, therefore, have been more likely to be imprisoned in Hertford than in Bedford gaol. The place of imprisonment would depend, not upon Marsom's residence, but upon the place where he was caught at a conventicle. If he was arrested in Bedfordshire he would be imprisoned in Bedford gaol. He was a member of the church at Kensworth, a place situated in a peninsula of Hertfordshire almost enclosed by Bedfordshire. If Marsom lived there he would have the county boundary about two miles to the north and less than two miles to the south of him. To suppose

that a youth of 18 or 20 would be debarred from attending a conventicle by a distance of two or three miles, or would concern himself about a county boundary, shews little appreciation of the enthusiasm of the time. Indeed, it is curious to observe that the Kensworth people had a reputation for going after good preaching. Archbishop Laud reported of them not long before:—"At Kensworth many go from their own churches by troupes after other ministers, which is a common fault in that part of the diocese" (Lincoln) "where the people are said to be very godly in matters of religion." But there is no trace of Marsom ever having lived at Kensworth. The Baptist church there had, according to Urwick's *History of Nonconformity in Hertfordshire*, a branch at Bedford and members at various other places. It would seem not improbable that Marsom was, as the tradition has it, originally an ironmonger at Luton, though a member of Kensworth church. At one time John Bunyan himself was a member, for he was "set apart," by a resolution of that church, as one of its "teachers" at Bedford. In view of these facts, there is certainly no improbability in Marsom having been imprisoned in Bedfordshire.

(3.) That Marsom's name is not mentioned among those released with Bunyan. We know that at one time sixty Nonconformists were imprisoned with Bunyan. And besides the sixty, some of whom must have been confined for short terms, there were doubtless others at other times. We have no complete list of their names, although a casual reader of Dr. Brown's article might suppose the contrary. The archives in the Record Office, in the Home Office, and in the county itself, have been searched in vain. All we have are the

names of six persons who petitioned for release, of four more who were released, and of another four mentioned elsewhere. Out of the sixty (*plus* an unknown number at other times) we have fourteen names altogether. Is a definite statement that Marsom was imprisoned with Bunyan to be set aside as untrue, merely because his name is not among the fourteen names we have ?

(4.) That if Marsom was one of many prisoners, the place of his confinement must have been the county gaol, not the lock-up on the bridge. That entirely accords with the tradition, and confirms it. Dr. Brown proceeds to say that "it is as certain as anything can well be that Bunyan wrote his *Allegory* not in the county gaol but in the lock-up on the bridge." Whether any fresh evidence has come to light since Dr. Brown's *Life of Bunyan* was written I do not know, but in that book we find no such certainty, although arguments are submitted with more or less confidence in support of that conclusion. The break in the narrative, towards the end of *The Pilgrim's Progress*, when he awoke from his dream, would be quite consistent with the hypothesis that the earlier part was written in the imprisonment, which ended in 1672, and the later chapters in 1675; and the doubt which Bunyan describes as to printing it would explain why he should have held back the work from publication until he had re-considered and completed it. But this is quite apart from the Marsom question.

(5.) That in the funeral sermon for Marsom there is no reference to his imprisonment. The sermon deals in general terms, and gives no particulars of Marsom's life. All we find there is that he "not only preached the truth of the Gospel, but, in a day of persecution and trial, stood

by it"; and further on that "he took joyfully the spoiling of his goods." It is strange, certainly, that such a fact as imprisonment was not specifically mentioned, but the character of the sermon must be considered. There is no attempt at a recital of the life history, which must have been well known to the congregation. Weighing the argument fairly, this silence must tell to some extent against imprisonment; but whether, standing as it does practically alone, it can counterbalance the positive evidence of the memorandum supported by tradition, each reader must judge for himself. Considering the weight given by our tribunals to such evidence, I have a confident belief that the verdict should be for the imprisonment; but, whichever way it goes, no one can say that the question is free from doubt. Therefore, as Dr. Brown tells us that "doubtful statements affect the historical mind very much as a false note in music strikes the musical ear," I can only regret to have added to his tortures; my plea must be respect for my ancestor and desire to establish the truth.

W. H. GURNEY SALTER.

## NOTES AND QUERIES

Some years since, when I was investigating the early history of Argyle Chapel, Bath, and endeavouring to test the value of the traditions respecting, I took a good deal of trouble to trace the date of a letter said to have been written by the Countess of Huntingdon to the ministers of her various chapels prohibiting Rowland Hill, Torial Joss, and some others, from preaching in any of her chapels. The reading of this letter in the Vineyard chapel here is said to have been the occasion of the secession which led to the establishment of the independent church now meeting at Argyle. I have examined all the memoirs of the Countess and Rowland Hill, and have been in correspondence with every person who I thought would be likely to throw any light upon it, but cannot find the least hint of any such communication. If you can help me in this way, I shall be much obliged.

Yours very truly,

WILLIAM TUCK.

\*

### A FORGOTTEN CHAPTER OF EARLY NONCONFORMIST HISTORY.

[See previous *Notes and Queries*]

In the collected works of Arthur Lake, who was bishop of Bath and Wells from 1616 to 1625, is a sermon, preached at St. Cuthbert's, Wells, when certain persons were put to penance for attending conventicles where a woman preached. When this fact came to my knowledge, last year, I endeavoured to obtain further information on the matter; but thus far without success. Enquiries made by Rev. W. Seager go to shew that no records of cases of discipline under Bishop Lake are known to exist in the diocesan archives; Archdeacon Ainslie informs me that the records of the archdiaconal court at that period have perished; and an examination of muniments at St. Cuthbert's, courteously made by the vicar (Rev. Canon Beresford), results in the discovery that nothing is to be found earlier than 1628, except baptisms, marriages, and burials. Yet the conventicles must have been *in* or *near* Wells; for the custom was that persons

should do penance either in their own parish or in the parish where the offence was committed. The meetings could not have been of Quakers, for George Fox was only born in 1624. They could scarcely have been Presbyterian, for a woman preacher would have been as great an offence to the old Presbyterians as to the Prelatists. We have no record of Brownists in Somerset before the Civil war; and though there is a tradition that the Baptist churches at Wedmore and Bridgwater originated about 1600, I am told by Rev. H. Trotman that the ancient records have perished. A woman preacher would not have been phenomenal or offensive to the early Baptists; but there is nothing in the sermon to indicate that the dissentients held any peculiarities of doctrine.

It would be interesting if any light could be shed on this question. Thus far we know neither the place of the conventicles, except that it must have been in or near Wells, nor the name of the preacher, nor those of the persons disciplined. The thought has occurred to me, could it have been the famous Dorothy Hazzard, formerly Kelly, of Broadmead Church, Bristol? She died "at a great age," in March, 1675, so might very well be 30 or more within Lake's episcopate. She became a widow for the first time in 1634, her first husband having been a grocer at Bristol; and was a Separatist before she became a Baptist. Her maiden name and birthplace are unknown; and there is no evidence whatever to connect her with the Somerset conventicles; but Bristol and Wells are barely twenty miles apart, and her extraordinary force of character suggests her as a likely leader in tentative Nonconformity.

However this may be, the incident is important as the earliest example yet known of a woman preacher in England. The date is uncertain, to the extent of six or seven years; but at the latest it must have been 25 years before the rise of the Society of Friends, 20 years before the women preachers mentioned by Edwards in the *Gangraena*, and 10 years before the appearance of Mrs. Hutchinson to scandalize Puritan propriety in New England.

From the *Gangraena*, 2nd edition, pp. 116-121, we learn that in 1645 there was a woman preacher in the Holland division of Lincolnshire, one in the Isle of Ely, more than one in Hertfordshire, and one at Brasted in Kent; but none of their names are given. There were also at least two connected with the Baptist church in Bell Alley, Coleman Street; one of them is described as a "lace-woman that sells lace in Cheapside, and dwells in Bell Alley;" the other as "a Major's wife living in the Old Bailey," who seems to have had no ultra-puritanical objection to jewels and costly attire. Which of these was Mrs. Attaway (concerning whom a query appeared in a former issue) is not quite clear; but it seems most likely that she was the lace-woman. Edwards tells of a meeting in Bell Alley, December 1645, in which they both took part; which



broke up in confusion owing to unseemly interruptions. After this they seem to have maintained a weekly meeting "in a house near the French church . . . . at one Mr. Hill's."

A summary is given of a sermon preached there by Mrs. Attaway, 8th January, 1646; the report is evidently somewhat of a caricature, but leaves no doubt that the preacher was what would now be called a Universalist. Edwards says, "In her exercise she delivered many dangerous and false doctrines; as, 1. That it could not stand with the goodness of God to damne his own creatures eternally. 2. That God the Father did raigne under the Law; God the Son under the Gospel; and now God the Father and God the Son are making over the kingdom to God the Holy Ghost, and He shall be powred out upon all flesh. 3. That there shall be a general Restauration, wherein all men shall be reconciled and saved. 4. That Christ died for All; with several other errors and conceits. She told them for her part she was in the wilderness waiting for the pouring out of the Spirit. . . . If any one had any exception against what she had delivered, she was ready to give forth her light; and if they could demonstrate that she had preached any error, to hear them. She was desirous that all the glory should be given to God, . . . she desired to lay down her crown at the feet of Christ, and wished that shame and confusion might cover her face for ever if she had any confidence in her selfe."

In the course of a discussion that followed Mrs. Attaway said, "When she and her sister began that exercise, it was to some of their own sex; but when she considered the glory of God was manifested in babes and sucklings, and that she was desired by some to admit of all that pleased to come, she could not deny to impart those things the Spirit had communicated to her."

T. G. CRIPPEN.

## The Trendall Papers.

WITH SOME NEW FACTS RELATING TO ARCHBISHOP LAUD.

TWO or three years ago the Rev. W. Summers, now of Hungerford, found in the State Paper Office a series of documents relating to one John Trendall, who was imprisoned for holding conventicles in 1639. Trendall is an obscure person, and his persecution is of no great historic interest; but among the papers are two letters of R. Neile, Archbishop of York, which seem of considerable importance. One proves that Archbishop Laud was concerned in the judicial murder of Wightman the Arian, who was burned at Lichfield in 1612; the other, addressed to Laud himself, suggests "like exemplary punishment" for Trendall, less than fifteen months before the meeting of the Long Parliament.

It will suffice to give a brief summary of the documents relating immediately to Trendall. The Neile letters deserve to be reproduced at length. To avoid repetition it may be stated that Trendall was "a free mason," usually living at Battell Bridge in St. Tooley's (St. Olave's) parish, London; in November, 1638, being about 50 years old, he came to Dover, "and wrought in his Matie's works in Aucliffe Bulwark neare this towne for making a wall about the same." He had a wife and two children, and kept a young man of 18 as servant.

The reference-marks of the papers are, Do. Chas. I. ccccxxvii. 78 & 80, ccccxxxii. 27, ccccxxxvi. 15.

I. Brief note from Will. Becher, Whitehall, 9 Nov. 1639, to Mr Mottershed, at the office of the High Commission; enclosing Examinations and Letters.

- (1) Letter of Mayor and jurats of Dover to Abp. Laud, n.d. [but evidently 27 July 1639], enclosing examinations of Trendall and others. He "of late hath occasioned conventicles in and about this towne, taking upon him there to expound the Scriptures both to men and women, spread sundry opinions repugnant to the doctrine of the Church of England, and refuseth to take the oath of Supremacie to his Matie." "Humble praying that wee may receive yr Grace's order and comaundement herein, for p'vention of further mischiefe likely

to be done in this towne by him, who hath alreadie seduced manie, and inclined them to his opinions."

(1 a) Examination of Trendall, 27 July 1639, "before Thomas Day Esq. Maior of the said towne and port," and eight jurats, named. He "confesseth that hee hath not since his being in this towne beene at either of the churches to hear divine service and sermons, and saith that his conscience will not serve him to yeild to the worship under the Bishop's power here used (as hee conceiveth). Hee denieth that the Lord's praier is a praier, and for the Creed or Beliefe, hee saith hee hath nothing to do with it, nor doth approue of it. Hee denieth that hee hath drawne any p'sons together into conventicles to instruct them in any points of religion, but confesseth that some p'sons haue come to him to his house, and that hee hath been at diuerse of the inhabitants' houses in this towne, being sent for, and hath there conversed with them, but refused to declare their names."

(1 b) Examination of Joane wife of William Tyddeyman, Mariner; same date. She had been acquainted with Trendall about three months, had been often at his house, and he at hers about four times. He and his wife, William Tatnell, ten others named, and others being strangers, were at her house on a Sunday for several hours; when Trendall "took a text of Scripture, and did explain the same and instruct them in the words. He maintayned that our Saviour Christ is Lord and King of the church wch is his body, and the like doctrines, and that same Sunday they did sing the 118 Psalme from the fifteenth verse to the end, and the 84 Psalme. Shee saith that shee hath heard that the said Trendall doth maintaine that the Lord's praier is not a praier, but the ground or forme of praier, and that Christ's ordinances are not in our church, and shee herself hath found the same, and that shee hath found great comfort in the said Trendall's companie and by his instructions...Shee hath heard the said Trendall say that such ministers that haue their power from the Bishop have it by false power."

(1 c) Examination of John Haselwood, Shoemaker; same time and place. He was at Tyddeyman's house on a recent Sunday, "where were diuerse p'sons of this towne, whose names hee refuseth to declare; and that John Trendall...then and there took a text of Scripture and expounded the same: the chapter and words he remembreth not...hee hath heard the said John Trendall say that our ministers come not into the church according to Christ's rule and order."

(2). Second enclosure, in letter No. I, containing:—

(2a) Examination of Edward Goodman, Shoemaker. On a certain Sunday he went to Tyddeyman's house "to heare what reasons John Trendall could giue that it was not lawfull to heare our ministers preach in our churches"... "Trendall then and there took a text of Scripture, the words hee now remembreth not, wch he did expound...and afterwards fell upon the said point, that it was unlawfull to heare our ministers preach in the churches, and his mainest reason was (*sic*) of his opinions was for that our ministers were made by Bishops." On another occasion "the said Trendall after his prayer, wherein hee remembreth not that he prayed for the King, took a text of Scripture out of the old testament, the words he remembreth not, and expounded the same, and hee saith his exposicon was about one houre and a halfe"... "and so the said examine hence departed, not satisfied with his opinions, wch hee utterly disclaymed."

(2b) Examination of William Tatnell, Shipwright. This is very similar to the foregoing ; adding that Trendall discoursed in the forenoon on Isaiah li. 7, and in the afternoon on 1 John iii. 4, "which text he deuided and raised uses and instructions thereon, of wch hee the examine tooke notes in writing." Afterwards Tatnell "demaunded of him whether that wch was able to beget faith were not able to nourish it ; wch Trendall denied not, but gave not him any satisfactorie answer therein ;"... "lastly saith that hee doth not in any way adhere to his opinions."

(2c) Examination of Thomas King, of Allhallows Parish, London. He had known Trendall about six years, and came to Dover a few months ago. On a recent Sunday he was at Tyddeyman's house, "the cause of his being there was to trie the spiritts whether they were of God or noe as the word of God directeth him ; but remembreth not the texts of Scripture nor any question then and there moued touching our church or ministers. Being demanded whether hee doth agree with Trendall in his opinions, hee saith that hee knoweth not what his opinions are."

(2d) Examination of Anne Broome. On a Sunday named she was at Tyddeyman's house with others ; where Trendall prayed, and expounded Rom. xii. 1. for about an hour. "Being demaunded whether the said Trendall did not then discourse touching the unlawfulnessse of our ministers, whether the Lord's praier were a praier or not, and concerning the church's government, saith hee then and there speake some things hereof, but used not p'suasion to her this examine therein, and that shee is not of his judgmt. in any of his opinions."

(2c) Examination of Susan Lee. She adds nothing of moment to the statement of Anne Broome.

(2 f g) Examinations of Elizabeth Hogben and Joane Crux. They endorse the statement of Anne Broome ; the latter adds " that shee is not, neither will bee of the judgmt. of the said John Trendall, or of any of the opinions wch. the said John Trendall holdeth."

(3) Letter of Abp. Neile of York ; see (1) below.

II. Copy of letter of the Mayor of Dover to Sir John Cooke, Secretary of State, 24th Aug. 1639. Acknowledges Commission to administer the oath of supremacy " to John Trendall a prisoner here " ; reports that said prisoner " this p'sent day tooke y<sup>e</sup> said Oath, as I haue by my Certificate to the Writ annexed certified their Honors "... "The enclosed book came lately to my hand. I thought it my duty to send it to your Honors, according to his Matie's late p'clamation in that behalfe." The book referred to is a copy of the Confession of Faith of the Church of Scotland. The certificate bears that Trendall had taken the oath before the Mayor in the Guildhall, and had been remanded " to be kept close prisoner untill I shall receive further directions concerning his p'son from yr Honors."

The prisoner seems to have been brought to London ; as the next document is

III. Extracts from the Acts of the Court of High Commission ; viz :—

15 Nov. 1639. Trendall being thrice publicly called for, and not appearing as he had been enjoined, the deputy registrar was required " to attend the Clerk of the Council, and certify the said Trendall's neglect."

21 Nov. " Trendall having refused his oath [*presumably the ex-officio oath*] was ordered to be brought hither by the next Court day, and to be declared *pro confesso* if he refuse then."

28 Nov. " The articles to be reviewed by some of the Commissioners, and if Trendall then take not his oath by the next Court day, he is to be declared *pro confesso*, liberty being granted him to confer with any divine in the presence of his keeper."

IV. Petition of the gaoler of Dover to the Council for payment of charges incurred in keeping " John Trender (*sic*), a very poor man, prisoner about fifteen weeks," and bringing him " before the Lords, by whom he is now committed to the Fleet prison." Petition not dated, but under-written, " Whitehall, 20 Decr. 1639."

V. Minute of warrant " to pay to John Reston, keeper of Dover prison, £15 for his pains and charges in keeping John

Trender, and bringing him up from Dover to London"; dated 27 Jany. 1640.

Richard Neile or Neyle was Bishop of Rochester, 1608-10; of Lichfield, 1610-13; Lincoln, 1613-17; Durham, 1617-27; Winchester 1627-32; and Archbishop of York, 1632-40. He died in the year last named, a few days before the meeting of the Long Parliament. Laud was his chaplain for several years from 1608 or -9 onward. The following letters are given verbatim.

(I). To the right worll. my very loving friend; Sir Dudley Carleton Knight, one of the Clarkes of his Mat.'s most honorable. privy Counsell be these delivered at ye Counsell chamber at Whitehall, or else where with speed. The post is paid.

Salutem in Xro.

Good Sir, I received your lres. of the 3 of August, whereby you signified to me the pleasure of the most Honoble ye Lords of his. Matie's privie Counsell that I should certifie to yr. Lorps. ye p'ceeding held with ye blasphemous Heretique Wightman that was burnt at Lichfield while I was Bishop there. I desire to understand from you in what p'ticulars their Lorps. doe require to be certified; for the generality of my proceedings with him my Lord's Grace of Canterbury can informe their Lorps.; for he was with me, and assisted me in all ye p'ceedings against Wightman from ye beginning to ye end. If it be their Lorp's. pleasure that I certifie particularities, vizt. what his blasphemous opinions were, what sentence was given against him, and what certificate thereof was made to his Matie, whereupon issued his Matie's writt to burne him; I must craue some time to looke up my papers, wch are now at my house at Bishopsthorp, and myself being at my house at Cawood, some 6 miles from thence, and it will require some time to transcribe copies of them.

It may please you to understand that this Wightman discovered himselfe by a petition delivered at Roiston to my then master of blessed memory King James, who, finding that he was of my Diocesse, sent him to me to my dwelling then at Westminster with comandment to me to remit him to ye Gatehouse, and to take examinacon of his severall opinions under his owne hand, wch I did, using many conferences with him by myselfe and by other learned divines to make him see his blasphemous heresies, and to reclaime him. This course of Conference was held with him from about a weeke after Easter till the middle of October, in all which time no good could be wrought upon him, but he became every day more obstinate in his blasphemous heresies, whereupon my blessed master K James comaunded me to send him downe to Lichfield, and my selfe to goe after him, there to p'ceed against

him as a blasphemous heretique. At my coming to Lichfield, being there assisted with sundry divines of very good note, we began with him by divers dayes conference, but to no purpose. Then we proceeded in a legall way against him in ye Consistory; but after sundry dayes past in a legall manner of p'ceeding, and three assignations for sentence, we appointed a day for sentence, wch was executed in ye bodye of ye Church, and before ye sentence denounced, myselfe began ye business with a sermon and confutation of his blasphemies against ye Trinity of persons in ye Unity of ye Eternal Godhead, the other divines that assisted me each of them confuting one of ye pointes of his blasphemous opinions. To all which he no way relenting, but p'sisting in his blasphemies, I read ye sentence against him to be a blasphemous heretique, and to be accordingly certified to ye Secular power, whereupon his Matie's writt was directed to ye Sheriffe of ye County of ye Cittie of Lichfield to burne him as a heretique. Upon the writt, he being brought to ye stake, and the fire scorched him a little, he cried out that he would recant. The people thereupon ran into the fire, and suffered themselves to be scorcht to save him. There was then prepared a form of recantation offered to him, wch he then read and p'fessed before he was unchayned from ye stake; hereupon he was carried back to prison, and after a fortnight or three weeks' tyme of pausing upon his recantation, he was brought into ye Consistory, there to declare his recantation, and to denounce his said blasphemous heresies in a legall way, that ye same might remain *apud acta* in ye Court, done deliberately upon better resolution and in truth, and not in terror of ye fire. When he came into ye Consistory he blasphemed more audaciously than before. His Sacred Matie being informed of this his behaviour, comanded ye writt for ye burning of him to be renewed, wch was sent down and executed, and he died blaspheming. This is that concerning ye p'ceeding against Wightman that on ye sodaine I can relate, wch I pray you, together with my most humble and bounden duty and service, to present to their Lorps. And if I may by the next post understand from you what further information or p'ticulars their Lorps. will require, I will do my indeavor to performe their Lorps. comands.

And so I commit you to God, and rest, your very  
loving friend,

R. EBOR.

Ffrom Cawood Castle,  
9no August, 1639.

[Sealed with the Archiepiscopal arms]

The following is not enclosed with the former.

(II). To ye most Rd. ffather in God my Right honorable good Lord

and Brother ye Lord Arch Bishop of Canterbury his Grace, one of His Mat's most honorable Privy Counsell.

Sal. in Xto.

May it please yor Gr.,

I have for some weeks past forborne to trouble you with my lres., not having anything of importance to write of, being assured that uppon his Mat's. retorne you have yor hands full of great business, and that time is precious with you.

I received a fortnight since a lre. from Sr. Dudley Carleton, Clarke of the Counsell, signifieng yor and the rest of ye Lords of the Counsell's pleasure that I would certifie the p'ceedings against Wightman at Lichfield, there being now the like accasion of p'ceeding against one Trendall a blasphemous Heretick, to wch lre. I instantly ye same day returned such an answer as uppon my memory on ye sodaine I could, being at Cawood, and my pap's at Bishopsthorpe. Since wch time I have sent for my pap's that concerne that business, and I do here send to yr. Gr. a copy of all the legall proceedings with him, and a copy of the certificate made to his Matie. of blessed memory, whereupon the writt to burne him issued forth. The copy of ye writt it selfe I send not, for that it is to be had out of the Rolles. Yor Gr. will find an error of the Register's, wch you must pardon, that he hath sett Mr Fulnetby before yor Grace in the speech that you had at the censuring of him.

Your Grace will find by ye reading of the Book of ye Acts and his examinacon and confessions that before my proceeding in a legall course against him, I brought him before the High Comission, where uppon examinacon he avowed his damnable blasphemous heresies and opinions. But ye High Comision forbore to censure him, but left him to me to p'ceed against him as his Ordinary. The proceedings against Legate at ye same time were alike, whose punishment I am p'suaded did a great deal of good in this Church. I feare me ye present times do require like Exemplary punishment; wch I feare to your Grace's grave consideracon. I will not trouble yr. Gr. with anything els at this tyme, but only entreat yt. you will make it knowne to the Lords that I have sent you these things. So with my prayers for your health, welfare, and happy successe in all your businesse, I rest,

Your Grace's very loving Friend and Brother,  
R. EBOR.

From my house at Cawood Castle,  
August 23rd, 1639.

[Sealed with the Archiepiscopal arms : the enclosures are missing]



What opinions Trendall may have avowed before the High Commission is unknown ; all that appears in the Dover examinations is, that he was strenuously opposed to episcopacy and all set forms of prayer, and had some undefined objection to the Creed. And for this, in August, 1639, the Lords of the Council and the two Archbishops were seriously considering whether or not to burn him !

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