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# Congregational Historical Society

## Annual Meeting

The fifth Annual Meeting was held in the council chamber of the National Temperance Federation on Wednesday, 10th May, 1905, at 4 p.m. Rev. J. Brown, D.D. presided, and about 25 members were present.

After prayer by Rev. G. LYON TURNER, M.A., the SECRETARY'S report was read, summarising the work of the preceding year. In addition to facts respecting publications already familiar to all members, it was reported that the Society had sustained losses by the death of Rev. A. Mackennal, D.D., Rev. R. Lovett, M.A., and Rev. J. A. Mitchell, B.A.; also by the lapse of several members, whose number had not been fully made up by new accessions; the names at present on the roll being about 160. Owing to the temporary absence from England of Mr. Henry Thacker, it had been arranged at a meeting of Committee on 13th March that Mr. Fred. S. Thacker should act provisionally as Finance Secretary, during his father's absence. It was reported that Rev. G. L. Turner had transcribed the whole of the documents in the Public Record Office relating to the Indulgence of 1672; also that members of the Society were working in connection with County Associations on the History of Congregationalism in Berks, Bucks and Oxon.; also Kent, Surrey, and Northumberland and Durham. Numerous papers were already in hand or promised for future publication; others had been declined with thanks as unsuitable.

The TREASURER'S report was presented, as follows:—

By Balance brought forward	-	-	£83	1	0
Subscriptions: Arrears 1902-3	£5	12	0		
1904	-	41	17	0	
1905	-	3	10	0	
Life member	21	0	0		
			£71	19	0
Sales, Less Commission	-	-	5	17	4
			£160	17	4

To Cost of Publications	-	£91	6	6	
Sundry Printing, Postage, &c.		10	11	6	
Sub. to Friends' His. Soc. and extra publication	} }	0	15	0	
Hire of Room	-	1	1	0	
		<hr/>			103 14 0
Balance in Lloyd's Bank	-		57	3	4
		<hr/>			£160 17 4
		<hr/>			

On the motion of Mr. AVERY, seconded by Mr. DIXON, the Report and Treasurer's Statement were adopted.

The Chairman and Secretaries were re-elected.

Mr. STANIER desiring to be relieved of the post of Treasurer, Rev. G. Lyon Turner, M.A., was elected in his place.

It was reported that Mr. W. Tuck, of Bath, desired to retire from the Committee, being unable to attend.

The Committee was then constituted as follows :

S. B. Atkinson, Esq., B.A., LL.B.	Rev. G. Currie Martin, M.A., B.D.
J. Avery, Esq.	J. D. McClure, Esq., LL.D.
Rev. Bryan Dale, M.A.	Rev. W. Pierce, M.A.
H. W. Dixon, Esq., M.A., F.L.S.	P. H. Silcock, Esq., B.A.
Rev. C. S. Horne, M.A.	Rev. D. W. Simon, Ph.D., D.D.
W. A. Hounsom, Esq., J.P.	Rev. W. H. Summers.
W. H. Stanier, Esq.	

Conversation followed on the general work of the Society. It was intimated that at the Autumnal Meeting papers would be read by Rev. B. Dale on "Early Congregationalism in Leeds," and by Rev. F. J. Cater on "New Facts relating to Robert Browne." Mr. Johnson Evans undertook to examine certain papers in Williams's Library. The Secretary was instructed to inform the persons engaged in compilation of County Histories that the Treasurer would willingly furnish them lists of licences under the Indulgence (1672) in their respective counties.

## A Remarkable Puritan Manuscript

THE name of Giles Wiggenton, the nonconforming vicar of Sedbergh, is well known to students of the early Puritanism. A "Reformist," or "Disciplinary Puritan," he repudiated the unscriptural claims of lordly prelates, but would willingly have seen the Puritan discipline grafted on a reduced episcopacy. If Dexter be not mistaken he preached, once at least, to a Separatist conventicle in or near London; but he refused to join in the separation, for which he was severely judged by men of a more uncompromising type. Yet he was enough of a Brownist to claim for the Church the right to reform itself, if the prince neglected or refused to do so—for which heresy he is censured in T. Rogers's *Exposition of the XXXIX Articles*. He suffered suspension, deprivation, and several imprisonments, being treated the more harshly because of personal antipathy on the part of Whitgift, and because he was suspected of having a hand in Martin Marprelate. The time and place of his death are unknown, but he is supposed to have ended his days in exile.

There is an account of him in Cooper's *Athenae Cantabrigienses*, vol. ii., p. 329-31; wherein to the brief list of his published works is added "*Theological Treatises*, 4to. circa 1590; MS. in the possession of the late Mr. Dawson Turner—sale cat. 222." The contents of the MS. are described, incorrectly, but sufficiently for identification. It

was at one time in the hands of Rev. W. Jacobson, D.D., Regius Professor at Cambridge, and afterwards Bishop of Chester. Subsequently it became the property of Joshua Wilson, Esq., by whom it was bequeathed to the Congregational Library. But until the present year it seems never to have been thoroughly examined. It has now, however, been carefully copied; and the results of a close scrutiny have been as interesting as unexpected.

The MS. consists of 75 pages, pott 4to, and contains seven separate treatises. The first 40 pp. (four treatises) appear to be in Wiggenton's handwriting; the rest is in a very dissimilar hand, and is remarkable even among Elizabethan MS. for its erratic spelling.

I.—pp. 1-10. The first treatise is entitled *Certeine Articles ministred by the Arch: at noe time, leaste he should hurte or shame his owne prophane hirelinges, &c.* Under the guise of a set of mock visitation articles the writer sets forth a very noble conception of the pastoral care, and of a parish under Puritan discipline. There is no direct evidence as to the authorship; but as it is probably in Wiggenton's hand, and exactly represents his views on the subject, it may be assigned to him without much risk of error.

II.—pp. 11-17.—*Report of two conferences between Wiggenton and Whitgift on 28th May and 21st June, 1584.* Whitgift demanded that Wiggenton should engage not to preach in the province of Canterbury without his permission. This Wiggenton refused to do; and further refused to take the *ex officio* oath, or to address the archbishop by any other title than Master Whitgift. Of course it ended in the Puritan being remitted to prison. The *first* of the two conferences is transcribed in the Morrice MS. in Williams's Library.

III.—pp. 18-26.—*A short summe of my release out of prison.* Mainly a conference between Wiggenton and Drs. Stanhope, Goodman, and Aubury. It is not transcribed in the Morrice MS., and is little if at all used by Brook. Wiggenton refuses either to give the archbishop his titles, or to pay the gaoler's fees on release from an illegal imprisonment.

IV.—pp. 27-40, is *part of a letter*, breaking off very abruptly; and though apparently transcribed by Wiggenton's hand, it certainly is not his composition. The writer is clearly an uncompromising Separatist; and such are the unnamed

persons whom he addresses. Much of the letter is taken up with arguments against the use of set forms of prayer in general, and of the Book of Common Prayer in particular. The general drift and style much resemble those of parts of Greenwood's *Reply to Mr. Gifford's pretended Defence of Read Prayers*; while other parts coincide yet more closely with passages in Barrowe's *Discovery of the False Church*, (1590). At the end is a device dated 1587, which has been strangely misdescribed as a *Wiggenton Rebus*. It is really a flower, with the letters I.G. twice repeated, and no human ingenuity can torture it into the name Wiggenton or any of its variants. Now Gifford's defence was in answer to an unpublished writing of Greenwood's, which had been seized by the bishops and had come into Gifford's hands; and which Greenwood had vainly besought Gifford to publish with his answer. On the whole, therefore, it seems pretty safe to regard pp. 27-40 as a transcript, in Wiggenton's hand, either of part of Greenwood's writing which was seized by the bishops, or of an earlier writing of his of a similar character—the germ, perhaps, both of the suppressed treatise and of Barrowe's *Discovery*.

V.—pp. 41-52.—*Profes of aparent Churche*. This, and all that follows, is in a hand totally unlike Wiggenton's; and looks as if written by some ill-educated person from dictation. There is nothing to indicate the authorship of this treatise, which is written in a tone of extreme bitterness, and from the point of view of the most pronounced separatism. The anonymous writer does not cloak his conviction that the Anglican church by law established is no church at all.

VI.—pp. 53-61, is a *Pastoral Epistle* to a Separatist church, written from prison. The twice repeated mention of 28 years' unfruitful labour seems to fix the date at the end of 1586 or early in 1587. The unnamed author has lately been committed to close prison by the archbishop for refusing the *ex officio* oath. This might well apply to Greenwood, who was imprisoned in November, 1586; and the contents of the letter correspond with his known writings both in matter and in spirit. In the absence of more direct evidence we may provisionally accept Greenwood as the probable author. The document is of unique interest in that, while an epistle in form, it is a sermon in substance; and may therefore serve as a specimen of the kind of preaching which found acceptance with the early Separatists.

VII.—pp. 63-75.—*Four principall and waighty causes for separation*. These are first stated in a form abridged from that in which they appear in Barrowe's *Brief sum of the causes of our Separation* (1605); but their expansion is quite different from what is given either in the *Brief Sum*, or in Barrowe's *Platform*

(1590). The language is generally harsh, resembling Barrowe's most combative style ; and in the margin are several notes of protest in another hand. But a further clue is afforded in the phrase on p. 63, "you shall find herebye Christ Jesus denied in all his offices, and so consequently not to be come in the flesh." Now Bancroft, in his sermon at Paul's Cross on 9th February, 1588/9, quotes from a lost work of Robert Browne thus: "In a treatise of his against one Barowe: whereas you charge us, saith he, in denying Christ in his offices, and consequently not to be come in the flesh," &c. Browne had, a few months earlier, made a partial submission to the established order, and so regarded himself as included in the charge laid by "one Barowe." There can be little doubt, therefore, that the present is the writing in which that charge was made ; and that it is a hitherto unknown treatise of Henry Barrowe, written not later than the middle of 1588.

## Robert Browne's Ancestors and Descendants

EVERY student of the life of Robert Browne owes a large debt of gratitude to Dexter for being the first to set that obscured life in a true light in his valuable work *The Congregationalism of the last three hundred years* (1879). Dexter's references to the Browne family and to Robert's children are brief, and, unhappily, not free from error. It seems to be the fate of every writer about Robert Browne to fall into some mis-statements. Dexter depended too exclusively upon Blore's *History and Antiquities of Rutlandshire* (1811). Blore has been corrected in many respects by the researches of the late Mr. Justin Simpson of Stamford, the results of which were published in *Notes and Queries*, 7th Series, Vols. 4 and 5.

The following brief account of the ancestors of Robert Browne is chiefly based upon the histories of Wright and Blore, with the additions and corrections of Mr. Justin Simpson. The account of Robert Browne's children and later descendants is, however, taken from the original registers at Achurch, Stamford, and Casterton, by the writer, and for the accuracy of these statements he alone is responsible.

### I.—ROBERT BROWNE'S ANCESTORS.

The earliest member of the noted family of the Brownes of Stamford and Tolethorpe, of whom we can find any record, is the John Browne who is mentioned in a deed of 48 Ed. III (1374) between "the Warden of the Grey ffriares and John Browne, Alderman, and the Com'tie of Staunford," concerning the exchange of a spring of water. This John Browne was alderman of Stamford in 1374, 1376, 1377. Dexter states that he came over to Stamford from Calais. I can find no ground whatever for this statement. Was this an inference upon the part of Dexter from the fact that the Brownes were wool merchants engaged in the staple of Calais? Stamford was an important centre of that trade, and had considerable connection with France through these merchants. But to be a merchant of the staple of Calais did not involve residence in Calais, much less emigration from Calais. It is unlikely that a fresh settler would rise to the important and close position of alderman.

Wright (*History and Antiquities of Rutland*, 1684) and Peck

(*Antiquarian Annals of Stamford*, 1727) both state that "Sir Thomas Burton did by his deed dated at Tolethorp on the Saturday next after the Feast of St. Martin the Bishop 50 Edw. III (1377) convey unto John Browne of Stamford Eq. this Mannour of Tolethorp, together with all its appurtenances, and the perpetual Advowson of the Chappel of the same: also all his lands, tenements, rents and services in the village of Little Casterton with the Reversion of the Patronage of the Church of the same."

Blore discusses at length the question when the Brownes first settled at Tolethorpe, and shews that, whatever might have been the validity of the above deed, the Burtons still continued to enjoy some of the manorial rights of Tolethorpe. But there are several documents quoted by Blore to shew that the Brownes also had some interest in the estate. It is difficult to find what actually happened. Apparently the Brownes received and exercised certain manorial rights off and on from 1377, but did not finally settle at Tolethorpe Hall until the time of Christopher Browne (died at Tolethorpe, 1519).

This first John Browne had a son, also named John, of whom we know only that he was alderman (then the principal magistracy of the borough) of Stamford in 1384, and that his wife was named Maud Tanner or Tavener (Wright, *Story of the 'Domus Dei' of Stamford*, 1890, p. 3).

Their son was another John, mentioned in different wills (1409, 1422), as the legatee of various properties in Stamford (*Domus Dei*, pp. 4 and 5). He was alderman of Stamford in 1414, 1422, 1427. He died on the 26th July, 1442, and his wife Margaret on the 22nd November, 1460. They were buried at the east end of the north aisle of All Saints church, Stamford. A most interesting brass, still in existence, represents him in an alderman's gown, with his wife standing by his side. The inscription on this brass is given by Dexter (p. 64, n. 13).

John and Margaret had three children, (1) John, (2) William, (3) Alice—all of whom lie buried in All Saints, Stamford; and their brasses are still preserved, making a notable collection of mediaeval brasses. The eldest, John, was alderman in 1448, 1453, and 1462. His wife's name was Agnes. He did not as Dexter says (p. 64) "build All Saints church in Stamford and present it to the parish." All Saints existed in Norman times, and the structure as it stands to-day possesses many portions dating from the 12th and 13th centuries, including one of the most beautiful Early English arcades (c. 1250) to be found. The fact is, during the Wars of the Roses, especially after the battle of Wakefield, Stamford was ruthlessly assailed by the Lancastrians. Some churches disappeared entirely, while others (within the walls) were left considerably wrecked. Among the latter was All Saints, which was restored by the munificence of the Browne family. The work was probably

commenced by the John who died in 1442. The two sons John and William completed what their father had begun, by raising the noble tower and spire. (Wright's *Domus Dei*, p. 7; Peck's *Antiquities*, p. 56).

The second son William is regarded as one of the greatest benefactors of Stamford. In 1484 he founded Browne's Hospital, the Bede House of Stamford, which still faces the Corn Market. He was alderman of Stamford six times between 1435 and 1470 and was sheriff of the county of Rutland four times, in 1468, 1475, 1483, and 1487 (Fuller's *Worthies* under 'Rutland'), and of the county of Lincoln in 1478 (Harrod's *Antiquities of Stamford*). This fact, by the way, is an indication of the connection of the Browne family with Tolethorpe before the time of Christopher. He is denominated "William Browne, Tolethorp" in Fuller's list. He died in 1489, and lies with his wife—Margaret Stoke, sister of Thomas Stoke, canon of York—in St. Mary's chapel in All Saints church, Stamford. Their brasses are among the finest left in England. He is represented standing upon two woolpacks. The pediments of the rich canopies have, within a circle, the crest of William Browne—a stork rising from its nest. Over his head is the device "+ me spede"; over his wife's "Dere Lady help at nede." William Browne, who was "a marchant of verie wonderful richnesse," purchased from Thos. Fitzwilliam the manor of Lilford, in the county of Northamptonshire (*Roll of Parliament*, Ed. IV.) He left the manor of Lilford to his son-in-law John Elmes, and in the possession of his descendants it remained until 1711. Achurch is less than half-a-mile from Lilford Hall, and the fact that the occupant of Lilford Hall was a relative may have had some influence upon Robert Browne's tenure of the living of Achurch for 40 years.

Before leaving John and William Browne, mention may be made of the fact that a beautiful west window has been placed in All Saints with the following inscription :

"To the glory of God and in affectionate remembrance of their parents, this window was dedicated A.D. 1888 by the children of Charles Browne of Boston, Massachusetts, who died July 21st, 1856, and of Elizabeth Isabella Tilden his wife who died Dec. 6th, 1884, both parents being lineal descendants of John Browne who lies buried with Agnes his wife in the north aisle of this church, which was restored about the year 1465 by him and his brother William Browne the founder of Browne's Hospital in this parish."

The eldest son of John Browne was Christopher. He was alderman of Stamford in 1482, 1491, and 1502, sheriff of Rutlandshire in 1493, 1501, and 1509, and M.P. with David Malpas in 1489 and again with William Elmes in 1495.

On June 20, 1480, Christopher Browne, designated gentleman of the county of Rutland, had a grant of arms from John More, Norroy. The arms are described by Blore, p. 93, and a wood-cut of them appears in Wright's *Rutlandshire*, p. 129.

Christopher married twice. 1st, Grace Pinchbecke, heiress of John Pinchbecke, Lincolnshire, by whom he had one son Francis, his heir, and 2nd, a Bedingfield of Norfolk, by whom he had three sons. The youngest, Edmund, married Johanna or Joane, daughter of David Cecil of Stamford, and aunt of William Cecil, Lord Burleigh, Robert Browne's great protector.

Christopher's eldest son Francis was born about 1485. He was M.P. with David Cecil for the borough in 1509, and in 1526 received the remarkable, but not unique, charter from Henry VIII., permitting him to remain covered in the presence of the king and all lords spiritual and temporal.

He owned land in Calais, and was resident there when Henry VIII. met the Archduke Philip, 1509. He died May 11th, 1542.

His eldest son was Anthony, the father of Robert. Anthony, born at Tolethorpe in 1515, was sheriff of Rutlandshire in 1546, 1558, and 1571. He married Dorothy, daughter of Sir Peter Boteler, of Walton Woodall, Herts. She was buried at Casterton, Dec. 24th, 1602. Their children were seven. Francis, the eldest, and heir to Tolethorpe, married Lucy, sister of Sir Thomas Mackworth of Normanton, Bart.

Philip, the second child, is mentioned by Robert Browne in his *True and Short Declaration*, p. 1. He was ordained, and presented to the living of Little Casterton in 1591 by his elder brother Francis, but was deprived in 1604 for non-conformity (*Peterborough Diocesan Registers*).

The third son was Robert—about whom we say nothing here, except that, as his name does not occur in the parish register of Little Casterton, which dates from 1562, he was born before that date, but when we cannot say.

Robert's eldest sister Dorothy (the sixth child of Anthony) married Guilbert Pickering of Titchmarsh, about two miles from Achurch. The Pickerings were a prominent county family: Guilbert's brother, Sir William Pickering, was one of Queen Elizabeth's suitors. John Browne (son of Francis and nephew of Robert) married Mary Quarles, sister of Sir Robert Quarles, Kent.

Anne (daughter of Francis and niece of Robert) married Robert Kirkham, son and heir of Walter Kirkham of Cotterstock and Fineshade Abbey, Northamptonshire—within a few miles of Achurch.

These marriages are mentioned to shew the social standing and aristocratic connections of the Brownes, in the lifetime of Robert, for doubtless his family connections were effective in saving him from the tragic fate of some of his followers.

## 2.—ROBERT BROWNE'S DESCENDANTS.

Blore tells us Robert married an "Allen of Yorkshire" (p. 93). From the Achurch register we learn that her name was Alice. I conjecture that the marriage took place in 1583; the reason for this conjecture will appear directly. The first child of Robert's to be registered at Achurch is Francis (bapt. Nov. 24th, 1592); but under the marriage entries of 1605 we read "William Taylor of Thorpe Achurch and Joan Browne of the same married 1605, Februarie 14"; and in the marriage column of 1614 we read "December 14, 1614, Anthonie Browne and Elizabeth Mew." Here, then, are indications of two children, at least, who were born before Robert settled at Achurch. Stephen Bredwell, in his *Rising of the foundations of Brownism* (1588) quotes on page 140 a valuable written confession of Robert Browne's in which among other matters he (R.B.) says "For I have one childe that is alreadye baptized, according to the order and lawe, and by this time, in mine absence, if God have given my wife a safe deliverance and the childe doe live, I suppose it is also baptized in like manner." That subscription is dated the 7th of October, 1585. And, the day after, Browne is sent home by Lord Burleigh to his father at Tolethorpe (Fuller, *Church History*, vol. 5, p. 65).

Now in the parish register of All Saints, Stamford, occur the following entries:—

- 1584. Jone Browne, baptized Feb. viii.
- 1585. Anthonie Browne, baptized May xvi.

From these coincidences it is pretty clear that these entries are of Robert's eldest and second children.

In the Achurch register we also meet with a William Browne of Lilford who married Joane Adams of Achurch in 1623. This may have been Robert's son, or his nephew.

Nowhere is there any trace of a Timothy, and that name is evidently a mistake for Anthonie. We are now able to give a complete list of Robert's children:

1. Joan, baptized Feb. 8, 1584, at Stamford.
2. Anthonie, baptized May 16, 1585, at Stamford.
3. [William] ?
4. Francis, baptized Nov. 24th, 1592, at Achurch.
5. Thomas, baptized Mar. 24th, 1593, at Achurch.
6. Bridget, born Dec. 10th, 1595, baptized Dec. 14th, at Achurch.
7. Grace " Dec. 19th, 1598, " Dec. 24th, "
8. Alice " May 10, 1600, " May 18th, "
9. John " Aug. 22nd, 1603, " Aug. 28th, "

Of these children and their families the Achurch registers give us many items of information. (1), Joan, the eldest child, married as above stated William Taylor of Thorpe Achurch on Feb.

14th, 1605-6. By him she was the mother of the following five children :

Robert,	baptized	Sept. 25th, 1607.
William	"	Sept. 4th, 1609.
Thomas	"	Jun. 6th, 1610.
Elizabeth	"	Sep. 21st, 1617.
Symon	"	July 18th, 1621.

Joan was buried on April 12th, 1627, and three years afterwards (Oct. 8, 1630) the widower married Susan Henson, and by her had several more children. The Achurch registers, as far as the writer has examined them (to 1812), contain a continual stream of Taylors, the descendants of William Taylor by both marriages.

(2). Anthonie, Robert Browne's eldest son, married Elizabeth Mew (of Achurch) on Dec. 14th, 1614. He was buried at Achurch on Jan. 20th, 1667-8, having buried his wife on Jan. 29th, 1653-4. They had twelve children, all, save one, born in Robert's lifetime.

Edward,	baptized	Sept. 10th, 1615.
Joan	"	Jan. 5th, 1616.
Ellen	"	Feb. 24th, 1618.
Phoebe	"	Dec. 10th, 1620.
William and	}	Oct. 2nd, 1622, buried Sept. 15, 1623
Christopher		
Philip	"	Nov. 2nd, 1623.
Thomas	"	Dec. 25th, 1625.
Marie	"	Dec. 9th, 1627.
John	"	Jan. 17th, 1629.
Jane	"	Mar. 25th, 1631.
Anthony	"	Feb. 15th, 1634.

(3). William married on Feb. 10th, 1623, Joan Adams of Achurch, who was buried April 19th, 1665. William was buried Jan. 2nd, 1670. They had four children :

Jeffery,	baptized	Nov. 10th, 1624.
Ann,	"	March 25th, 1627.
Lucie,	"	Feb. 24th, 1629, buried March 20th, 1630.
Alice,	"	Mar. 25th, 1631.

(4). Francis died in childhood, and was buried (as Dexter rightly states) on September 8th, 1596.

(5). Thomas was buried March 13th, 1664, the register terming him "Mr. Thomas Browne"—a title very sparingly used in the register, and given apparently only to men of some means and position. He married twice. 1st, Phoebe, who died April 15th, 1626, having given birth to one child—Sara, baptized January 28th, 1626, buried May 16th, 1662. In the same year (Julie 26th, 1626) he and "Dorcas Lenton, maied, (were) maried by license at Bristock." The issue of this marriage was four children :

Alice, baptized May 20th, 1627. (Blore says she married John Quincey of Achurch. I should like to discover his authority for that statement, but cannot).

Dorcas, baptized April 4th, 1630.

Sussanna, baptized Nov. 4th, 1632.

Thomas, „ Mar. 23, 1635, who settled at Uppingham, and according to Blore had five children.

Concerning the other children of Robert, I can add no further information to that given by Dexter (p. 118, n. 211) except that Grace was buried on Oct. 3rd (not 30th), 1603, and in the Lilford register occurs this entry, which may refer to Robert's youngest son: 1621, John Browne and Elizabeth Tomlyn were married the — day of July.

Thus the register contains entries concerning nine children of Robert Browne, and entries of baptism of 26 grandchildren. During the two following centuries there are many entries of *their* descendants. I give the more interesting, taking note only of those who retained the family name.

1629 Guilbert Browne, buried Julie 10th.

1630 Anna Browne, the daughter of Richard Browne, bapt. April 4th.

1631 Alice Broone ye daughter of Sylvester Broone and Joane his wife, bapt. May 25th, 1631. (This entry not in R. B.'s hand).

[From 1636 to 1644 there are no entries, save one, of any kind whatever. A disastrous gap for anyone wishing to trace Browne's descendants].

1654 John, the son of Jeffery Browne, bapt. July 18th.

1660 Jeffery, the son of Jeffery Browne. bapt. Dec. 23rd.

1666 Anne Browne, wife of William Browne, buried Sept. 27th.

1694 Mary Browne was buried July 14th.

1696 Elizabeth, daughter of Jeffery Browne and Elizabeth his wife, bapt. July 26th.

1699 Jacob, son of Jeffery Browne and Elizabeth his wife, bapt. Nov. 22nd.

1703 Jeffery Browne, jun. was bury<sup>d</sup> in woollen according to law, June 4th.

1704 Jeoffery Brown, sen. was then bury<sup>d</sup> in woollen according to law, Jan. 22nd.

1705 John Brown and Mary Appleby, both of this parish were married Nov. 30th.

1707 Mary, the daughter of John and Mary Brown was bapt. Jan. 14th.

1709 Elizabeth Anne, the daughter of John and Mary Brown was baptized Jan. 18th.

- 1712 Geoffrey, the son of John and Mary Brown was baptized Nov. 2nd.
- 1714 Jeffery, ye son of John and Mary Brown was bury<sup>d</sup> in woollen, April 7th.
- 1724 William Browne of Achurch and Anne Starigon of Brigstock, married by license, March 22nd, 1724.
- 1726 Elizabeth, the daughter of William and Anne Browne was baptized Oct. 2nd.
- 1728 Anne, the daughter of William and Anne Browne was baptized Dec. 26th.
- 1730 John Browne, jun. and Sarah Gaunt of Aldwinckle, then married by license, May 5th.
- 1731 Mary, ye wife of John Browne buried in woollen according to law, April 13th.
- 1731 William ye son of William and Anne Browne was baptized June 16th.
- 1732 Robert Wyman and Anne Browne were married by banns, Oct. 9th.
- 1734 Thomas the son of William and Anne Browne was baptized Oct. 6th.
- 1735 Simon Clark of Aldwinckle, St. Peter's, and Mary Browne of Achurch married by banns April 10th.
- 1737 John the son of William and Anne Browne, baptized April 20th.
- 1738 John Browne was buried Nov. 5th.
- 1742 Ann, wife of William Brown was buried July 7th.
- 1745 Jeffery the son of William and Ann Brown was buried May 16th.
- 1751 William Gray Richardson and Elizabeth Brown of of this parish married by banns, Oct. 27.
- 1752 William Brown was buried Dec. 24th.
- 1777 William Browne of All Saints, Aldwinckle and Mary Stacey, married 16th Feb.
- 1793 Ann Browne, Spinster, buried Mar. 5th.

I have not searched beyond 1812, but doubtless descendants of Robert Browne may be found to-day at Achurch or Aldwinckle.

### 3.—BROWNE'S SECOND MARRIAGE.

Fuller (*Church History*, vol. 5, 68), states that "he had in my time a wife with whom for many years he never lived, parted from her on some distaste, and a church wherein he never preached." This could not refer to his wife Alice, who was buried July 9th, 1610.

Dexter, failing to find any record of a second marriage in the Achurch register, places little reliance upon Fuller's statement. Knowing the close connection of all the Brownes with Stamford, I turned to the registers of that town, and in the register of All

Saints (where already two of Robert's children had been entered in 1584 and 1585), these entries were found: 1618, Robert Browne and Joane Story married Nov. 24th; 1623/4, Johanna wife of Robt. Browne bur. Jan. 3rd.

If these entries refer to our Robert, it is to be noted that this brief union (5 years) falls wholly within that period when Robert, for some reason or other, did not discharge his duties at Achurch (1616-1626). Local tradition states that Robert lived in a cottage at Thorpe Waterville, which, until recently, bore the date 1618—a date which synchronizes with the date of marriage. It looks as though Robert finds his second wife in Stamford, takes her home to his new house at Thorpe, she parts from him "on some distaste" and returns to Stamford, there to die.

It should also be mentioned that the following entry is found in the register of St. Martin's, Stamford:

1612 Robert Brown, gent, and Eliz. Warrener, married Feb. 14th.

As it is unlikely that a "clerke" would be described as a "gent," this entry probably refers to some other member of the Browne family.

F. IVES CATER.

Oundle.

## The Brownists in Amsterdam

IN the *Transactions* of the Royal Academy of Science at Amsterdam for the year 1881 is an interesting paper, by Rev. J. G. de Hoop Scheffer, a minister of the Mennonite Church, on "The Brownists in Amsterdam." There is little of importance in the paper beyond what has since been made available for English readers in the works of Professor Arber and Dr. Powicke; but there is appended a list of marriages of English residents in the city from 1598 to 1617, taken from the public records, and containing several entries of much interest as related to Congregational Church history. It is not, of course, to be supposed that all, or half, of the persons named were exiles for conscience' sake. But besides those *known* to have belonged to the "exiled church," it is highly probable that others not yet identified, especially those described as "of London," and some from the west of England, may have belonged to that honourable company. It therefore seems desirable to present the entire list, which has been "done into English" with the kind help of Mr. J. A. Coucke of Brondesbury. Many of the names are strangely disguised by the Dutch spelling; several of the women seem to be called by diminutives or pet names, like Annetje and Janneke for Anne and Jane; while the identification of places is often little better than guess work, and sometimes even defies conjecture.

*Marriages contracted by the English dwelling at Amsterdam, following the registers (puibocken) of that city from 1598 to January, 1617.*

1598. (1) *November 7.* Thomas Cockey<sup>+</sup> of Stratford, head servant, widower of Lijsbet Walran, and Anna Clerk of London, widow of Christ. Raphier.
1599. (2) *December 11.* Benjamin Wright<sup>+</sup> of London, copper-plate engraver, 34y., and Lysbet Martijn of London, 22y.; Witness Joris [George] and Catelijne [Catharine] Martijn, her parents.
1600. (3) *January 22.* Thomas Martson<sup>+</sup> of Harle by Ipswich [? if Harleston], mason, 26y., and Haesgen Abrahams, 16y.; Witness her father Abraham Heinrichs.
- (4) *April 22.* Jan Hantley Thomaszoon of Bradford, bombazine worker, 31y., and Anne Heyes of Chisester [? Chichester], 21y.; Witness Janneken Heyes her mother; his mother is in England.
- (5) *April 22.* Willem Hantley of Bradford, bombazine worker, 26y.; Witness his brother Jan, and Marie Hil Willemsd. van Oppen [? Upton], 26y.
- (6) *September 16.* Jean Clercg of Marvick [? if Marrick, or Morwick, or Warwick], wid<sup>r</sup> of Judith N., and Lijsbet Sodwell of Kent, wid. of Franchoys Teyler.
- (7) *September 16.* William Latham<sup>+</sup> of Chierbory [? Chirbury], 36y., and Lijsbet Janson of Richmond, 38y.; Witness her brother-in-law and sister, Thomas Bishop and Marie Johnson.
- (8) *December 16.* Antoine Fetcher of Zelwordt [Selworthy, or ? Selwood], bombazine worker, 30y., and Jenneken Richeman of Hilperton in Wiltshire, 18y.; Her witnesses: Alexander Carpenter of Wrington, John Stevenson of Bradford, and Frederick Jaebergh.
1601. (9) *March 24.* Frederyck Yearbury<sup>+</sup> of Beckington, candle maker, 25y., and Francis Hooms<sup>+</sup> of London, 20y.; Her mother Anna Witachter witness.
- (10) *April 28.* Jan Watley of Westbury in Wiltshire, bombazine worker, 27y.; (Witness Antoine Fetcher), and Anneke Thomas of Warminster by Salisbury, 25y.
- (11) *April 28.* Jelvis Zetwell of Nottinghamshire, trunk maker, 28y., and Lijsbet Williams of Essex.
- (12) *June 16.* Dirck Barentz<sup>+</sup> of Lyndust [Lyndhurst] journeyman smith, 30y., and Saertje Jans of London, wid. of Lucas Claasz.
- (13) *August 18.* Mozes Johnson<sup>+</sup> of Leicester, bombazine worker, 34y., and Margriete Sley of [H]ilperton in Wiltshire, 22y.; Her witness John Stephenson.

- (14) *September* 29. Joseph Tatham<sup>+</sup> of Lestershire, bombazine worker, 33y., and Juliane Christoffels of London, wid. of Claas Williams.
1602. (15) *June* 29. Hans Hatmercer of Baxhire [? Berkshire] wid<sup>r</sup> of Janneke Keels, and Sara Bellat of London, wid. of Artur Billet.
- (16) *July* 13. Richard Benet<sup>+</sup> of Wolstershire [Worcestershire], turner, 33y., and Constance Kanwerde of Weymant [Weymouth], 27y.
- (17) *December* 28. Christopher Bomay<sup>+</sup> of London, goldsmith, wid<sup>r</sup> of Elisabet Dryerlandt, and Janneke Seuft Thomas of Hamstede [Hampstead], wid. of Dirk Klerck.
- (18) *December* 28. Reys Howell<sup>+</sup> of Kaermargenshire [Caermarthenshire], bombazine worker, 28y., and Annetje Heys of Gloucester, wid. of Jan Huntley.
1603. (19) *April* 12. John Stevens<sup>+</sup> of Wiltshire, bombazine worker, and Margriete Eylen of Gloucestershire, wid. of Benjamin Kennel.
- (20) *May* 17. Henry Collgell<sup>+</sup> of Hortstcastle [Horncastle, or ? Hurst Castle], tailor, 27y., and Sytgen Jansd. of Bradford, 23y.
- (21) *November* 15. Thomas Willasone<sup>+</sup> of Beverkorts, [Bevercoates], bombazine worker, 32y., and Jenneke Cras of Essex wid. of Joris Marissen.
1604. (22) *February* 14. William Marie Johanzoon<sup>+</sup> of Wrentorn [? Wrentham or Wrington], bombazine worker, 21y., and Lysbet Jans of Stratwerd [Stratford], 21y.; Witness her father, Jan Trout.
- (23) *February* 21. Eduard Williams of Barington, sawyer, 23y., and Aelke Johnsdochter of Stradtfordt, 23y.; Witness her father, Jan Trout.
- (24) *April* 10. Thomas White<sup>+</sup> of Sechtenfort, [perhaps Seighford, Staffs.; or Sandford, Som.] 26y., and Rose Grempre<sup>+</sup> of London wid. of John Philips.
- (25) *July* 3. Dirck Witt of Brust, [? if Burston or Burstow] sailor, 28y., and Trijn Claesdochter, 24y.
- (26) *August* 7. Jean de l'Eclus<sup>+</sup> of Rouen in France, printer of books, wid<sup>r</sup> of Catherine de l'Epine, and Els Luys of Somersetshire, wid. of Thomas Dickers.
- (27) *August* 14. Thomas Porter<sup>+</sup> of London, candle maker, 33y., and Caterina Grienberg of London, 25y.; Witness her sister Rosa Grienberch [? Greenbury].
- (28) *September* 4. William Hawkins<sup>+</sup> of Wiltshire, bricklayer's labourer, 26y., and Anna Elinat of Wiltshire, 30y.
- (29) *September* 15. Johan Klerck of Newton, Cambridgeshire, cobbler, wid<sup>r</sup> of Isebel Serwell, and Urzele Drieuwerly [Ursula Drury] of Kenninghall, Norfolk, wid. of Jan Deyas.

- (30) *November 20.* Eduard Hynes of Hadtfield [Hatfield], bombazine worker, 27y., and Angtie Paulusd.<sup>+</sup> of Geuns in Emderland, 23y.
1605. (31) *January 15.* William Richardson<sup>+</sup> of London, bombazine worker, 23y., and Francies Home<sup>+</sup> Jansd. of London wid. of Frederck Jarbruck. [see No. 9].
- (32) *May 7.* Jan Thomas of London, mason, 24y., and Aaltje Spijker of Jarmuyen [probably Yarmouth], wid. of Jan Bockel.
- (33) *July 16.* Thomas Adams<sup>+</sup> of Hemshire [Hampshire] glove maker, wid<sup>r</sup> of Margriete Optams, and Lysbet Jorisd. of Aelberry, [Albury or Aylesbury] 33y.
- (34) *October 22.* Jan Haecgens [? Higgins] of Chipnom [Chippenham], bombazine worker, 26y., and Mary Tomas of Vroom [Frome].
1606. (35) *January 14.* Robert Jelisson of London and Magdalena Jans of Ypswich.
- (36) *January 28.* Richard Ardivey of ——— bombazine worker, 33y., and Judith Jans of ——— wid. of Wilhem Holder.
- (37) *April 15.* Thomas Michiels of Cambridge, turner, wid<sup>r</sup> of Marie Kenidie, and Margriete Williams of Leyster [Leicester], wid. of Christoffel Urchin.
- (38) *August 19.* David Breston<sup>+</sup> of London, wid<sup>r</sup> of Margriete Welssing, and Jenne Smyth of London, wid. of Richard Watz.
- (39) *September 5.* Johannes Simon<sup>+</sup> of Baster [? Baston or Bicester] Schoolmaster, wid<sup>r</sup> of Denner Smeers, and Annetje Lyfele of Sissester [Chichester or Cirencester], wid. of Joris Caligaert.
- (40) *November 11.* Rogier Payne<sup>+</sup> of London, bombazine dresser, 28y., and Aelken Wilkens of London, wid. of William Herred.
- (41) *December 16.* Thomas Gillis of Hompton [? Hampton] cutler, wid<sup>r</sup> of Janneke Williams, and Anna Aemsdochter of Chechestchester [Chichester], wid. of Richard Paris.
1607. (42) Henry Ainsworth<sup>+</sup> of Swanton, teacher, 36y., dwelling up the Singel by the Heipoort, and Margery Halie<sup>+</sup> of Ipswich, wid. of Richard Appelbey.
- (43) *June 2.* John Osborne<sup>+</sup> of Worcestersliire, 23y., case maker, and Francis Cotten of Berchshire [Berkshire] 19y.
- (44) *June 30.* William Williams<sup>+</sup> of Bedfordshire, bombazine worker, and Deliane Christoffers of London, wid. of Joseph Taekom.
- (45) *July 28.* Eduard Scheys of Suffolkshire, tailor, 25y., and Anna Trevirayd of Berkshire, 29y.

- (46) *September 1.* Thomas Conradine<sup>+</sup> of London, embroiderer, wid<sup>r</sup> of Mary Heys, and Timothea Frekelthon of Standley, [Stanley], 35y.
- (47) *September 1.* Edmund Webb<sup>+</sup> of Berkshire, bombazine worker, 21y., and Alyt Goodfellow of Northampton.
- (48) *December 15.* John Dericks<sup>+</sup> of Norwitz [Norwich], bombazine worker, 25y., and Aelken Martins of Breyd in Bartshire [? Bray in Berkshire] 22y.
- (49) *December 15.* Thomas Norwayer<sup>+</sup> of Chipnem [Chippenham], bombazine worker, 26y., and Janneke Koolsson of Wysbet [Wisbech] 24y.
1608. (50) *January 12.* Jean Beauchampe of Northamptonshire, 40y., and Susanna Saunders of Warxhire [? Warwickshire], 20y.
- (51) *January 29.* Hendrick Hendrickszoon<sup>+</sup> of Stilton [Stilton], cloth merchant, 27y., and Martgen Hendrickx<sup>+</sup> of this place, 22y.
- (52) *July 5.* Henry Cullandt<sup>+</sup> of Nottinghamshire, bombazine worker, 20y.,—shewing act under the hand of Richard Clyfton, preacher at Sutton, that his banns had been published there—and Margarete Grymsdiche of Sutton [S. in Ashfield] 30y.
- (53) *August 23.* John Murten<sup>+</sup> of Queynsborch [Queensborough or ? Gainsborough], furrier, 25y., and Jane Hodgkin<sup>+</sup> of Worchep [Worksop] 23y.
- (54) *August 30.* Francis Pigett of Axen [? if Hexton, or Axholm], bricklayer's labourer, 32y., and Margriet Struts of Bafford [Bayford or Bedford], 30y.
- (55) *October 4.* Jacobus Hurste<sup>+</sup> of Rekfert [Retford], bombazine worker, 26y., and Geertrud Bennister of Rekfert [Retford] 23y.
- (56) *November 29.* Robert Newman of Syts [? if Syston], bombazine dresser, 28y., at Middelburg, and Dorothea Berrit of Derby, 22y.
- (57) *December 6.* Cuthbert Hutton<sup>+</sup> of Daelton [Dalton], tinsmith, 27y., and Prudence Blass of Berford [Barford or Burford], 21y.
- (58) *December 10.* Jan Willems of Redtford [Retford], bombazine worker, 24y., and Marserye Dall of Laundt [? Launde] 32y.
1609. (59) *April 11.* William Jepson of Worship [Worksop] in Notinhamshire, house carpenter, 26y., and Rosemund Korsfeld, also of Worship, 23y.
- (60) *April 11.* Robert Dampert of Stafford, shopkeeper, (or pedlar), wid<sup>r</sup> of Stijnke Gerrits, and Lijntje Claedochter, 25y.
- (61) *April 14.* Joan de l'Ecluse<sup>+</sup> of Rouen, printer, wid<sup>r</sup> of

- Els. Dikkers, and Jacomyne May of Wisbus in Cambridge-shire [Wisbech], 30y.; Her brother Willem Hoyt is witness. [see 26].
- (62) *August 15.* Anthony Traford<sup>+</sup> of London, hat trimmer, 24y., and Lysbet Jonas of Taenbouch [? Tenbury] 23y.
- (63) *September 19.* Thomas Cox<sup>+</sup> of Chichester, tailor, 31y., and Margaret Pickerings, 28y.
- (64) *November 29.* Raaf Hamelyn of Fordimbrugh [? Fordingbridge], tailor, 24y., and Anna Luyt; His witnesses his brother Hendrick and mother Judith Socin.
1610. (65) *February 6.* Christopher Laund<sup>+</sup> of Norfolk, button maker, 30y., and Susanna Goldt<sup>+</sup> of west country, wid. of Robert Alef.
- (66) *August 2.* Walter Smith<sup>+</sup> of Berry [Bury], tobacco pipe maker, 30y., and Anne Colman<sup>+</sup> of Woesterp [? Woolsthorp] 29y.
- (67) *August 14.* William Cok of Loxael [? Locksley], bombazine worker, wid<sup>r</sup> of Magdalena Kanwel, and Aelken Bradje of Welles in Somersetshire, wid. of Jan. Braedsie.
- (68). *September 4.* Jan Brun of Bristow [Bristol], glover, 30y., and Susanne Muessinck of Wrinston [? Wrington] Somersetshire, 21y.
- (69). *October 23.* Matthew Auckland<sup>+</sup> of Brechtwyl, [Brightwell], glover, 24y., and Elisabet Pygadt of Axen [see 54], 19y.
- (70). *December 11.* Richard Bennet<sup>+</sup> of Worcestershire, bone turner, wid<sup>r</sup> of Constance Conward, and Mary Jens of London, 22y.; Witness her stepfather Roger Waterer.
1611. (71). *January 29.* William Penroes<sup>+</sup> of Devonshire, bombazine worker, 27y., and Anne Sharp of Bedfordshire, 27y.; Witness her guardian Jan Withorff.
- (72). *February 12.* Edward Armfield<sup>+</sup> of Eppeslown [? Epperstone], damask worker, 26y., and Margery Orghan of Kasselwey [not identified], 33y.
- (73). *February 12.* Josewy Cobart<sup>+</sup> of Wiltshire, bombazine weaver, wid<sup>r</sup> of Janneke Jans, and Lysbet Heynricxd. of Sommershire [Somerset], 20y.
- (74). *April 23.* Jan Cox of Uffenthon in Baxhire [Uffington in Berkshire], cutler, 23y., and Mary Perkins<sup>+</sup> of London, 20y.; Witness her father, Thomas Perkins.
- (75). *May 14.* Samuel Whitaker<sup>+</sup> of Somersetshire, bombazine worker, 23y., and Deliverance Penry<sup>+</sup> of Hamptonshire, 21y. [Northamptonshire.]
- (76). *June 11.* William Jansen<sup>+</sup> of Tanton [Taunton], bombazine dresser, and Anne Jans of Brouton [Broughton, or Bruton], 23y.
- (77). *September 15.* Richard Mortlocke<sup>+</sup> of Herritz

- [Harwich] in Essex, wid<sup>r</sup> of Lysbet Mortlocke, and Janneke Willems of Inverstone [? Ingestone], in Essex, wid. of Thomas Thaemsen.
- (78). *November 5.* Charles Thicelst<sup>r</sup> of Saltzbury [Salisbury], 28y., and Maria Hutton of Dubbesbridge [? of Doveridge], 27y.
- (79). *November 19.* Eduard Pekzael of Wordinghegen [not identified], tailor, 47y., and Justina Kox of Sissethel. The bans were forbidden and the marriage was not proceeded with.
- (80). *December 2.* Richard Galy of Bedfordshire, mason, 40y., and Jenne Zwaan of London wid. of Lowys Jenkins.
- (81). *December 17.* Thomas Brown of Sussex, bombazine presser, 26y., and Jannetje Lodewijks wid. of Bartolomeus Adriaens of Alkmaar.
1612. (82). *April 7.* Robert Jacques of Wylshire [Wiltshire], bombazine worker, 26y., and Saartje Parijs of London, 17y.
- (83). *April 14.* Abraham Pratt<sup>r</sup> of London, passing as a barber, 32y., and Jane Charter<sup>r</sup> of Saltzbury [Salisbury], 34y.; Witness her nephew, Eduard Pexael.
- (84). *April 4 (?)*. Eduard Amlin<sup>r</sup> of Saltzbury [Salisbury], bombazine worker, 25y., and Lijsbeth Smyth of Cambridge, 21y.
- (85). *June 1.* Oliver Smyth<sup>r</sup> of Southampton, tailor, 22y., and Barber Stubbard<sup>r</sup> of Southampton, 21y.
- (86). *July 14.* Salomon Thomson<sup>r</sup> of Lauwe [? Louth], bombazine worker, 21y., and Dorothea Struth of Axem [? Axholm], 34y.; Witness his father Antoni Thoms and her nephew Francis Pygott.
- (87). *August 18.* Hendrik Everts of Stokholm, 33y., and Susanna Ingles of London, wid. of Robert Aegem.
- (88). *September 22.* Thomas Salzbery of London, trunk maker, wid<sup>r</sup> of Aelken Andries, and Elisabet Scharp of Nottinghamshire, 25y.; Their witnesses are Francis, Joseph, and Richard Bennett.
- (89). *November 10.* Barthey Silman of Alewick [Alnwick], Northumber, bombazine worker, 26y., and Elsebet Glind of Gilbe in Leicestershire, 26y. [Gilby is in Lincolnshire.]
1613. (90). *February 2.* Timotheus Elkes<sup>r</sup> of London, physician, 34y., and Margerieta Eerdewijns, 24y.
- (91). *February 16.* Jonathan Jans Hart<sup>r</sup> of Haetfield [Hatfield], bombazine worker, 23y., and Celiken Jelis. of Brakkelee [Brackley], 22y.; Witnesses his parents Jan Hart and Trijnke Joosten, and her father, Thomas.
- (92). *April 23.* Thomas Yellison<sup>r</sup> of Strackford [Stratford], button maker, wid<sup>r</sup> of Tanneke Jelis, and Anneke Ansen of Cirnter [? Cirencester], wid. of Willem Salsbury.

- (93). *June 29.* William Masit<sup>+</sup> of Passit [? Portishead or Portsea] bombazine worker, wid<sup>r</sup> of Lysbet Willens, and Dorothea Thomas of Thorburg [Thornbury], 19y.; Her witness is her father Thomas Perkins.
- (94). *July 6.* Timothy Moyse<sup>+</sup> of Penchaster in Kentshire [not identified; there is a Kenchaster in Herefordshire], 26y., and Lysbet Meryweder of Ingelby [Ingoldsby] in Lincolnshire, 23y.
- (95). *July 6.* Richard Mortlake<sup>+</sup> of Herwitz [Harwich], smith, wid<sup>r</sup> of Jannetje Tangin, and Elske Tillet of Niewbery (Newbury), wid. of William Dardin.
- (96). *July 6.* Giles Silvester<sup>+</sup> of Adamchartle [not identified; perhaps Holme Chartley], 29y., and Mary Arnould<sup>+</sup> of Laystad [? if Leziate or Leicester], 19y.; Witnesses her parents Antonie and Elskan Arnould.
- (97). *July 13.* Rainold Hartt<sup>+</sup> of Abbotsbury, 35y., and Magiory Willobey of Favey [? Fowey], 25y.
- (98). *July 13.* Eduard Philip of Bedfordshire, bombazine worker, 35y., and Anna Hutton, of Boolem [? Bolam or Bcultham], 24y.
- (99). *August 31.* Willem Johns of Beynessen [? Bynweston], bombazine worker, wid<sup>r</sup> of Yde Milles, and Anna Sanders of Saltzburgh [Salisbury], wid. of Simon Willes.
- (100). *September 7.* Richard Plater<sup>+</sup> of Bockingham, compositor, 24y., and Janneke Hodry of Nottinghamshire, 28y.
- (101). *November 9.* William Bradford<sup>+</sup> of Ostervelde [Ansterfield], "vastijnwerker," 23y., dwelling at Leyden; when questioned for the banns he declared he had no parents; and Dorothea May<sup>+</sup>, 16y., of Witsbutts [Wisbech]; Her witness is Henry Mayr.
1614. (102). *March 22.* Dirk Mancell of Leicestershire, bombazine worker, wid<sup>r</sup> of Lysbet Bakker, and Anna Lytte of Wiltshire, wid. of Ralph Amlin [see 64].
- (103). *April 19.* Thomas Giles of Somersetshire, smith, wid<sup>r</sup> of Anna Paris, and Lijsbet Navis of Hampshire, divorced from Steven Bradly [see 41].
- (104). *June 7.* Daniel Studley<sup>+</sup> of London, wid<sup>r</sup> of Tanneke Auterits, and Ursule Trieuwery of Norwitz (Norwich), wid. of Jan de Klercq [see 29].
1615. (105). *February 14.* Henry Reckode<sup>+</sup> of Sandwitz [Sandwich], wool-comber, 34y., and Sara Jans of London, 24y.; Witness her father, Jan Hagel.
- (106). *April 18.* Thomas Syarth of Berington, bombazine worker, 27y., and Machteld Robberts, 18y.; Witness her mother Ariaentje Jan Christoffels.
- (107). *May 2.* Swithunus Grindall<sup>+</sup> of Tunstal in Yorkshire,

- "legatuurwerker," 22y., and Margriete Moritz of Scheckbye in Nottinghamshire [not identified], 24y.
- (108). *June* 6. Hendrick Mot<sup>+</sup> of London, Spanish [or ? bent-wood] chair maker, 28y., and Sara Peyn, 19y.; Witnesses her parents Jan Peyn and Mumeken.
- (109). *August* 1. Matthew Auckland<sup>+</sup> of Bredwelle [? Brightwell], glover, wid<sup>r</sup> of Lysbet Pyketh, Geertje Arendsdochter<sup>+</sup> of Bunschoten, 28y. [see 69.]
- (110). *August* 29. William Waldern of Klokfort [? if Clatford] and Ruth Walker of Marquetoverton in Rottland [Rutland], 20y.; Witness her father Eduard Walker.
- (111). *November* 9. Alexander Hodgkin of Warsop [Work-sop], damask worker, 25y., and Ursele Harstaff of Gende [? Gedney], wid. of Thomas Bywater.
1616. (112). *July* 23. Pieter Alkin<sup>+</sup> of Meltenmook [? Melton Mowbray or Melton Magna], sword cutler, 24y., and Marytje Alberts<sup>+</sup>, 28y.
- (113). *October* 13. Jan Robberts of Nottinghamshire, painter, 25y., and Maritje Thomas<sup>+</sup> of London, 17y.; Witness her mother, Maritje Jans.
- (114). *October* 27. William Davids<sup>+</sup> of Derbyshire, embroiderer, 29y., and Beliken Harmans of Hillegeloo, 24y.
- (115.) *November* 12. Jan de l'Ecluse<sup>+</sup> of Rouen, schoolmaster, wid<sup>r</sup> of Jacomyne May, and Anne Harris of Hamberoo [Hamborough] in Oxfordshire, 27y. [see 26 and 61].
- (116). *November* 12. Claes Jonge<sup>+</sup> of London, cooper, 30y., and Machtelt Pieters of Amersfoort, 27y.
- (117). *November* 12. Thomas Sanford<sup>+</sup> of London, silk ribbon weaver, 32y., having no parents, and Maritje Willems, 19y.; Witnesses her parents Willem Jans Clerck and Magdalena Willems.
1617. (118). *January* 14. Charles Shirkeley<sup>+</sup> of Salzbery [Salisbury], wid<sup>r</sup> of Merial Huttend, and Anna Thomas of Ipswich, 22y.

A few names in the above list invite special attention.

(24.) Thomas White; probably the man who was "a joined member of a church in the West of England," and who, seceding in 1605, published a *Discovery of Brownism*.

(26.) Jean de l'Ecluse of Rouen, printer, afterwards schoolmaster, was a deacon of the exiled church. He printed Brightman's *Revelation of the*

*Apocalypse*, and the extremely rare *Advertisement* concerning the same, of which the only known copy is in the Congregational Library. He also translated Ainsworth's *Communion of Saints* into French. From entries 61 and 115 we learn that he was married no less than four times.

(42.) Henry Ainsworth; one of the pastors of the exiled church, and by far the most learned man in the company. Parts of his voluminous writings are still held in high esteem.

(52.) Richard Clyfton; formerly rector of Babworth and lecturer at Sutton; subsequently colleague with John Robinson in the pastorate of the Separatist church at Scrooby.

(53.) John Murten; one of the earliest writers against persecution for religious opinions. In later years he succeeded Helwyss as pastor of the first Baptist church in London.

(54, 69, and 86.) It is not unlikely that Francis and Elizabeth Pigett, or Pygadt, or Pygott, were in some way related to Thomas Piggott or Pygot, to whom we are indebted for particulars of the last days and death of John Smyth.

(65.) There can be little doubt that Christopher Laund is the same as C. Lawne, who, being excluded from their fellowship, revenged himself by a venomous pamphlet on *The Prophane Schism of the Brownists*.

(75.) Deliverance Penry is evidently the daughter of John Penry, the martyr. She is believed to have lived in the family of Francis Johnson.

(101.) William Bradford, of the Pilgrim Fathers, the only one of that company whose name appears in this record. His wife, Dorothy May, must have been a relation—perhaps a younger sister—of the third wife of Jean de l'Ecluse (see 61). She was accidentally drowned off the coast of New England.

(104.) Daniel Studley was an elder of the exiled church. Lawne published scandalous stories about him, which were no doubt exaggerated, but which it is to be feared were not wholly without foundation.

The occupations of the men, so far as they are given, are of some interest. In 16 cases no occupation is indicated. No less than 34 are described as bombazine workers, with the addition of three dressers, one weaver, and one presser, of the same fabric: it would seem that the so-called bombazine of those days was, or included, fustian; so possibly the unexplained "vastijnwerker" (No. 101) belongs to this group. There are six tailors, four glovers, three masons, three smiths, and three turners; and of embroiderers, damask weavers, printers, candle makers, trunk makers, button makers, cutlers, schoolmasters, and bricklayers' labourers, two each. The list is completed by one each of the following:—Furrier, goldsmith, carpenter, sawyer, woolcomber, shopkeeper (or pedlar), cooper, casemaker, compositor, cloth merchant, teacher, physician, copperplate engraver, Spanish (?) chairmaker, hat trimmer, cobbler, painter, tinsmith, tobacco pipe maker, sword cutler, silk ribbon weaver, sailor, "legatuurwerker" (No. 107), head servant, and one who "passes for a barber."

It is not always possible to say from what part of England these persons migrated. The place names are sometimes unintelligible, more frequently ambiguous, owing to the same name being found in two or more counties, and often lacking altogether. But the homes of above 170 are unmistakable: 35 of them come from London, and the rest represent no less than 33 counties. The largest contingent is from the clothing districts in the west of England, where, F. Johnson says, there was "a church . . . professing same faith

with us"; 20 are from Wilts, and 10 or more from Somerset. Next come those eastern counties in which Brownism had its strongholds; 16 from Notts, 9 from Lincolnshire, 7 from Cambridgeshire, 6 from Norfolk, 7 from Suffolk, and 9 from Essex. In not more than half-a-dozen cases are English men or women married to aliens. Though there are 118 marriages in the list there are only 230 contracting parties, one man and three women appearing each twice on the record, and one man three times. Including these re-marriages, the parties may be classified as 89 bachelors, 85 spinsters, 29 widowers, 32 widows, and 1 divorced woman. Of these 75 bachelors marry spinsters, 14 bachelors marry widows, 10 widowers marry spinsters, 18 widowers marry widows, and one widower marries a divorced woman. It will be noticed that along with the name of a widower that of his deceased wife is usually given, just as the name of the deceased husband is given with that of a widow. Another noteworthy point is that in some cases sire names had not yet become family names; the Dutch official does not always—it would seem—recognise the force of the English affix son; so that (see 22, 23) the two daughters of John or Jan Trout of Stratford, instead of being surnamed Trout or Janson, are called respectively Lysbet Jans and Aelke Johnsdochter.

It only remains to take note of the indications afforded by the list as to the educational status of the emigrants. The names marked + are those of persons who actually attached their signatures to the record, the rest signing with a mark, cross, or cipher. In 16 cases both parties sign the record, in 60 the man only, in 3 the woman only, and in 39 both use a mark or cipher. Deducting second marriages we find 74 men and 18 women able to write, while 41 men and 97 women are illiterate.

It is somewhat surprising to find a printer, a compositor, a physician, and two schoolmasters choosing illiterate wives. If the present age is less heroic, we have certainly improved socially and educationally since the spacious days of great Elizabeth.

## Welsh Nonconformity in 1672

### III

THE mention of Ruabon tempts one into Denbigh. But it will be better first to look at "the Nonconformity" in CARNARVON; which seemed needed (very problematically, I grant) to help Cynfal at the one corner of Merioneth, quite as much as Denbigh was needed to help Bryn at the other.

But a glance at the position of these Carnarvonshire communities does not make the idea of such help a very practicable one.

Five names are given in the Entry Book to Carnarvonshire:—Carnarvon City, Llangybi, Pwllheli, Tynycoied, and Yin y Crie. Carnarvon City is a good 15 miles north of any of the rest. And Carnarvon stands—with its nearest neighbour, Llangybi (far enough away at the best)—for Presbyterianism. Yet both are fairly self-sufficient; for each has a resident teacher, who opens the doors of his "dwelling-house" to his fellow Presbyterians: Ellis Rowland in Carnarvon City [E(244)] and Ellis Williams in Llangybi [E(248)].

Only the latter seems to have secured his licences. His entries are dated as issued Sept. 5, 1672; the entries for his friend have no date.

The other two, Pwllheli and Tynycoied, are strongholds of Independency. The places are not far apart. Pwllheli is the one natural harbour in the bay which has become quite a fashionable watering-place for English holiday makers, and

will soon have harbour bars and piers befitting its importance as a natural harbour of refuge on that dangerous coast. For Pwllheli licences are asked by William Rowland both for himself and his house. That house must have been a substantial one, for the entries [E (238)] imply that it was distinguished (like that of his friend John Williams), with a special name "Pentyrch."<sup>1</sup>

As to Tynycoied, I have no hesitation in adopting the suggestion of Beriah Evans in opposition to Mr. Ivor Evans, that Tynycoied is to be found near Llannor—between Pwllheli and Nevin—rather than in Llangian, though it be true that his epitaph describes him as "John Williams of Tynycoied, the hero of Llangian." One fact is enough for me.

E (238), in entering the two licences granted to John Williams of Tynycoied ("Tuynycoied in Carnarvonsh.") on September 5, 1672, particularises his home as "the house called 'Bodwell House' att Tuynycoied in Carnarvon." Now, we see traces of the word Bodwell in the "Bodfean," whose glorious woods, midway between Llannor and Nevin, are the pride of that countryside, and the wonder and delight of all English visitors. But, more to the point, there is still a Bodwell Hall (close to the stream which becomes, farther south, the "Afon Rhydair"), which, no doubt, in 1672 was Bodwell House, the home of the Congregational preacher, John Williams; and, further, the bridge which must be crossed by any roadster from Pwllheli is still marked on the map as Pont Bodwell. We are justified, therefore, in thinking of the Congregationalism of Pwllheli and Tynycoied as entrenched in the confidence of the respectable yeomanry of the district.

About the fifth Carnarvonshire name, Yin y Crie,

<sup>1</sup> The Pentyrch of the map is another place of the same name.—T.G.C.

*Note by Author.*

Further information, gained too late to be available for the present issue, has completely reversed the judgment expressed concerning the Congregational churches in Carnarvonshire on pp. 173—5, and necessitates revision on p. 198. The corrections will appear in the next issue of *Transactions*.

I feel almost as much in the dark as I am about the Errowgoyel of Merioneth. On the whole, however, I am inclined to accept the suggestion of Beriah Evans that we are to see in it the English clerk's blundering miswriting of Tynycoied. The initial 'T' might so easily be misread as 'Y,' and the 'oi' be run together as an 'r.' In that case we may add the teaching gifts and hospitality of John Rowland (brother of William Rowland of Pwllheli) to the stock of Puritan influence Tynycoied already possesses in John Williams of Bodwell House; and thus Tynycoied stands out as the strongest centre of Nonconformity in South Carnarvon.

And now to return to the county into which the need of a teacher at Bryn, next Corwen, inclined us to wander. The DENBIGH list is a long one. Beside Ruabon and its neighbour Christionydd we have Llanfair and Ruthin, which worked together, and Wrexham, the headquarters of Denbigh Nonconformity; besides a list of four or five names, which, though doubtfully attached to Denbigh, are by some assigned to Flint: Glimmin, Kensfroid, Plas Teg, Penyralt, and Wimblinglyn, for none of which I can find "a local habitation." To me, so far, they are names, and nothing more.

The five of which our knowledge is clear are all, it will be noted, on the eastern border of the county; nothing farther west than Llanfair and Ruthin, which are both in the Vale of Clwyd. See then what that means. In the northern part of the adjoining county there was no Nonconformity farther north than Carnarvon City, which is not far above the latitude of Ruthin. Nor is there any in Denbigh itself, nor in Flint, north of that line of latitude (that is about 53° 10' N.) So that, in the whole of that vast tract of Wales, sweeping right across its width from Carnarvon and Anglesey on

the west to the estuary and alluvial plain of the Dee on the east, there is no spark of Nonconformity to relieve the dull grey of conforming apathy. Nay, with the exception of Carnarvon City on the extreme west, Ruthin and Llanfair in the Vale of Clwyd, and Wrexham in the extreme east, the *whole* of Wales north of latitude 53° N. is innocent of Nonconformity.

Let us look first, then, at Denbigh's western outposts. Both Ruthin and Llanfair are Congregational. The more northern Ruthin is, of course, the more important civically. It is the largest town in the southern portion of the valley. Indeed there are only St. Asaph, Rhuddlan, and Rhyl at its mouth which excel it. Yet, religiously, Llanfair is more important than Ruthin. Ruthin has only a meeting-place, in the house of John Roberts [E (269)]; but Llanfair has its teacher in Jonathan Roberts—is he the brother of John?—as well as a meeting-place in his house [E (135)]. Ruthin, too, applied too late to receive its licence (the entry is undated); while Llanfair had her licences issued before the end of May (May 22).

It is possible, too, that Llanfair may have helped Bryn Saint by Corwen, as nearer to it, though not so directly accessible as Ruabon. But, leaving this western pair, on the other side of the eastern mountains we come to the great alluvial plain watered by the Dee; and there, at the centre of no less than seven radiating roads, connecting her with all quarters of Wales and England, lies Wrexham.

And Wrexham is strong in Nonconformity. Clearly, it was the headquarters of Congregationalism in the county. But it gave a home to Presbyterianism as well. Its Presbyterianism, however, was not—at least at first—of a very imperious or exclusive kind. It asked a licence

only for John Hughes's house "for Presbyterians" —as the memoranda are preserved in the first few fragments in S.P. Dom. Charles II. 321 (5 and 6). The licence is granted promptly, and issued nine days earlier than those to Llanfair, viz., on May 13, 1672 [E (106)]. It is in this entry we have the strange spelling "Wilxham." But not till three months later do they make provision for a special Presbyterian teacher. This is Daniel Williams; the licence dated August 10 [E (235)]. The Congregationalists, however, from the first are in fuller force. They apply for licences alike for their minister, John Evans, and for two meeting-places, in his house and that of Edward Kenricke. Their licences are issued May 22 [E (129)]; and Will. Owens obtains them eight days later, at the same time that he got his namesake's licence for Llanegryn, right away south-west in Merioneth, Jonathan Roberts's for Llanfair in the Vale of Clwyd, and (as we shall see in a moment) for Ruabon at the entrance to the Vale of Llangollen.

Pass we then to Ruabon. Here Congregationalists seem stronger even than in Wrexham. They have three teachers; two with their several congregations: Philip Rogers preaching in Roger Kynaston's house [E (135)]; William Winn preaching in his own [E (261)]; and Richard Jones having the roving commission of a "Congregational general teacher" [E (261)]. The first obtain their licences with the rest which I have mentioned May 28, through William Owens. The licences for the other two are not secured until exactly five months later, October 28, 1672 [E (261)].

Close to Ruabon was a third meeting-place for Congregationalists. It was another house of William Winn's in Christionydd ("Christionate" in the Entry Book), more than two miles from Ruabon town, though doubtless within Ruabon

parish. It has its separate licence—the entry is E (201)—which was obtained more than three months before he secured a licence for himself. Or was it this house which is referred to in the personal licence? Being within the parish of Ruabon this Christionydd house might be loosely described as “att Ruabon.”

Of the five I have described as “Weiss-nichtwo's” as far as I am concerned, the licences for Kensfroid and Glimmin are for houses—one for John Hughes at Glimmin, and the other for “a gracious widow,” Elizabeth Elston—and that for Plas Teg [“Ploshteake, Derbysh.” in E (261)], issued October 28, is a personal one for Wm. Jones as “Congr. Teacher at his house” there. [This Mr. Crippen finds in Flint.]

In FLINTSHIRE the only places of which I can write with any certitude are three in the detached portion of the county—S.E. of Ruabon—and therefore geographically marching on the extreme eastern border of Wales with Wrexham and with Ruabon. Hanmer is a respectable village at the head of a fine sheet of water called Hanmer Mere, a mile south of the high road from Wrexham to Whitchurch; Broadoak, a tiny hamlet—perhaps in 1671 no more than a single homestead—three miles from Hanmer on the high road itself; and Bryn—“Bryne in Flintshire” it is called in E (244)—about the same distance to the north-west.

They form together an organic group, and between them secure no less than six licences. Hanmer, of course, is the largest of the three, but Broadoak is spiritually their centre.

It is only for Broadoak that any teacher's licence is asked, and it is to give a wider sphere for his ministry than his own house there could afford that four others are sought, three in Hanmer and one in Bryn. But need we wonder at this when

we find that the teacher is Philip Henry—in himself a most interesting personality, yet perhaps still more widely known as father of Matthew Henry, the great Biblical commentator ?

The licences for him and his house were secured more than four months before those for these four other houses, and were amongst the earliest issued for Wales. There are two memoranda of application for them 320 (87) and 320 (128), and the form of the latter so distinctly states that “Mr. Philip Henry, M.A., desires a licence for himself and his own house” that we should naturally gather that he made the application himself either in person or by a letter. As a matter of fact, however, when the Declaration of Indulgence was published he was sorely exercised as to whether he should avail himself of the royal favour or not. The entry in his diary, the following day, is very characteristic in its balanced wisdom :—

March 16. Came forth the King's Declaration for Indulgence : the Church of Engl(and) establisht. Poenal lawes suspended against all non-conformists and Recusants ; Papists to meet in private houses only. The reason rendered is, the ineffectualness of rigor for divers yeares, and to invite strangers. A thing diversely resented, as men's Interest leads them. The Conformists generally displeas'd at it, the Presb(yterians) glad, the Indep(endants) very glad, the Papists triumph(ant).

But the matter was decided for him in a most unforeseen manner. Under date May 7, 1672, we find this entry in his diary :—

This day I received my licences unsought and unexpected, procured by Mr. Steel, sent in a post-letter to Mr. Yates, who had publish't it before I knew it, else my intencion was to have said nothing awhile.

The Mr. Steel who procured the licences for him is Richard Steel, who had been Presbyterian minister in Cheshire for many years, had taken part in Philip Henry's ordination in 1657, had shared

imprisonment with him in 1663, and had been driven up to London by the Five Mile Act. What he was unwilling to do for himself, therefore, had been done for him by his friend, the licence having been obtained six weeks after the publication of the Indulgence, the last day of April, just a full week before he received it. The three licences for Hanmer, and the one for Bryn, were merely for four houses in which Philip Henry might exercise his instructive and vigorous ministry.

With this interesting glimpse of so distinguished a character we have completed our round of the counties in Wales proper.

But MONMOUTH, occupying the southern part of the "marches" or boundaries of Wales, is so largely Welsh that it has been called "Wales in England," quite as aptly as Gower has been called "Little England in Wales." We cannot rightly be said to have completed our task, therefore, without a glance at Monmouth Nonconformity.

The Nonconformity of Monmouth was very strong, far stronger indeed, it will be seen, than that of any county of Wales proper; stronger even than that of Glamorgan or Cardigan. The Nonconformity of Monmouth, too, was preponderatingly Congregational; for Baptists are represented only in three places, and Presbyterians in three, while Congregationalists appear in 17.

(a.) The Baptists' three places are Abergavenny, Llantiliopertholey, and Bedwelty; the two former near each other on the upper reaches of the Usk; the last only just within the county border, in the valley of the Rhydney on the west.

Abergavenny, as befits the "capital" importance of the town, has the stronger church, provided with two teachers, Christopher Price and John Edwards, its two meeting-places being their respective houses.

The licences were granted August 10, 1672, but in the entries recording their issue [E (231) and (232)] the vagaries of Whitehall spelling produce the most amazing travesties of the name. They leave out the first syllable altogether, and then from line to line they vary the spelling according to their own sweet will; first it is "Bergueny," then "Bergaveny," then "Bergaveney," and last "Borgaveney."

Llantiliopertholy is about two miles north, in the broad valley between the Sugar Loaf mountain and Skirrid Fawr. It possesses both a preacher and a meeting-place in the person and the house of William Prichard [E (232).]

Bedwelty, the third Baptist place, is quite isolated, but, as in the preceding case, the minister, Thomas Jones, is host to his Baptist brethren as well as their teacher [E (232).]

(b.) The Presbyterians in Monmouth appear in two of their three places only where there are Independents, and even then in curiously doubtful fashion.

In Mynyddislwyn, quite on the western borders of the county, in the Ebbw Vale, at the point where it is joined by the Sirhowy, according to E (187), there are three Independent teachers and two Independent meeting-places; still, one Watkin John applies to be a Presbyterian teacher in his house there. As the entry is undated, however, he does not appear to have obtained it. The name of the place, too, is "boiled down" in the entry, till it has shrunk almost beyond the possibility of recognition. It is called "Monysley Parish, Monm."

At Caldicot, again—quite the other side of the county, in the great Caldicot level, near the sea—a similar transformation seems to have occurred. Here there is no disguising of the person, intentional or unintentional; one and the same

James Lewis applies (when Watkin John applied to be a Presbyterian teacher) to have his house licensed for a Presbyterian meeting-place. The licence in his case, too, is made out in this form, but never issued [E (187)]. In August, however, he applies for the Independents, and it is granted, signed, and issued [E (234).] In the third Presbyterian place the situation is more curious still. At Bettws, about midway between the two just named, and two miles north-west of Newport, we find one and the same Rignald (Reginald) Morgan in August getting a licence for his house at Bettws as an Independent meeting-place [E (231)], and in September for himself as a Presbyterian teacher [E (245).] Surely the Presbyterians of Monmouth are a race of spiritual chameleons !

(c.) The Congregationalists of Monmouth are strong and numerous. Most of them, too, are near enough to give each other mutual help and sympathy. It is scarcely so, however, with Llanwenarth and Aberystroth. They seem to have been poaching on the Baptist preserves, for Llanwenarth is as near to Abergavenny on the west as Llantilio-pertholey is on the north ; and Aberystroth high up in the Ebbw valley intrudes between Bedwelty on the Rhymney and Abergavenny on the Usk.

And strangely enough, one of these intruders, Llanwenarth, has no Independent teacher of its own, though John Watkins gives a meeting-place in his house [E (231)]. Aberystroth, however, is self-sufficing, for it has a teacher in John Jones, and two meeting-places, one in the pastor's house and one in that of Llewellyn Rossar, so that it is probable that their pastor supplied Aberystroth as well.

All the other Independent causes are in the southern portion of the county, but one of these, Marshfield ("Marshfull" in the Entry Book) is

rather detached from the rest. Lying almost on the sea level between Newport and Cardiff, it is nearer to Newport than to any other Congregational settlement. As it has only a meeting-place, too, [E (231)], it would need ministerial help. No doubt it would receive it from John Powell of Newport.

For Newport was not only the chief town of the county then as now, but it was probably the mother city, spiritually, to quite a numerous group of Congregational causes.

It was strong in the presence and activity of John Powell. We have traces of him in Vol. 321, as well as in the Entry Book. He is bold in his requests, for he asks a licence not only for himself to be an Independent teacher, but for "the market house in Newport" as the Independent meeting-place [321 (353)]. He obtains his licence as a "General Independent" on the 10th of June [E (170)], which William Jones obtains for him by personal application at Whitehall [321 (373)]. But his application for the market house is evidently refused. No licence for it is found in the Entry Book.

However, a noble widow comes to the rescue, and a licence is obtained for her hospitable house just two months later [E (231)].

John Powell, it is evident, could not have confined his energies to Newport and Marshfield. Bettws [E (231)] must have looked to him for a preacher, since Robert Morgan, who lends his house to the Independents, poses not as an Independent but as a Presbyterian teacher; and Henllys (beautifully situated a mile and a half farther north from Bettws, on the Pant yr Cos brook), with Margaret Jones's house as a meeting-place, must have looked to him for help. Nor does even that quite exhaust the circle of his helpfulness. Christchurch—

two miles from Newport, the south side of the river, not a mile from Llangattock (which is practically the same as ancient Caerleon)—has no teacher, only another noble widow's house for an Independent meeting-place, "the house of Joane Jones called Milton or Melton." And it is abundantly clear that whatever was the case with Bettws, Henllys, and Marshfield, John Powell meant Christchurch to be an out station of his. He applies for Joane Jones's house at Christchurch at the same time that he applies for the market house in Newport, as Independent meeting-places, and, though he fails to get the licence for the latter, he obtains the licence for the former the same day he gets his "generall" licence for himself [E (156)], June 10th, 1672, and the receipt of it is acknowledged by Wm. Jones a week later [321 (373)].

Travelling north-west from Newport, up the Ebbw valley—leaving Bettws and Henllys on our right hidden away behind the hills—we reach the strongest Congregational cause in the west of the county, Mynyddislwyn. We have referred to it before, and to the strange case of Watkin John the Presbyterian becoming Watkin Jones the Independent. Besides his house, however, there are two others, licensed on August 10th, for this same high purpose—the houses of Thomas James and Evan Williams [E (231)].

Due north of Newport, about four miles on the high road to Pontypool, is another robust Independent community. The preacher, Henry Walter, moved at the same time as John Powell did for Newport and for Christchurch. It was for liberty to preach "at his house at Parke y Pill in the parish of Lantarnam." [321 (353)].

Lantarnam stands just above the river Llwyd, quite near the remains of an ancient abbey, and Henry Walter's residence was probably a sub-

stantial one, from its special name, on a little "pill" or rivulet which flowed into the Llwyd. He gets his double licence (the entry is dated the 10th June), [E (156)], and William Jones receives it for him at Whitehall, June 17 [321 (373)].

And now, looking north-east from Newport up the valley of the Usk, we come upon a pair of causes on opposite banks of the river; Llangibby on the west, and Llantrissent on the east. Llangibby ("Llanyby" in the Entry Book) is on the high road to the town of Usk, just on the edge of the valley, at the foot of the western hills, a full mile from the river. It boasts a vigorous preacher in Walter Williams, and a generous host in Edward Waters, and they get their licences July 22 [E (204)]. Llantrissent is almost on the river banks on the opposite side, reached from Newport by a road which, after leaving Christchurch, skirts the slopes of Went Wood. Here again we have a fully equipped Congregational church, with a pastor of its own in George Robinson; and a meeting-place in George Morgan's house [E (203)], fully licensed the same date as Llangibby.

Just over the hills, a little further north-east, is another Independent church at Llangwm.<sup>2</sup> They meet in William Richards's house, for which a licence was sent out, like those for the pair just mentioned, July 22nd.

The last group of Monmouth licences all refer to places on the great maritime plain due east of Newport.

Magor we come to first, some seven miles across this plain, more than three miles south of the great high road to Chepstow; for that keeps away from the sea and hugs the hill-mass west of Went Wood. But it seems to have supplied a pair of stations,

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<sup>2</sup> This is incorrectly marked on the map as Baptist.—T.G.C.

Undy and Caldicot, which are dotted along the loop country road, and so link it to the Chepstow road at a third, Caerwent.

Magor alone has a teacher, Thomas Barnes [E (235)]. (Why were two pairs of licences issued for Magor, separated in date by less than a month?) All four have meeting-places—the houses of Walter Jones in Magor [E (239)], of William Howell in Undy [E (156)], of James Lewis (once Presbyterian) at Caldicot [E (234)], and of John Morris of Caerwent. Each of these, moreover, has its own point of special interest. The licence for William Howell's house at Undy was applied for earlier than the rest, with those for Henry Walter of Lantarnam and John Powell of Newport [321 (353)]. It was granted June 10 [E (156)] and received with the others by William Jones at Whitehall [321 (373)].

The odd change in the denominational complexion of the Caldicot house we have noticed already, but the oddest thing is that the meeting-place in Caerwent is a public-house. In the application the applicant is bold and clear enough about it. It is for "The Bell Inn in Carwent, the house of John Morris."

But in the acknowledgment of its receipt by William Jones [321 (373)] the writing of the name is strangely indistinct and blurred, as though it were not a very welcome task to write it; and, stranger still, the record of its entry in Entry Book 38A gives John Harris as its owner instead of John Morris.

One other place remains to complete the Monmouth licences. It is Shire Newton; beautifully situated, not on the plain but on a knoll full 500 feet above the level, and looking down upon a girdle of woods in every direction save the north-west. It is completely equipped, with a minister

who doubtless was an excellent preacher, but who had a not excellent name, Thomas Quarrell; and a meeting-place in John Maurice's house. They received their licences July 25th, 1672 [E (208)].

And so we complete our circuit of the counties.

Such then are the main facts to be gathered from the records as to the persons and communities which formed the strength of Nonconformity in Wales in 1672, strong in Glamorgan and Cardigan and Radnor, strongest in Monmouth, and but weak in the other counties of Wales.

There are, however, one or two things of a general character, which are noteworthy and significant.

One is the order in which the licences were applied for in different part of Wales. This, it will be found, was not fortuitous, but was an index to the earnestness and vigour of leading spirits in the parts which were forward in this matter beyond their brethren.

The earliest applications came from Glamorgan, so justifying historically the course I took in my review (from an accidental reason) in beginning with this county. But it was not from Cardiff that the first movement came. It was from Swansea. And, of the three remarkable men whose homes were in that city, Marmaduke Matthews, Daniel Higgs, and Stephen Hughes, it was Marmaduke Matthews who was first on the alert, and was the first to secure a licence. Though there are memoranda of application, apparently in his own handwriting, there is no signed receipt for the licences when issued. The probability, therefore, is that the application was made by post. He can have lost very little time in making up his mind on the matter, for the licence was issued on the 12th of April, barely a month after the Declaration of Indulgence.<sup>3</sup> But the

<sup>3</sup> This was on March 15, 1672.

other two were not much behind him, and they are more determined and eager in their personal activity.

Both Daniel Higgs and Samuel Hughes went up to London to act in the interests of the Nonconformists of South Wales; for they exerted themselves not alone for the churches in Swansea and Gower, but for the churches in Carmarthen, Pembroke, and Cardigan, west of Swansea, as well as for the Presbyterian churches founded and fostered in the Lynfi valley by Samuel Jones of Llangynwyd, and the Independent churches of the sea-board south-west of these.

Probably they travelled up together, but Stephen Hughes stayed on in London more than three weeks later than his friend, the last licences received by Daniel Higgs being issued April 30, (viz., those for Samuel Jones of Llangynwyd and Rees Powel of Maesteg, in his own county, and those for Peregrin Philips and Richard Maylor in Haverfordwest, Pembroke); while Stephen Hughes stayed long enough to call for licences on the 20th of May (licences which had been ready nearly a fortnight, those for Cardigan and Cenarth, issued on the 8th of the month).

Daniel Higgs at once succeeded in securing a licence for himself to preach in his own house (the licence is dated April 17), but it is in vain that he makes repeated attempts to secure one for the "schoole-howse" in Swansea. At the same early date, April 17, licences were secured for Llanstephan and Pencader in Carmarthen.

It was only three days later that the licences for the Gower houses, including Stephen Hughes's house at Swansea, were issued. But they were not called for at Whitehall for some time, as they were taken off by Daniel Higgs at the same time that Stephen Hughes took away the licences for the

Llynfi valley and those for Haverfordwest, which were not issued till April 30.

On this last date, too, the personal licence was issued for that remarkable man, Philip Henry of Broad Oak, Flint; gained for him, as we have seen, by his old friend Richard Steele, now for some years a resident in London.

The licences for Cardigan town and Cenarth were ready only a week later, but they were not called for till the 20th of May.

The licences asked for the Congregationalists in Wrexham, Llanfair, and Ruabon, in Denbigh, and for that great itinerant evangelist, Hugh Owen of Llanegryn, in Merioneth, were issued the same day. The note giving a list of the applications is dated May 22, the very day the licences were issued, and the entries dated in Entry Book 38A. It is signed "Will: Owen," and is endorsed "Owen's note, May 22." Was this William Owen brother of John? Though his influence was sufficient to secure this prompt attention to his request, however, he did not call for them till the 28th, nearly a week after.

The month of June saw the issue of licences to three Monmouth preachers—John Powell of Newport, who worked so indefatigably for the little group of churches around that town; Henry Walter of Llantarnam; and Joshua Lloyd—as well as for meeting-places in Christchurch and Undy and Caerwent, viz., on June 10th, and they were called for by one William Jones a week afterwards.

The case of Joshua Lloyd is curiously interesting for a trivial clerical reason. The application was for "Mr. Joshua Lloyd, Ind<sup>t</sup>, Itinerant if possible." But the clerk who filled in the licence misread the word "Itinerant" as "Henesant," or the clerk who copied the particulars in the Entry Book did so,

for the word is very clearly "Henesant" in the Entry [E (170)], "Licence to Josuah (*sic*) Lloyd of Henesant Monmouth to be a g(ene)rall Ind. Teacher 15 June." And the William Jones who on June 17 signed a receipt for them repeated the same mistake. Someone, however, saw that it was a mistake, for that line in the receipt has been dealt with in a very vigorous fashion. A huge X is prefaced to it; a blot has fallen on the Christian name—so big as more than half to obliterate it—and the word "Henesant" is scored through. An odd result is noticeable in the *Calendar*. Not only is "Henesant" listed as one of the places to which licences were given in Monmouth—though of course there is no such place at all—but "Joshua" has been turned into "John," because the "s" was written long "ſ," and under the mask of the blot the calendarist has misread the word, and "John Lloyd" appears in the index as a separate personality.

The next dated entries are those for the chain of Independent churches on the maritime plain of Glamorgan, from Bagland to Newton Nottage, with Margam and Kenfig in between. These were all issued July 16. But between the last named and these there are several, on the twenty intervening pages, none of the entries for which bear any date. These are for Uzmaston, in Pembroke; for Margam, in Glamorgan; for Caldicot and Mynyddislwyn, in Monmouth, all Independents; and for the Presbyterian causes at Cardiff and Wenvoe, as well as for the Baptist churches at Bridgend, Llangewydd, and Newton Nottage, all in Glamorgan. Why they, and the shoal of others on these pages, were never "signed and issued" I suppose it is idle to conjecture. But it is interesting to note that the very first of those which are dated as having been signed and issued is one for the "Margam In-

dependent meeting-place" in the house of Samuel Jones of Llangynwyd, which had been neglected in this unlucky month. Evidently Samuel Jones had friends at court who secured the amendment of this neglect.

Still in the same month of July we find licences issued to Cynfal in Merioneth, to Christionydd in Denbigh, to the twin churches of Llangybi and Llantrissant (on opposite sides of the Usk), and to Llangwin in Monmouth—all on July 22; while only three days later Shire Newton is added to the Monmouth meeting-places, the incomprehensible "Glimmin" to those of Denbigh; and Penarth, Bodvegan, and Errowgoied to those in Merioneth, as well as a licence secured for "Bryng" of Montgomery.

In August (Aug. 10) licences are issued to Wrexham in Denbigh, and to a whole host in Monmouth and Glamorgan; to Marshfield and Mynyddislwyn on the west, to Newport with its satellites, Henllys and Bettws, all Congregational; to the five Baptist communities at Bedwelty, Aberystroth, Llanwenarth, Llantiliopertholey, and Abergavenny; and to the ambiguously Presbyterian or Independent settlement at Caerwen on the east of it, as well as to that rather isolated group of Congregational churches so near the eastern border of Glamorgan, viz., Eglwsilan, Llanfabon and Gelligaer.

At the beginning of September we find licences issued for three houses in Hanmer, Flint (for Philip Henry to preach in); two more in Monmouth, at Magor and Bettws; one in Montgomery, at Welshpool; and a most important group in Carnarvon, for Presbyterians at Llangybi, and for Independents at Pwllheli and Tyncoed, as well as for "Yin-y-Crie," wherever that may be; and, on its last day, the Baptists at Swansea, the Presby-

terians at Cowbridge, both in Glamorgan, and the Independents at Talgarth, Brecon, have licences granted.

But, to judge from the position of the entries in the Entry Book, it would seem that a large number of Presbyterian licences, and a few each of Baptist and Congregational licences, were made out and left in that stage, never signed and so never issued. The Presbyterians were at Cowbridge in Glamorgan, Carnarvon town in Carnarvon, Welshpool and Newton in Montgomery, and at Bryn in Flint; the Baptists were Llanon in Carmarthen, and at Llangennydd and Swansea in Glamorgan; and the Congregational at Talgarth and Llanigon in Brecon, and at New Radnor in Radnor county.

There is an interval of just four weeks before the next batch is issued, and then (*i.e.*, Oct. 28) only five are granted, *viz.*, to Ruabon in Denbigh, Plas Teg in Flint, to "Gwynly" in Montgomery, and to Pencarreg in Carmarthen. But there is a wholesale neglect of some others belonging to these same counties which should have been issued this same month: Ruthin and "Kensfroid" in Denbigh; "Gwynley" in Montgomery; and that grand colony of Congregational churches in Cardigan—Cardigan, Llanfair-Trehelygen, Cellan, Llampeter, and Llandewi Brefi, on the Teifi; and Llanbadarn Odwyn, Dihewid, and Llandisilio, stretching from near its sources westward to the sea.

In November a fine group of Radnor Congregationalists apply for licences: Beguildy, Llanbister, Llangunllo, Llanfihangel, Nant Mellan, and Glascwm; but only Glascwm secures an authoritative document, signed and issued Nov. 18; and two Presbyterian applications from Neath and Kildaudy, in Glamorgan, receive the same tantalizing treatment.

And now we have almost reached the end of the list. There are no entries for December, 1672, nor for January, 1673, but in February, while applications seem to have been made and licences filled in for a Baptist preacher at Llanafanfawr in Brecon, and Independent teachers at Llanvigan in Brecon, and Merthyr in Glamorgan, only two licences were clearly signed and issued, viz., to William Greene, a Baptist teacher at his own house in Llandrindod in Radnorshire, and for David Williams's house (as an Independent meeting-place) in Llanvigan, in Brecon. These two—the Baptist teacher's, and the Independent's meeting-house—were the last Welsh licences issued, and part of the last batch ever issued under the Declaration of Indulgence, on February 3rd, 1672/3.

Summarily, we may say that the extreme south and the extreme north were the first upon the field; Glamorgan foremost, leading with Carmarthen, Pembroke, and Cardigan town, and Broad Oak, in Flint, not far behind. These in the month of April and the early part of May. Then came Monmouth in the south, and Merioneth and Denbigh in the north, all through the bright months from mid-May to August. Carnarvon, Montgomery, and Brecon fall into line in September; Cardigan county comes in with a rush in October, but almost in vain, and Radnor follows suit in November with the same disappointing result. And here, practically, the movement ends, for the belated failures and successes of Radnor, Brecon, and Glamorgan are only like the feeble, half-hearted stragglers of the great host.

So far, then, as to the distribution of the Nonconformists in the Principality, and the eagerness shewn in the various districts to avail themselves of the Royal Indulgence.

We have seen how this was nothing fortuitous, but the outcome of the strong influence of a few vigorous personalities. But there was at work as well the contagious encouragement of an undistinguished host of saintly women, who, if they could not be active propagandists, could and did offer a gracious hospitality to those who were, and who opened their doors wide in welcome to as many as would come to listen to them. In closing, then, let us look for a moment at these vigorous personalities and these saintly women.

Of the former we may reckon six: Marmaduke Matthews, Daniel Higgs, Stephen Hughes, and Samuel Jones, all in Glamorgan; Philip Henry of Flint; and Hugh Owen of Merioneth. To those more intimate with the history of Welsh Nonconformity than I can pretend to be, I can well believe that John James of Llanbadarn Odwyn, in Cardigan, and the Radnorshire preachers, John Hamer of Llanbister and Edward Owen of Glascwm, all hardy prophets of the hills, as well as John Powell of Newport, with his indefatigable labours in the villages round as well as in the city, well deserve that fuller mention which only fuller knowledge would make possible.

Of the six I have selected, moreover, I can get no information of the two who were the most active and most practical in their zeal in this matter of the licences. I mean, of course, Daniel Higgs and Stephen Hughes. They, and they alone, undertake the arduous journey to London, and spend, the one at least a fortnight, the other more than five weeks, in the courtly metropolis, unsparing in their efforts to get Sir Joseph Williamson to attend to the claims of their brethren in Wales. But I can add nothing about them to what I have already culled from the Record Office documents.

The four of whom we do hear in other ways are two from the north—Hugh Owen in Merioneth, and Philip Henry in Flint, and two from the south—both in Glamorgan—Marmaduke Matthews of Swansea and Samuel Jones of Llangynwyd.\* Two of them are Presbyterians—Philip Henry and Samuel Jones; and two are Independents, Hugh Owen and Marmaduke Matthews. The order in which I have named them is the order of the intensity or ardour of their Nonconformity.

There is no doubt of it: the Presbyterians were Nonconformists only because on doctrinal and ecclesiastical grounds they could not wholly conform to the teaching of the Prayer Book as an authoritative standard of faith and practice. They did not object to a State Church; and would have been quite willing—had they had the power—to make Presbyterianism the religion of the State. They were Nonconformists reluctantly, and only so far as a dominant prelacy and sacerdotalism drove them to it. Of the two Presbyterians, moreover, there is no doubt that Philip Henry was the more grieved to break away from the Church of England, and more averse from the position of Independency. Further, of the two Independents, the more pronounced—both in action and in doctrine—was Marmaduke Matthews, the only one of the four, moreover, who published anything in his lifetime which is preserved among the literary treasures of the British Museum library.

These were all men of culture, all receiving a University education at Oxford (not one of them went to Cambridge, Oxford seemed to be almost the exclusive choice of Wales), and three of them Masters of Arts of that University; the colleges that reared them being Christ Church, All Souls,

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\* Of these his son Matthew has written a full biography of the second, and Dr. Rees gives many graphic particulars of the first and last.

and Jesus. Undoubtedly with them all it was the Puritan movement under Prideaux which so powerfully affected them, though in a city and university which was the focus of the high Anglican revival under Laud.

All honour, then, to these men of light and leading who gave up so much of ease and honour to promote the religious welfare of their fellow-countrymen.

But it would be a grave defect in this review if we did not give their due meed of honour to that noble band of women who threw open their doors to give a home to these men and their disciples in many places where otherwise they would have been homeless. There were no less than twelve of these large-hearted women, women whose " hearts the Lord had touched," so that, like Lydia of old to Paul and Silas in Philippi, they opened their homes to give a meeting-place to their brethren of the nonconforming faith. Though only four of them appear in the lists as " widows " (Widow Gwyn, Widow Jenkins, Widow Morris, and Widow Williamson), they must all have been widows (or mature spinsters), else their husbands' names would have been given as " owners of the houses " in the eyes of the law. As to denomination, only one of the twelve is a Baptist, Widow Williamson of St. Bride's, in Glamorgan. Three are Presbyterian ; two of them each aiding one of the apostolic four — Katherine Key of Hanmer, opening her doors to any who may gather to listen to Philip Henry ; and Elizabeth Morgan, in Neath, giving Samuel Jones of Llangynwyd an opportunity of extending his propaganda north-west of the valley of the Llynfi. The third is Widow Morris, who in Newtown, Montgomery, seems to hold open doors for an isolated colony of Presbyterians.

All the other eight are Congregationalists : Elizabeth Elston, at Kensfroid, in Denbigh (wherever

Kensfroid may be); Mary Lloyd, of Cynfal, Merioneth, giving Hugh Owen a welcome whenever in his evangelistic journeys he goes so far north from Llanegryn; Ann King furnishing a meeting-place in Llanbister, Radnor, where otherwise John Hamer would have no place to preach in; Widow Gwyn, in Cardigan town, offering James Davies a second meeting-place, though it seems the licence was never granted; and the remaining four, all devoted helpers of that marvellously energetic worker, John Powell of Newport, Monmouth; Joane Jones offering the hospitality of her spacious house called Milton, in Christchurch, for an out station to the church in Newport (licence for this was secured—June 10—at the same time that John Powell secured his personal licence as a preacher); Barbara Williams, of Newport, coming to her minister's rescue when he failed to obtain a licence for the Market House, and gladly lending her residence to give the Newport Congregationalists a temporary home; Margaret Jones, in the sylvan recesses of Henllys, giving a further preaching-station to her friend beyond Bettws; and Jane Rignald, giving an opportunity for the extension of the work at Marshfield, on the maritime plain, half-way between Newport and the Monmouth western border.

I could not relinquish my task without paying some tribute to the memory of these honourable women. And now I should be only too glad if the defects of my essay were to stimulate some English-speaking Welshman to take up and complete the work I have thus imperfectly begun. It should be one who has a more intimate knowledge of the history of Nonconformity in Wales<sup>5</sup> than I profess.

G. LYON TURNER.

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<sup>5</sup> Such knowledge as Beriah Evans has shewn in his classic work; a work which unfortunately is a sealed book to those who do not understand Welsh.

## Classified List of Licences and Applications

## CARNARVON.

## (1) Presbyterian

1. *Carnarvon*. Ellis Rowland (t<sup>r</sup>) E (244) ? L. I.  
Ellis Rowland's ho : (m.pl.) E (244) ? L. I.
2. *Llangybi*. Ellis Williams (t<sup>r</sup>) E (248) L. I. Sep. 5  
Ellis William's ho : (m.pl.) E (248) L. I. Sep. 5

## (2) Congregational

1. *Pwllheli*. William Rowland (t<sup>r</sup>) E (238) L. I. Sep. 5/72  
William Rowland's ho : (Pentireke) (m.pl.) E (238) L.I. Sep. 5/72
2. *Tynycoied*. John Williams (t<sup>r</sup>) E (238) L. I. Sep. 5/72  
John Williams's ho : (Bodwell House) (m.pl.) E (238) L. I.  
Sep. 5/72
3. *Yin y Crye (Cric)*, ? *Tynycoied*. John Rowland (t<sup>r</sup>) E (238) L. I.  
Sep. 5/72  
John Rowland's ho : (m.pl.) E (238) ? L. I.

## DENBIGH.

## (1) Presbyterian

1. *Wrexham*. John Hughes's ho : (m.pl.) : 321 (5) appl. ; 321 (6)  
appl. ; E (206) L. I. May 13/72  
Daniel Williams (t<sup>r</sup>) : E (235) L. I. Aug. 10

## (2) Congregational

1. *Wrexham*. John Evans (t<sup>r</sup>) : 321 (237) appl. ; E (129) L. I. May  
22/72 ; 321 (277) R<sup>d</sup>. May 28/72  
John Evans's ho : (m.pl.) : 321 (277) R<sup>d</sup>. May 28/72  
Edward Kenricke's ho : (m.pl.) : 321 (237) appl. ; E (129) L.I.  
May 22/72
2. *Ruabon*. Philip Rogers (t<sup>r</sup>) : 321 (237) appl. ; E (135) L. I.  
May 22/72 ; 321 (277) R<sup>d</sup>. May 28/72  
Roger Kynaston's ho : (m.pl.) : 321 (237) appl. ; E (135) L. I.  
May 22/72 ; 321 (277) R<sup>d</sup>. May 28/72  
William Winn (t<sup>r</sup>) E (261) L. I. Oct. 28/72  
William Winn's ho : (m.pl.)  
Richard Jones (g<sup>th</sup> t<sup>r</sup>) E (261) L. I. Oct. 28/72
3. *Christionydd*. William Winne's ho : (m.pl.) E (201) L. I. July 25/72
4. *Llanfair*. Jonathan Roberts (t<sup>r</sup>) : 321 (237) appl. ; E (135) L. I.  
May 22/72 ; 321 (277) R<sup>d</sup>. May 28/72  
Jonathan Roberts's ho : (m.pl.) : 321 (237) appl. ; E (135) L. I.  
May 22/72 ; 321 (277) R<sup>d</sup>. May 28/72
5. *Ruthin*. John Roberts's ho : (m.pl.) E (269) ? L. I.

**(3) Denomination and Location Doubtful**

1. *Kensfroid* [? if *Tynnyford*. B. Evans reads *Henfford*]. Eliz. Elston's ho: (m.pl.) E (269) ? L. I.
2. *Glimmin* [? if *Glyn*, "near Chirk Castle"; see Rees and B. Evans]. John Hughes's ho: (m.pl.) E (217) L. I. July 25/72
3. *Plas Teg?* ["*Ploshteake in Derbysh*"; most likely error for *Plas Teg* in Flintshire]. Wm. Jones (t<sup>r</sup>) E (261) L. I. Oct. 28/72
1. *Penyrallt* [the place is in Flintshire]. John Prichard's ho: (m.pl.) E (270) ? L. I.
5. *Wimblinglyn*. David Thomas's ho: (m.pl.) E (270) ? L. I.

## FLINT.

**(1) Presbyterian**

1. *Hanner*. James Jackson's ho: (m.pl.) E (237) L. I. Sep. 5/72  
Katherine Key's ho: (m.pl.) E (237) L. I. Sep. 5/72  
William Bennett's ho: (m.pl.) E (237) L. I. Sep. 5/72
2. *Broad Oak*. Philip Henry (t<sup>r</sup>) 320 (87) appl.; 320 (128) appl.;  
E (49) L. I. Ap. 30/72  
Philip Henry's ho: (m.pl.) 320 (87) appl.; 320 (128) appl.;  
E (49) L. I. Ap. 30/72  
[See also under Denbigh.]
3. *Bryn* ["Bryne."] Luke Lloyd's ho: (m.pl.) E (244) ? L. I.

## MONMOUTH.

**(1) Presbyterian**

1. *Mynyddislwyn*. Watkin John (t<sup>r</sup>) E (187) ? L. I.  
Watkin John's ho: (m.pl.) E (187) ? L. I.
2. *Caldicot*. James Lewis's ho: (m.pl.) E (187) ? L. I.
3. *Bettws*. Reginald Morgan (t<sup>r</sup>) E (245) L. I. Sep. 5/72

**(2) Baptist**

1. *Abergavenny*. John Edwards (t<sup>r</sup>) E (232) L. I. Aug. 10/72  
Christopher Price (t<sup>r</sup>) E (232) L. I. Aug. 10/72  
John Edwards's ho: (m.pl.) E (231) L. I. Aug. 10/72  
Christopher Price's ho: (m.pl.) E (232) L. I. Aug. 10/72
2. *Llantilio-pertholey* (or *pertholeu*). William Prichard (t<sup>r</sup>) E (232)  
L. I. Aug. 10/72  
William Prichard's ho: (m.pl.) E (232) L. I. Aug. 10/72
3. *Bedwelty*. Thomas Jones (t<sup>r</sup>) E (232) L. I. Aug. 10/72  
Thomas Jones's ho: (m.pl.) E (232) L. I. Aug. 10/72

## (3) Congregational

## (A) North

1. *Llanwenarth*. John Watkins's ho: (m.pl.) E (231) L. I. Aug. 10/72
2. *Aberystroth*. Llewellyn Rossar's ho: (m.pl.) E (231) L. I. Aug. 10/72  
John Jones's ho: (m.pl.) E (232) L. I. Aug. 10/72  
John Jones (t<sup>r</sup>) E (232) L. I. Aug. 10/72

## (B) South

3. *Newport*. Mr. John Powell (t<sup>r</sup>) 321 (353) appl.; E (170) L. I. June 10/72; 321 (373) R<sup>d</sup>. June 17/72  
The Market House: 321 (353) appl.  
Barbara Williams's ho: (m.pl.) E (231) L. I. Aug. 10/72  
Mr. Joshua Lloyd (Itinerant if possible) 321 (353) appl.; 321 (373) appl., E (166)? L. I.
4. *Marshfield*. Jane Rignald's ho: (m.pl.) E (231) L. I. Aug. 10/72
5. *Bettws*. Rignald Morgaine's ho: (m.pl.) E (231) L. I. Aug. 10/72
6. *Henllys*. Margaret Jones's ho: (m.pl.) E (231) L. I. Aug. 10/72
7. *Mynyddislwyn*. Watkin Jones (t<sup>r</sup>) E (187) PR. ? L. I.; E (232) L. I. Aug. 10/72  
Watkin Jones's ho: (m.pl.) E (187) ? L. I.; E (232) L. I. Aug. 10/72  
Thomas Evans's ho: (m.pl.): E (231) L. I. Aug. 10/72  
Evan Williams's ho: (m.pl.): E (231) L. I. Aug. 10/72
8. *Llantarnam*. Mr. Henry Walter (t<sup>r</sup>) 321 (353) appl.; E (169) L. I. June 10/72; 321 (373) R<sup>d</sup>. June 17/72  
Henry Walter's ho: (m.pl.) 321 (353) appl.; E (166)? L. I.; E (169) L. I. June 10/72; 321 (373) R<sup>d</sup>. June 17/72
9. *Christchurch*. Joane Jones's ho: (m.pl.) 321 (353) appl.; E (156) L. I. June 10/72; 321 (373) R<sup>d</sup>. June 17/72
10. *Llangibby*. Walter Williams (t<sup>r</sup>) E (204) L. I. July 22/72  
Edward Waters's ho: (m.pl.); E (204) L. I. July 22/72
11. *Llantrissant*. George Robinson (t<sup>r</sup>) E (203) L. I. July 22/72  
George Morgan's ho: (m.pl.); E (203) L. I. July 22/72
12. *Llangwm*. Mr. Milman (t<sup>r</sup>) E (220) L. I. July 25/72  
William Richards's ho: (m.pl.) E (204) L. I. July 22/72
13. *Magor*. Thomas Barnes (t<sup>r</sup>) E (234) L. I. Aug. 10/72; E (237) L. I. Sept. 5/72  
Walter Jones's ho: (m.pl.): E (234) L. I. Aug. 10; E (239) L. I. Sep. 5/72
14. *Undy*. William Howell's ho: (m.pl.): 321 (353) appl.; E (156) L. I. June 10/72; 321 (373) R<sup>d</sup>. June 17/72
15. *Caldicot*. James Lewis's ho: (m.pl.) E (234) L. I. Aug. 10/72
16. *Caerwent*. John Morris's ho: "The Bell Inn" (m.pl.): 321 (353) appl.; E (166)? L. I. [John Harris]; 321 (373) R<sup>d</sup>. June 17/72
17. *Shire Newton*. Thomas Quarrell (t<sup>r</sup>) E (208) L. I. July 25/72  
John Maurice's ho: (m.pl.); E (208) L. I. July 25/72

## The Church of the Pilgrim Fathers

An examination of the claims of the Church  
in Old Kent Road (formerly in Union Street),  
Southwark, to that designation.

**I**N the course of preparing a history of the Congregational churches in Surrey it has been our lot to examine the records of that interesting fellowship in Southwark that claims an unbroken descent from the Pilgrim Fathers, and even to be the oldest Congregational church in England. The latter claim we do not attempt to examine now. The space of the present article would not admit it. It may form an interesting study on some subsequent occasion.

The early history of our Nonconformist churches is necessarily obscure. Men thought little of keeping records or preserving documents in those days. Indeed, considerations of safety made it often exceedingly dangerous to have any records at all. An example of this may be seen in one of the early London churches in the days of Queen Mary. One of the deacons, Cuthbert Simpson by name, did keep a record of every member belonging to the fellowship—a sort of church roll. The members met sometimes in Thames Street, sometimes in Aldgate, or Blackfriars, and sometimes in ships. Occasionally they eluded the spies by assembling in one of the neighbouring villages. But at last, through the treachery of a false brother, they were detected at Islington. John Rough the minister, Mr. Simpson, and several others were apprehended and subsequently burned; and, says the historian, “the whole church no doubt would have shared a similar fate, but the day he was taken it providentially happened that, contrary to his usual practice, Mr. Simpson had left his book in the hands of the minister’s wife.” One can understand, therefore, that churches were not particularly anxious about keeping records.

Historians, too, differ in their accounts; and with regard to the Southwark church there are some sharp conflicts of testimony.

It is well known that there was a “Privy church” in London as early as 1571; and that during the next twenty years a large number of persons were imprisoned for holding or being present at conventicles. But not until 1592 do we find any record of a church

being regularly organized on the Congregational principle. Waddington says, in his *Surrey Congregational History*, "The original Martyr or Pilgrim Church here was formed in the house of Roger Rippon in the autumn of 1592:" but Dr. Powicke tells us (*Transactions*, vol. I. p. 150) that it was "in the house of one Fox in St. Nicholas Lane in Sept. 1592, when the little London church may be said to have fully organized 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." At this particular meeting were present 35 men whose names are recorded, with others unnamed, and several women; of those named 13 had already been imprisoned for separatism. Penry's name is not mentioned as present, but he was certainly one of the fellowship. The hand of the persecutor was soon upon them. Greenwood and Johnson were taken on 5th December, at the house of Edward Boyes on Ludgate Hill; Studley and Settell were taken in St. Nicholas Lane a few days later; Roger Rippon and others soon after. Rippon died in prison the following February (1593). The demonstration at his funeral provoked a renewed hunt for "Brownists": 56 were taken in Islington woods on Sunday, 4th March, of whom 17 had been present at the meeting in September, 1592; Penry and Arthur Bellot were taken on 22nd March, at the house of Mrs. Settell in Ratcliff. Ere long Greenwood and Penry were enrolled among the noble army of martyrs; several more died in prison; and by the end of the year the remainder of the prisoners were released on condition of going into banishment. The main body of the church was transferred to Amsterdam, the pastor, elders, &c., retaining their offices; but, as Powicke reminds us, (*Henry Barrowe and the Exiled Church*, p. 227), the remnant in London still regarded themselves as members of the same society. These, after the death of Johnson, did not elect a new pastor; yet as late as 1624 they were addressed by Robinson of Leyden as "The Congregational Church in London"; and were exercised about the question: "whether the neighbouring congregation which had lately been gathered at Southwark by Henry Jacob be a true church or no."

In 1616 a church was gathered by Henry Jacob in Southwark. Jacob had held a living at Cheriton in Kent. In 1599 he settled at Middelburg in Zealand, and about the year 1610 went to Leyden where he met John Robinson, and embraced his views with regard to church government. In the year 1616 he returned to London with the design of forming a church on the principles he had learned in Holland. This church Waddington makes the descendant of the fellowship formed in the house of Roger Rippon. He says, "After many trials and conflicts the remnant of the church (*i.e.* Rippon's) again united in church fellowship in 1616." But there is nothing to prove this. The probability is that some who

were members of the old fellowship gathered with the new ; or, as Dr. Powicke puts it, "one by one its members were drawn (most likely) into Mr. Jacob's congregation." But that there was any actual continuity of church organization is extremely improbable.

It was the church gathered by Jacob that furnished a contingent of passengers for the "Mayflower" in 1620. Four years afterwards Mr. Jacob, being desirous of enlarging his influence, went to Virginia, where he died. He was succeeded by John Lothrop, or Lathorp. During his ministry the church grew considerably, more so than was safe in those perilous days ; and some of the members who held different views on infant baptism asked to be dismissed that they might form a new communion. This was done, and on September 12, 1633, a Baptist church was formed under Mr. John Spilsbury. This is now represented by the Baptist church in Stoke Newington Road, and formerly in Devonshire Square.

In 1634 Lathorp petitioned the king to be allowed to leave the kingdom, and with some thirty of his people went to New England.

Some doubt exists as to who was his successor. Waddington says, "John Canne then ministered to their instruction and comfort." This he probably obtained from Neal who, in his *History of the Puritans*, says, "Upon Mr. Lathorpe retiring to New England the congregation chose for their pastor the famous Mr. Canne, author of the marginal references in the Bible." But Crosby in his *English Baptists* says that Canne had been pastor of quite another church, planted by a Mr. Hubbard (of whom we shall hear presently). There can be no doubt but that this was so, and that Mr. Canne had before this date removed to Holland, for there are notices of two books published by him in 1632 and 1634 where he styles himself "Pastor of the ancient English church at Amsterdam."

Lathorp's successor was a Mr. Henry Jessey, who being in the neighbourhood of Uxbridge was earnestly importuned to come to London and accept charge of the congregation. He did so about midsummer, 1637, and laboured at Southwark for 25 years, dividing his ministry between St. George's church in the morning and his own people in the evening. During his ministry another Baptist secession took place. Again the church had become too numerous to meet in safety, and again the vexed question of infant baptism had unsettled some of the members. So in May, 1640, we are told they became two congregations, one continuing with Mr. Jessey and the other joining itself to Mr. Praise God Barebones, who obtained such celebrity in Cromwell's Parliament. Five years after Mr. Jessey himself became a convert to Baptist views and was immersed. After the death of Mr. Jessey some dispute arose in the church on the subject of mixed communion. This produced another separation. The secessionists chose for their pastor Mr. Henry Forty, a member of the congregation, who afterwards went to the Baptist church at Abingdon, in Berks. Upon Mr. Forty's

removal to Abingdon his people joined the congregation of Mr. Kiffin in Devonshire Square.

But what became of the remainder of Mr. Jessey's congregation ?

This is just where the faulty link in the chain which connects the present Pilgrim church with the church of Henry Jacob comes in.

Wilson, in his *History of Dissenting Churches*, says, "What became of the other branch of Mr. Jessey's church we have not been able to discover."

Benjamin Hanbury, however, who wrote an essay in 1820, to prove that the church in Union Street, Southwark, was the oldest Congregational church in England, contends that this remnant joined with the church assembling in Deadman's Place, a long, dirty, straggling street near the Thames, that is said to have received its name from the number of dead buried there during one of the plagues of London.

This church at the time of which we speak was under the care of Thomas Wadsworth. It had been planted in 1621 by a Mr. Hubbard or Herbert, who afterwards went with his people to Ireland. He died there, but the members returned to England and chose for their pastor the John Canne referred to above. After Mr. Canne went to Holland the members invited Samuel How, a cobbler, who published a treatise entitled *The sufficiency of the Spirit's teaching without human learning*. He was succeeded by a deacon, Mr. Stephen More, a man of considerable substance.

During More's pastorate the church fell on troublous times. For twenty-four years the doors in Deadman's Place were closed, and the congregation shifted from place to place to avoid public notice. After More came Wadsworth, an ejected minister from St. Lawrence Poulteney.

It was with this congregation under Wadsworth that the remnant of Jessey's people is *supposed* to have united ; but that they *did* so must be proved before the Pilgrim church can shew a right to its name. It is possible, of course, but so far we have been able to find no *evidence* of it. The utmost that Hanbury can say is "Who shall take on himself to deny that at this very extraordinary and distressing period the stream which we have traced from Hubbard, and have seen flowing through More, and that through Mr. Jessey derived from Jacob, but of which Wilson had lost the trace, became confluent ?"

This is all very well, but it does not follow that because we are not in a position to deny it, we have therefore a right to assume it. The probability is that the remnant of Jessey's congregation split up. Some very likely did join Wadsworth's fellowship, but that there was any organic connection between the two communions is altogether destitute of proof. By this species of argument any church that contains a few members that belonged to another may be considered its descendant. If no further evidence can be

adduced, the claim of the church at Southwark to be considered the church of the Pilgrim Fathers rests upon a very slight foundation.

After Wadsworth's death, Richard Baxter ministered to the congregation for several months, but refused to accept the pastorate. Then came James Lambert, whom Calamy describes as a celebrated preacher with a considerable congregation. He died August 9th, 1689.

Here some difficulty again arises as to the succession. Waddington says Jonathan Owen succeeded Lambert. Wilson treats the congregation under Owen (or Woven, as he calls him) as a secession from Maid Lane, on the choice of Nathaniel Oldfield to succeed Lambert. But Hanbury regards Owen as Lambert's successor, and Oldfield as pastor of the secession cause.

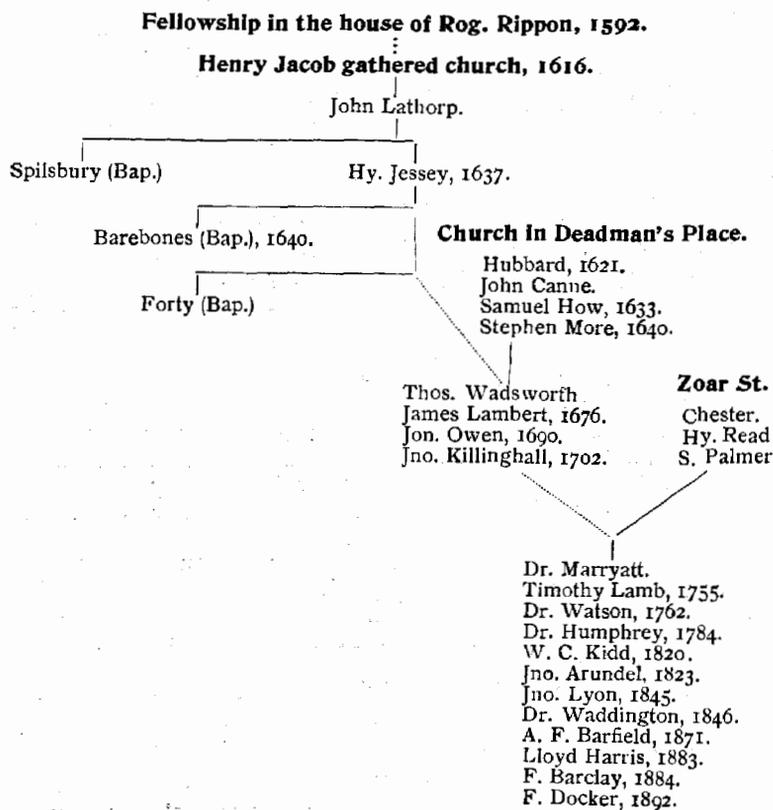
Owen was a man of considerable means and gave the church the four solid silver cups now in use. He resigned in 1702, and was followed by Mr. Killinghall, a good preacher, but not popular. However, he remained with his people forty years.

Wilson says that at his death in January, 1740, the church dissolved, and the meeting-house in Deadman's Place was engaged by a Presbyterian congregation who came from Zoar Street under Dr. Zephaniah Marryatt. If this is true it completely puts an end to the claim of the present church to trace its descent from the Pilgrim Fathers. However, Hanbury contends that there was no dissolution, but that the two churches, Zoar Street and Deadman's Place, united under Marryatt. This view is evidently adopted by Waddington, who places Marryatt in the line of succession after Killinghall.

From this time the descent is clear. The line runs on through Timothy Lamb, Dr. Humphreys, W. C. Kidd, John Arundel, John Lyon, Dr. Waddington, A. F. Barfield, Lloyd Harris, F. Barclay, to the last minister, F. Docker, who has recently resigned the charge.

In order to make this sketch of the church's history more clear, I have appended a table, the plain line shewing the undoubted succession, and the dotted lines shewing the succession that has yet to be sustained. (*See next page.*)

EDWARD E. CLEAL.



## Nonconformity in Trowbridge : Silver Street Chapel

THE origin of Nonconformity in Trowbridge and several neighbouring towns is assigned by tradition to the 16th century, and associated with the building of Longleat House. It is known that some Scottish workmen were brought to assist in the building, who, being Presbyterians, were unwilling to join in Episcopal worship. Horningsham chapel, which still stands upon the estate, was built for them in 1566 ; and it is natural to suppose that when the mansion was finished some of them, at least, would settle in the neighbourhood, and become centres of Nonconformist influence. At a later time there were congregations known as Presbyterian at Warminster, Trowbridge, Frome, Wincanton, and Shaftesbury ; all of which are said by tradition to have originated with these men.

However this may have been, there are no records to support the tradition ; and, though some of the exiles who found refuge from persecution in Holland about 1600 are related to have gone thither from a Separatist church in the West of England, its location is not more exactly specified.

The earliest formal record of Nonconformist worship in Trowbridge is probably that contained in the Tenison MS. No. 639 in Lambeth Palace library. This gives an account of an enquiry instituted in 1669 by Seth Ward, Bishop of Salisbury, into the particulars of all conventicles within

his diocese. The enquiry seems to have been ordered by Abp. Sheldon, in connection with the renewal of the Conventicle Act in 1668. The following is a copy of that portion of the return which relates to Trowbridge.

Place of Meeting	No. of Meet. pl'ces	Name of Sect.	Memb. and quality	Principals and Abettors.	Preachers and Teachers
At Edward Grant's Clothier	1	Anabaptists	140 or 150	Tradesmen. Abettors—Grant, Mortimer, Wittchell (Clothiers).	One King, a stranger; and James Taylor, Shearman.
At the house of Robert Jeans	1	Presbyterians	20 or 30	Tradesmen and Yeomen	Edward Davis, Mercer.
At the Widow Davis's house	1	Presbyterians	Scarce 20	Of like quality.	The same.
At the house of James Matravers	1	Quakers	30 to 40	Do.	Itinerant Quakers

It will thus be seen that in 1669 there were two small congregations of Presbyterians, meeting in private houses because of the persecuting laws then in force. Soon after the Revolution, and the passing of the Toleration Act, these two congregations appear to have united, and acquired or built the old chapel in Silver Street. An old history of Trowbridge says that it was built in 1696, or from that to 1700; but there is a tradition that it was originally a glove factory. The old door is said to have been brought from Farleigh Castle, but the oldest date about the building is that on the clock face, viz., 1705.

In these early days, and for long after, the family of Gibbs appears to have been an active supporter of the cause. In 1714 a Mrs. Sarah Gibbs was a member of the church; and there is an entry on the records of the old Conigré Baptist church of a censure passed on one of its members, John Grant, "for neglecting Mrs. Sarah Gibbs, to whom he had been paying his addresses, without sufficient reason." Several names of the Gibbs family occur

on the members' roll in 1718 and 1720: and the first lease of the building, for 99 years, was granted in 1734 by Mr. James Gibbs; one of the trustees being "Philip Gibbs of Hackney, Middlesex, Minister of the gospel." This lease describes the building as "a messuage or tenement which is now and has for many years last past been made use of as a place of Divine Worship by a congregation of Protestant Dissenters commonly called Presbyterians." Legacies were also left by Mrs. Sarah Gibbs in 1770, and Mr. Philip James Gibbs in 1809, for the benefit of the "ministers of the Presbyterian Congregation in Trowbridge;" which are now vested in the Official Trustees of Charitable Funds. The family of Shrapnell—one of whom invented the Shrapnell shell—were also prominent supporters of the congregation in the 18th century. James Shrapnell of Trowbridge was a cousin of James Gibbs the first lessor of the chapel. His granddaughter, Hester Coles, married a goldsmith of Cockspur Street, London, who presented a silver bowl for use at baptisms. It is inscribed "The gift of Thomas Jeffries, of London, 1767."

The first minister at Silver Street of whom there is any account was the celebrated Dr. James Foster, whom in after years Pope commemorated in the well known lines:—

"Let modest Foster, if he will, excel  
Ten Metropolitans in preaching well."<sup>1</sup>

He was ordained at Milborne Port, Somerset, in 1718; but, having adopted Arian views, his preaching became distasteful to many of the congregation, and he removed to Ashwick. While residing there he preached to two poor congregations at Coleford and Wokey (villages on opposite sides of

<sup>1</sup> Epilogue to *The Satires*, ll. 131-2.

Ashwick, several miles distant), which together raised him only £15 per annum.<sup>2</sup> Some of his best works were composed there, in an old summer house on the property of J. Billingsley, Esq., who some years afterwards commemorated the fact in a laudatory inscription on a stone in the building.<sup>3</sup>

In 1720 he came to Trowbridge ; but, as the congregation was small, and could not afford him adequate support, he entertained some thoughts of leaving the ministry ; and is said to have actually deliberated on learning of the person with whom he boarded the trade of a glover. From this he was diverted by the friendship of Robert Houtton, Esq., of Farleigh Castle, who took him into his house in the capacity of chaplain. By this time he had become a Baptist, and there is reason for believing that he now preached alternately at Conigré and Silver Street chapels. In 1724 he removed to London ; where he laboured as co-pastor with Mr. Joseph Burroughs in the general Baptist congregation, Barbican ; and at the same time carried on an evening lecture at the Old Jewry, with a popularity before unparalleled among dissenters. At the end of 1744 he succeeded Dr. Jeremy Hunt as pastor of the Independent church, Pinners' Hall. Two years later he attended the Earl of Kilmarnock on the scaffold, when that nobleman was executed for treason. He died in 1753.

Mr. Foster appears to have been succeeded at Trowbridge by Rev. Hubert Stogden ; who had previously succeeded him at Wokey and Coleford, and also, like him, embraced Arianism and become a Baptist. Murch says "this circumstance did not prevent him from being engaged by, nor from faithfully serving, a Paedobaptist congregation at

<sup>2</sup> See Murch, *History of Presby. and Gen. Bapt. Churches*, p. 159.

<sup>3</sup> Quoted at length by Murch from Collinson's *History of Somerset*, ii. 449.

Trowbridge, where he happily and usefully spent the remainder of his days." He appears to have died in 1727 or -8; and his funeral sermon was preached by Rev. N. Billingsley of Ashwick, who had formerly been the means of bringing thither both him and Mr. Foster.<sup>4</sup>

The next minister seems to have been Rev. Wm. Dangerfield,<sup>5</sup> who in a short time was succeeded by Rev. John Graham. His settlement is thought to have averted the danger of the congregation lapsing altogether into Arianism. It is significant that about the same time there was a secession from Conigré church on doctrinal grounds, from which originated the society now meeting in Emmanuel Baptist chapel, Back Street. Since then, too, the Silver Street congregation has been steadfastly orthodox.

The entry respecting Trowbridge in Dr. Evans's *List of Members and Chapels, 1717 to 1729*, is as follows:—"Trowbridge—William Dangerfield rem. John Graham. No. of hearers 200. County voters 7. Worth at least £500."<sup>6</sup>

Mr. Graham is mentioned in a MS. book relating to the Shrapnell family<sup>7</sup> as "a dissenting minister in Trowbridge in 1732," who "took part in an elaborate funeral of Mr. Edwd. Shrapnell, brother of Mr. James Shrapnell." This James Shrapnell, as well as Mr. Graham, "Minister of the gospel, Trowbridge," appears as trustee under the first lease of the chapel. Nothing more is known of Mr. Graham; there is no record of his death or removal. But the congregation appears to have

<sup>4</sup> See Murch, pp. 163-4. There was no other Paedobaptist dissenting congregation in Trowbridge at the time except that meeting in Silver Street.

<sup>5</sup> Murch says that a Mr. Dangerfield was minister at Grove Meeting, Bradford, toward the end of the 17th century; and mentions this name among those who officiated at the Old Meeting, Warminster.

<sup>6</sup> The list is given in T. S. James's *History of Litigation, &c., respecting Presbyterian Chapels and Charities*, 1867. At this date the congregation ranked as "Independent."

<sup>7</sup> In the possession of Mrs. Briggs, of Hepworth, near Huddersfield, who communicated this and other information to Mr. H. Wise, 21st April, 1894.

increased in numbers and respectability. About the middle of the 18th century it had become one of the most important in the town, several of the leading families being connected with it.

The following particulars are derived from a book formerly in the possession of Mr. James Bodman, who wrote a *History of Trowbridge*, and was a member of Silver Street congregation, as were his ancestors before him.<sup>8</sup>

“ 1747. A Mr. Gardener was minister of the place : his son also preached.

“ 1750. A Mr. Benjamin Hewson was minister for a short time.

“ 1751. A Dr. Cotton began his ministry, and left 1754.”

[The following is a copy of a letter from Dr. Doddridge to Mr. James Shrapnell :—

Northampton, November 29, 1750.

Dear Sirs,

I am obliged to you for both your kind letters. Though I have long delayed the answer to it, I have not forgot the contents. I have often, as occasion offered, pressed Mr. Hewson to accept the invitation you have given him ; and though Mr. Hewson's friends have much opposed it, and they are some of the principal people of my congregation, I hope I have prevailed with Mr. Hewson to come to you. I pray God to give you a comfortable settlement, and to unite your hearts to himself and to each other. I shall rejoice to hear of the revival of religion among you ; and take this opportunity of assuring you that, tho' I wrote to recommend Mr. Laughner, I did not mean to do it in any preference to the worthy person you have fixed upon ; whom I esteem greatly, and whose wife is also a person of great humility, prudence, and sweetness of temper. I beg my hearty services to all friends among you, and to good Dr. Stevenson of Bath when you happen to see him, as also to Mr. Bates and Mr. Midlecot when you see them. My wife, who, thank God, is very well, joins in these salutations with,

Dear Sir, your affectionate and obliged  
humble servant,

P. DODDRIDGE.

<sup>8</sup> The book was bequeathed by Mr. Bodman to his daughter, Mrs. Hanley of Studley ; and the extracts were copied from it by Rev. D. Salomon.

The ensuing letter to the same, copied from the Shrapnell MS. above mentioned, also refers to the Silver Street meeting:—

Taunton, 18th July, 1751.

Dear Sir,

I was sorry to hear your Mr. Hewson disappointed you. But we are shortsighted creatures, and know not what is best. Perhaps *another* may be more suitable, and that person may be Dr. Cotton. My service to him. I shall rejoice if Providence support him, and enable him to go in and out among you, and enable nature by the change of the air to shake off the gout which has enfeebled him. [*Then follow earnest spiritual appeals to holiness, which end with*] Blessed souls that are found in Christ sanctified, justified, adopted.

With service to everyone, I am, dear Sir,

Your affectionate servant,

R. PEARSON.]

“1755. Mr. Williams of Corsham, and a Mr. Farmer, preached on trial.

“There was an Association of ministers here: Mr. Driver preached from Psalm 133.

“1756. Another meeting of ministers held here. Mr. Millett of Westbury preached from 1 Cor. 2 chap. 2 verse.

“July 11, 1756. The Rev. Nicholas Cross came to Trowbridge. [He was one of the first students in what is now the “Western College.” It was commenced as the “Western Academy,” by the Congregational Fund Board in 1752, to counteract the tendency towards Arianism which had extensively affected the Western churches.]

“July 14, 1757. Mr. Cross was ordained pastor of the church.<sup>9</sup>

“March 4, 1781. Mr. Cross resigned the pastorate on account of ill-health, after a pastorate of 24½ years. He died in 1803.

“June 28, 1781. A Mr. Thoroughgood became the pastor.

“May 28, 1783. Rev. James Stevenson was ordained over the church. Twenty ministers were present. Mr. Fay, of Warminster, preached on the nature of the Christian church; Mr. Phene, of Bradford, gave the charge to the minister; and Mr. Davis, of Bristol, preached to the church.”

<sup>9</sup> Mr. Cross appears to have commenced the Silver Street baptismal register, extending from 1757 to 1837, now at Somerset House. The burials register, also in the same public custody, dates from 1782.

One of the ministers present was Rev. John Clark, the first pastor of the Tabernacle, which had originated independently of Silver Street about 1767.

Mr. Stevenson died in 1826, and was succeeded in July of that year by Rev. David Millard from Atworth. In the early days of his ministry he was very popular; and the chapel was enlarged and improved by the addition of a gallery, and the insertion of two windows near the pulpit. But after a time dissensions arose, and a generally unhappy state of things ensued, whereby the church was greatly enfeebled. There are sad traditions of angry disputes in church meetings, and strong suspicion that records were wilfully destroyed.<sup>10</sup> Mr. Millard died 10th June, 1851, aged 65.

Rev. David Salmon, from Oakhill, followed. At the commencement of his ministry, 2nd May, 1852, there were only 18 church members, and a congregation had to be gathered. This was done so effectively that, when Mr. Salmon left, the church members numbered 82; and the Sunday school, which he had commenced, had from 80 to 90 scholars. Mr. Salmon made an effort for a new chapel, as the old building had become dilapidated and inconvenient; but after canvassing the town for subscriptions, and seeking aid from the County Union, the effort had to be abandoned. However, many improvements were made. The house in front of the chapel was bought and cleared away, to provide a better entrance; the two side floors were re-pewed; the organ was built, and some alterations made in the gallery. New trustees of the endowments were appointed, involving con-

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<sup>10</sup> Details of these unpleasant circumstances, which it is inadvisable to put into print, were communicated to the writer by the late Mr. James Bawlings of Trowbridge, and by the late Rev. Samuel Martin of the Congr e chapel.

siderable expense, whereby the value of the endowment was reduced. The lack of a school-room, and other difficulties in the way of making further progress, induced Mr. Salmon to resign the charge on 22nd March, 1862. He accepted an invitation to the Tabernacle at Pembroke, where he died in 1887, at the age of 60.

He was succeeded by Rev. John Moss from Pucklechurch, whose ministry commenced 11th September, 1864. He soon came to the opinion of Mr. Salmon, that progress must be very difficult unless a new chapel and schoolroom could be provided; and in 1866 he issued a circular appeal for this purpose, which was supported by all the neighbouring ministers. But legal difficulties intervened. The lady to whom an annual quit-rent of 5s. was payable was then willing to enfranchise the building, but was unable to do so because another person, who was entitled to a share in the reversion, was a minor. Then the freehold ground, on which the old house had stood, had never been conveyed to the trustees, the vendor was dead, and the land had not been long enough in possession to confer a statutory title. It was, therefore, thought best to defer the effort until these difficulties should be removed by lapse of time; and when that period had expired the persons concerned refused to enfranchise.

About 1867, Mr. Moss assisted in building a small chapel at Lower Studley, about half-a-mile distant from Silver Street, hoping that a way would open for the removal of Silver Street congregation to another part of the town, so that the two might be worked in conjunction. In a short time good congregations were gathered, with a Sunday school of 50 or 60 children, and a day school of about the same number. But, although the new building was put in trust as a Congrega-

tional chapel, and the attendance shewed that it met a public want, assistance that might reasonably have been expected was withheld ; so that after a year or two the enterprise collapsed for lack of funds, the chapel was sold, and turned into cottages.

Failing health, probably aggravated by disappointment, led Mr. Moss to resign the pastorate in 1870. He retired to Gravesend, where he died in 1873, aged 66.

Immediately on the retirement of Mr. Moss, Rev. Thos. Stephens, a student who had completed his course at the Bristol Institute, came as a supply, and accepted an invitation to the pastorate in the same year. The rules of the Institute forbade his ordination until he had been a full year in charge ; and at the end of that term obstacles were persistently put in his way by a neighbouring minister. These were overcome, and the ordination took place in 1874, the charge being given by Dr. A. Morton Brown of Cheltenham. The congregation and Sunday school maintained their members throughout his ministry ; but, finding that his efforts to improve the building or obtain a new one were constantly being thwarted, he accepted an invitation to Highworth in 1876. He had scarcely entered on his work there when he died, at the age of 30 ; and is buried in the cemetery at Trowbridge.

Rev. W. H. Evans of Road then carried on the work for four years, serving a congregation at Road at the same time. During his ministry a new roof was put on the chapel, and the interior was considerably renovated, the cost being met by collections, lectures, etc. Mr. Evans, who was not officially recognised as a Congregational minister, left for Australia in 1880 ; and was succeeded by Rev. A. Balfour, an aged minister who had held

several rural pastorates. After about a year Mr. Balfour was compelled by old age and failing health to retire. He died in 1892, at Budleigh Salterton, aged 82.

In April, 1881, Rev. John Sharp undertook the pastorate, in connection with that of Bearfield, Bradford-on-Avon, residing at the latter place. This arrangement was unfavourable to the Silver Street congregation, the distance—four miles—rendering visitation difficult. During his pastorate new trustees were appointed for the endowment funds by the Charity Commissioners. Mr. Sharp resigned in July, 1886, having accepted an invitation to Wickhambrook, Suffolk.

Rev. J. P. Mansfield, who had retired from Horningsham, and was living in Trowbridge, then took charge of the church; but died in January, 1888.

Shortly afterwards Rev. J. W. Bishop, a student from Western College, accepted the pastorate, and was ordained in the chapel the same year; but left for another sphere of work at Wellingborough in the year following, after introducing Rev. O. Brand as his successor. Mr. Brand made earnest efforts to improve the cause; but, finding the obstacles that were placed in his way to be unsurmountable, he left in 1891 to take charge of Northgate Street chapel, Bury St. Edmund's.

Since that time there has been no settled pastor. The pulpit has been supplied by lay preachers from the town and neighbourhood, and as a consequence the congregation has declined, the membership has diminished, the Sunday school has been discontinued, and the oldest representative of Nonconformity in Trowbridge is in danger of becoming extinct.

It should be added that in 1904 new trustees were appointed, and a scheme ordered by the

Charity Commissioners for the future management of the charity, both chapel and endowment being vested in the same trustees. A further legacy of £200 also came to the trustees under the will of Miss Noble.

If the strong had helped the weak to help itself, when it was endeavouring to do so in 1860-70, the present conditions might have been very different. But to those who know the facts in detail there is afforded a lively illustration of the truth, that a selfish and self-centred policy is destructive of its own interests.

W. SCAMELL.

## Early Nonconformist Bibliography

### VII

(Continued from Vol. II., p. 71.)

**T**HOMAS HOOKER, formerly of Chelmsford, had endured much persecution on account of his Puritanism; and migrated to New England as early as 1633. Since then he had published several treatises on spiritual topics, which are still highly prized. But his first definite contribution to the cause of Nonconformity was:—

*The Danger of Desertion, or a Farwell Sermon of Mr. T. H. Somtimes Minister of Gods Word at Chainsford in Essex; but now of New England. Preached immediately before his departure out of old England, etc.* 4to., 4+20pp., 1641. In the Bodleian and British Museum.

*A Survey of the Summe of Church-Discipline. Wherein, The Way of the Churches of New-England is warranted out of the Word, &c.* 4to., 36+296+90+46+60pp., 1648. In the British Museum, Bodleian, and Congregational Library.

*The Covenant of Grace Opened.* Sermons preached at Hartford, N.E., in vindication of infant baptism. 4to., 2+85pp., 1649. The only copy I have heard of is in a private library in America.

JOHN DURY deserves to be held in lasting honour for his persistent endeavours, continued through nearly forty years, to bring about union among the Protestant Churches. His earliest work with which we are concerned is:—

*A Memorial concerning Peace Ecclesiasticall among Protestants.* 4to., 4+12pp., 1641. In the Bodleian and British Museum.

*Consultatio Theologica Super Negotio Pacis Ecclesiasticæ promovendo, etc.* 4to., 2+32pp., 1641. In the Bodleian.

*A Summary Discourse concerning the work of Peace Ecclesiasticall; how it may concurre with the aim of a civill confederation amongst Protestants, etc.* Cambridge, 4to., 1641. In the Bodleian and British Museum.

*A Petition to the House of Commons; whereunto are added certaine considerations, shewing the necessitie of a correspondance in spirituall matters betwixt all Protestant churches.* 4to., 8+12pp., 1642. In the Bodleian and Congregational Library.

*A Second Petition*, having the same title. 1642. In the Bodleian.

*A copy of Mr. F. D.'s Letter presented in Sweden to . . . the Lord Forbes, briefly intimating the necessity of a common fundamental Confession, &c.* 4to., 1643. In the British Museum.

*An Epistolary Discourse wherein these following Questions are briefly resolved: (1) Whether or no the State should tolerate the Independent Government, etc.* 4to., 2+42pp., 1644. In the Bodleian, British Museum, and Congregational Library.

*Israel's Call to March out of Babylon, &c.* Sermon before the House of Commons. 4to., 6+50pp., 1646. In the Bodleian, British Museum, Congregational Library, etc.

*Of Presbytery and Independency.* 1646. (Mentioned by B. Brook; but I find no other account of it.)

*A Model of Church Government; or the Grounds of the spirituall frame and government of the house of God.* 4to., 1647. In the Bodleian and British Museum.

*A Peace Maker without partiality and hypocrisie; or the Gospel-way to make up the present breaches of brotherhood.* 4to., 1648. In the Bodleian and British Museum.

*A Case of Conscience Resolved: concerning Ministers meddling with State matters in their Sermons.* 4to., 2+30pp., 1649. In the Congregational Library.

*Considerations concerning the present Engagement, whether it may lawfully be entered into; Yea or No.* 4to., 1649. In the Bodleian and British Museum. Reprint, 1650; third edition, enlarged, 2+22pp., in the British Museum and Congregational Library.

*Seasonable Discourses for Reformation.* 1649. Mentioned by Brook. I have no other knowledge of it.

*Just Reprosals to Humble Proposals; or an impartial Consideration of and Answer unto the Humble Proposals which are printed in the name of sundry learned and pious Divines.* 4to., 1650. In the Bodleian and British Museum.

*Objections against the taking of the Engagement Answered.* 4to., 1650. Two parts; both in the Bodleian, the first in the British Museum.

*Two Treatises concerning the Matter of the Engagement.* [One anonymous against Dury's *Objections answered*; the other Dury's *Reply.*] 4to., 1650. In the Bodleian and British Museum.

*Ex apposito extracto harmonico cum addita obestatione ex monito, intelligetis meae sollicitationis studium ad finem vergere, etc.* 4to., n.pl., n.d. [1650]. In the British Museum.

Against Dury's vindications of the Engagement were published anonymously:—

*The Time-serving Proteus and Ambidexter Divine Uncased to the world.* 4to., n.pl., 1650. In the Bodleian.

*An Answer to Mr. F. Dury; or Animadversions upon his Considerations, etc.* 4to., 1650. In the British Museum.

Dury replied with the following :—

*Conscience eased: or the Main Scruple which hath hitherto stuck most with conscionable Men against the taking of the Engagement removed, &c.* 4to., 2+17+16pp., 1651. In the Bodleian and British Museum.

*The Reformed School: and The Reformed Library Keeper.* (The latter includes a supplement to the former, and a description, in Latin, of the Wolfenbutel Library. Both seem to have been printed separately in 1650, but the common title is dated 1651.) 12mo., 90+6+4+66pp. In the Congregational Library, &c.

*An Earnest Plea for Gospel Communion in the way of Godliness, &c.* 4to., 18+90pp., 1654. Two impressions, with slightly different titles; one in the British Museum, the other in the Congregational Library.

*A Demonstration of the necessity of settling some Gospel Government amongst the Churches of Christ in this nation, &c.* 4to., 1654. In the British Museum.

*Concordiæ inter Evangelicos querendæ Consilia, &c.* 4to., 1654. In the British Museum.

*A Summarie Platform of the heads of a Body of Practical Divinity, which the ministers of the Protestant churches abroad have sued for, &c.* 4to., 4+8pp., 1654. In the Bodleian.

*A Declaration of John Dury, to make known the Truth of his Way and Deportment in all these Times of Trouble.* 1660. I only know of it from the title as given by B. Brook.

*Irenicorum Tractatum Prodromus, &c.* 16mo., 40+548pp., Amsterdam, 1662. Dr. Dexter's copy, now probably at Yale College, has the author's signed autograph note of presentation to Duke Gustavus Adolphus of Mecklenburg.

SAMUEL HARTLIB, the friend of Dury and of Milton, wrote mostly on topics with which we are not here concerned. But mention must be made of

*A Briefe Relation of that which hath been lately attempted to procure ecclesiasticall peace among Protestants.* [Chiefly treating of Dury's endeavours.] 4to., 2+54pp., 1641. In the British Museum, Bodleian, and Congregational Library.

*A Motion tending to the publick good of this age, and of posteritie; or, the Coppies of Certain Letters written by J.D. shewing what a publicke good is, &c.* 4to., 1642. In the British Museum.

*A short Letter . . . intreating a Friends judgement upon Mr. Edwards his booke which he calleth An Antipologie, with a large but modest answer thereunto, &c.* 4to., 1644. In the Bodleian and British Museum.

*Considerations tending to the happy Accomplishment of Englands Reformation in Church and State.* 4to., n.pl. In the Bodleian and British Museum.

*The unchanged constant and single-hearted peace-maker drawn forth into the world; or a vindication of Mr. J. Dury from the aspersions cast upon him in a nameless pamphlet called The Time-Serving Proteus, etc.* 4to., 1650. In the Bodleian and British Museum.

*A Summarie Account of Mr. J. Dury's former and later negotiations for the procuring of true Gospell peace, etc.* 4to., 2+46pp., 1657. This is practically a new edition of the *Briefe Relation*, 1641, revised and brought up to date. In the British Museum and Congregational Library.

[?] *The Effect of Master Durys negotiation for the uniting of Protestants in a Gospell interest, &c.* Author uncertain. 4to., 1657. In the British Museum.

CALYBUTE DOWNING, LL.D., had written *On the State Ecclesiastical of this Kingdom in Relation to the Civil* as early as 1632; and had also written in reference to continental affairs. But his earliest productions with which we are concerned are:—

*A Sermon (on Deut 25: 17) . . . designed to compose the present troubles by discovering the enemies of the peace of the Church and State.* 4to., 8+40pp., 1641. In the Bodleian and British Museum.

*Considerations towards a Peaceable Reformation in matters Ecclesiastical.* 4to., 8pp., 1641. In the British Museum, Bodleian, and Congregational Library.

*A Discursive Conjecture upon the Reasons which produce a Desired Event of the present Troubles of Great Britaine, etc.* 4to., 2+42pp., 1641. In the Congregational Library and elsewhere.

[?] *The Clear Antithesis between Presbytery and Prelacy.* 4to., 2+13pp., 1644. In the British Museum, Bodleian, and Congregational Library.

He also published several sermons.

H. WALKER is named as the author of *The Churches Purity; or the difference betweene the Churches frame in darke times and her settlement in the purest times.* 4to., 1641. In the Bodleian.

*A Remarkable Revelation of the wanderings of the Church of England, in idolatry, Superstition, and ceremonies, etc.* 4to., 8pp., 1641. In the British Museum.

To the same author may probably, but not certainly, be assigned

*The Prelates Pride: or the manifestations that the Bishops lordly government from the original institution is not de jure divino.* 4to., 6+22pp., 1641. In the Bodleian and Congregational Library.

WILLIAM BRIDGE, the Congregational pastor of Yarmouth, wrote copiously on topics of practical divinity. A modern edition of his collected works, in 5 vols., 8vo. (1845), is easily accessible. The only treatise of his claiming notice here is

*Babylons Downfall: A Sermon lately preached at Westminster.* 4to., 6+34pp., 1641. In the Bodleian and British Museum.

JEREMIAH BURROUGHS was a prolific writer on expository, practical, and devotional topics. His earliest work—of which the only copies I have heard of are in American libraries—is

*A Glimpse of Sion's Glory, or the Churches Beautie Specified.* 4to., 34pp., 1641.

Among his later works are

*Irenicum, To the Lovers of Truth and Peace. Heart-Divisions opened in the Causes and Evils of them, with Cautions that we may not be hurt by them, And Endeavours to heal them.* 4to., 8+304pp., 1646. In the Congregational Library and elsewhere. Second edition, 1653.

*Gospel Worship; or the Right Manner of Sanctifying the Name of God in General.* 4to., 1653. In the Congregational Library, etc. Not uncommon.

CHARLES CHAUNCEY. *The Retraction of Mr. C. C., formerly Min. of Ware in Harfordshire. Wherein is proved the unlawfulness and danger of Rayling in Allars or Communion Tables, Written with his own hand before his going to New England in the year 1637.* (This is a retraction of a submission made two years earlier before the High Commission.) 4to., 8+40pp., 1641. In the Bodleian and British Museum.

*The Doctrine of the Sacrament, with the right use thereof calichistically handled by way of question and answer.* 8vo., 1642. In the Bodleian.

*God's Mercy, shewed to his People in giving them a faithful Ministry, and Schooles of Learning for the continual supplies thereof.* 8vo., 4+58pp. Cambridge, Mass., 1655. No known copy in England.

*The Plain Doctrine of the Justification of a Sinner.* 4to., 1659. In the Congregational Library, etc.

*Anti-Synodalia Scripta Americana; or a Proposal of the Judgment of the Dissenting Messenger of the Churches of N.E., etc.* 4to., 38pp. Cambridge, Mass., 1662. In the library of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

LOUIS DU MOULIN, a French Protestant settled in England, wrote:—

*Irenaei Philadelphi Epistola ad Renatum Veridacum, in qua aperitur Mysterium iniquitatis novissime in Anglia redivivum, etc.* (Against the Divine Right of Episcopacy.) 4to.; three several editions, all 1641. Two are in the Bodleian, the other in the British Museum.

*Apologia pro Epistola quae nuper proditit sub nomine Irenaei Philadelphi, etc.* 4to., 1641, in the British Museum. Another edition, 1646, in the Bodleian.

*Vox Populi; expressed in thirtyfive Motions to this present Parliament, for reforming the present corrupt state of the Church.* 4to., 2+12pp., 1641. In the Bodleian and Congregational Library.

*Consilium de reformanda Ecclesia Anglicana, suggestum amplissimo coetu, auctoritate coecessu regis et regni ordinum, indicto, ad consullandum de rebus gravissimis in religione.* Published with the signature Christianus Alethocritus; 4to., 1642. In the British Museum. A reprint, 1643, in the Bodleian.

*The Power of the Christian Magistrate in Sacred Things.* 8vo., 1650. In the Bodleian and British Museum.

*Of the Right of Churches, and the Magistrates Power over them, etc.* 16mo., 1658. In the Bodleian.

*Proposals, and Reasons Whereon Some of them are grounded: Humbly presented to the Parliament . . . with a short account of the compatibility of the Congregational Way with the Magistrates ordering all matters of Religion in a National publick way.* 4to., 20pp., 1659. In the British Museum.

H. PARKER, a barrister of Lincoln's Inn, published:—

*The Question concerning the Divine Right of Episcopacie truly stated.* 4to., 4+12pp., 1641. In the British Museum, Bodleian, and Congregational Library. [Title given incorrectly in vol. 1, p. 416, l. 7.]

*The True Grounds of Ecclesiastical Regiment set forth in a brief Dissertation, &c.* 4to., 1641. In the Bodleian.

*The Allar Dispute, or a Discourse concerning the severall innovations of the Allar.* 4to., 4+12pp., 1641. In the Bodleian, and Congregational Library.

*Jus Populi: or a Discourse wherein clear Satisfaction is given, as well of the Rights of Subjects as of the Rights of Princes.* Published anonymously. 4to., 4+68pp., 1644.

*Several Poysonous and Seditious Papers of Mr. David Fenkins Answered.* 4to., 2+22pp., 1647.

*The Cordiall of Mr. David Fenkins, or his reply to H. P. Barrester of Lincolnes Inn Answered.* 4to., 2+30pp., 1647. The last three are in the Congregational Library.

NICHOLAS DARTON, of Kilsby, Northants, is the author of

*The true and Absolute Bishop; with the Convert's Return to him.* On I. Peter ii. 25. 1641.

*Ecclesia Anglicana; or a clear and Protestant Manifesto, as an evangelical key sent to the Governor of Oxford, for the opening of the Church Doors there, that are shut up without prayers or preaching.* 1649. Both these are in the Bodleian.

WILLIAM HOOKE, who was for many years pastor of a church in New England, but afterwards returned to his native land, published *New Englands Teares for Old Englands Feares. Preached in a Sermon July 23, 1640, at Taunton in New England.* 4to., 4+24pp., 1641. In the British Museum.

*New Englands Sence of Old England and Irelands Sorrowes.* A Fast sermon. 4to., 1645. In the Bodleian. Both these discourses

were reprinted in Emery's *Ministry of Taunton*. Boston, Mass., 1853.

LEWES HEWES or HUGHES is responsible for *Certain Greeuances well worthy the serious consideration of the Right Hon. and High Court of Parliament. Set forth by way of a Dialogue, &c.* 4to., 2+40pp., 1640. In the British Museum. A second edition, with the title *Certaine Grievances, or the errours of the Service Booke plainly laid open*, 4to., 2+42pp., 1641, is in the Bodleian, and Congregational Library. This pamphlet contains a curious story of witchcraft, told, apparently, in good faith. Hewes put out another pamphlet with the same title, not in dialogue form, 4to., 2+18pp., 1640. In the British Museum and Bodleian. [For an anonymous *Confutation* of Hewes see vol. I., p. 419.]

Other Puritan or nonconforming writers, only known by single publications, are :—

S. LOVEDAY, a Baptist. *An Answer to The Lamentation of Cheap-side Crosse, together with the reasons why so many doe desire the downfall of it, and all such Popish Reliques.* 4to., 1641. In the British Museum.

G. SALTEREN. *A Treatise against Images and Pictures in Churches, and in answer to those who object that the times are changed.* 4to., 2+34pp., 1641. In the Bodleian and British Museum.

R. MORE. *A true Relation of the Murders committed . . . by Enoch Ap Evan . . . wherein is examined and refuted a certaine booke written upon the same subject by P. Studley, &c.* 8vo., 1641. In the Bodleian and British Museum. (Ap Evan, of Clun, Salop, had murdered his mother and brother as far back as 1634; and Studley had written *The Looking-glasse of Schisme*, representing that act as a sample of Nonconformist morality. There were two editions of this libel, 1634 in the Bodleian, 1635 in the British Museum.)

We are not here concerned with works of the acknowledged champions of prelacy, but a few moderate and conciliatory authors of that school demand mention, foremost of whom is the learned JAMES USSHER, Archbishop of Armagh. His voluminous historical, antiquarian, and theological works are beyond our purview. We must notice, however,

*The Judgment of Dr. Rainolds touching the originall of Episcopacie, more largely confirmed out of antiquity.* 4to., 2+16pp., 1641. In the British Museum, Bodleian, and Congregational Library.

*Direction concerning the lyurgy and Episcopall government.* 4to., 1642. In the Bodleian and British Museum. Reprinted in 1659 and 1660.

*Confessions and Proofoes of Proteslant Divines of Reformed Churches, that Episcopacy is, in respect of the office, according to the Word of God,*

and in respect to the use, the best, etc. 4to., 1644. In the Bodleian and Williams's Library.

*The reduction of Episcopacie unto the form of Synodical government received in the ancient church; proposed as an expedient for the compromising of the now differences, and the preventing of those troubles which may arise about the matter of Church-government.* 4to., 1656. In the British Museum, &c.

This appears to have been an unauthorised and defective edition. Another was issued the same year, edited by N. Bernard, with the title *The Reduction of Episcopacy unto the form of Synodical Government received in the Ancient Church: proposed in the year 1641 as an expedient for the Prevention of those Troubles which afterwards did arise about the matter of Church Government.* 4to., 6+8pp. In the Bodleian and Congregational Library. Reprinted in Ussher's collected works, vol. xii., pp. 527 fig., 1847. The original MS. is among the Lauderdale papers in the British Museum.

E. UDALL was the author of two remarkable pamphlets, both of which are in the Bodleian and Congregational Library.

*To Prepon Eucharistichon: Communion comeliness; wherein is discovered the Conveniency of the peoples drawing neere to the Table in the sight thereof, when they receive the Lords Supper, etc.* 4to., 8+24pp., 1641. A plea against placing the Lord's table "altar-wise."

*Noli me tangere; or a thing to bee Thought on; or Vox carnis sacrae clamantis ab altari ad aquilam sacrilegem, "noli me tangere ne te perdam."* 4to., 4+42pp., 1642. Against alienation of Church property. A curious engraved title represents an eagle setting her nest on fire with a piece of flesh snatched from a flaming altar.

T. WARMESTRY, D.D., published *A Convocation Speech against Images, Altars, Crosses, the New Canons, and the Oath.* 4to., 12pp., 1641. In the British Museum, Bodleian, and Congregational Library.

*The Vindication of the Solemnity of the Nativity of Christ, shewing the Grounds upon which the observation of that and other festivals is justified in the Church.* 4to., 28pp., 1648. In the Bodleian and Congregational Library. In reply to an 8pp. tract by one Jos. Heming against the keeping of Christmas.

The following anonymous pamphlets, all printed 1641, and omitted by oversight in a former article, are worth notice. All except the last two are in the Congregational Library.

*A Discourse proving Episcopacy to be Apostolical, and therefore Divine.* By Peloni Almonii. 4to., 16pp. In the Bodleian and British Museum.

*A Copy of the Proceedings of some Worthy . . . Divines, etc.* 4to., 8pp.

*Apologetical Animadversions of Certain Abuses that may be Reformed in Ecclesiastical Persons, &c.* 4to., 2+4pp.

*A Discoverie of 29 Sects here in London, all of which, except the first, are most Devilish and damnable.* &c. 4to., 8pp.

*A nest of Serpents discovered, or, A knot of old Hereliques revived, &c.* 4to., 8pp.

*The Vindication of the Separate Brethren of the Spirit, &c.* 8pp.

*New Preachers new. Greene the Fell-maker, Spencer the Horse-rubber, Quartermire the Brewers clarke, with some few others, &c.* 4to., 8pp. In the British Museum.

*Taylor's Physicke has purged the Diuel, etc.* by *Voluntas Ambulatoria.* 4to., 12pp. In the Bodleian and British Museum. (This seems to be a retort on John Taylor, called "the water poet," for half-a-dozen satires on Puritans and Brownists, some of which are very coarse.)

We next proceed to the anonymous pamphlets of 1642, beginning with those of Puritan and Nonconformist authors.

*The Bishops downfall or the Prelats Snare. A poeme, briefly discovering them to have been the sole authors of all our miseries both in Church and State, etc.* By E. E. 4to. In the British Museum.

*The Round-head uncovered, being a moderate triall of his spirit, with a distinction betwixt the Roundheads and such as Papists call Puritans.* 4to. Copies in the Bodleian and British Museum.

*The Character of a Puritan; and his Gallimaufrey of the Antichristian Clergie: prepared with D. Bridges Sawce, &c.* 4to., 28pp. Substantially a reprint of Marprelate's *Hay any work for Cooper.* In the British Museum. Another reprint the following year.

*Reasons humbly offered in justification of the action of letting a room in London-house unto certain peacable Christians called Anabaptists.* 4to. In the Bodleian.

*A Brief account of ancient Church government, etc.* 4to. In the Bodleian.

*A form of Ecclesiastical Government: Fitted to the present state of the Church of England as now it standeth, &c.* 4to., 8+59pp. In the British Museum.

*The Broken Tittle of Episcopal Inheritance, etc.* 4to. In the Bodleian.

*The Last Will and Testament of Superstition; Eldest Daughter to Antichrist, the Eldest Sonne to Lucifer, the Prince of this World, of the Family of Popery, in the Kingdome of Idolatry.* 8pp. In the Congregational Library.

*Apprentices advice to the XII Bishops lately accused of High Treason. Printed in the new yeare of the Bishops' feare.* In verse. 4to. In the Bodleian and British Museum.

*Unparallel'd Reasons for Abolishing Episcopacy, etc.* By N. F. 4to., 8pp. In the Bodleian.

*The True form of Church government, first instituted by Christ, now used and practised in all the Reformed Churches of Germanie, France, and Scotland, etc.* 4to., 12+67pp. In the Congregational Library.

*The Orders for Ecclesiastical Discipline . . . practised . . . by the auncient Ministers &c of the Isles of Garnsey, Gersey, Sark, & Alderny.* 4to. In the Congregational Library.

*Queene Elizabeths Bishops: or a Briefe Declaration of the Wickednesse of the generality of those Bishops of England that lived in the purest times of King Edward the sixth, and Queen Elizabeth, and some things concerning ours.* 4to., 2+13pp. In the Congregational Library.

The following are reformatory and conciliatory :—

*A Remonstrance against the Non-Residents of great Brittain: or Non-Residency Condemned by Scripture, etc.* 4to., 16+47pp. In the Congregational Library.

*The Method of a Synod; or a rationally and sure way to compose and settle the differences and controversies in religion.* By G.T. 4to., 2+10pp. In the Bodleian, and Congregational Library.

*The Divisions of the Church of England, crept in at xv several doores by divers, etc.* 4to., 8pp. In the British Museum and Congregational Library.

We conclude with a selection of prelatice and anti-Puritan publications :—

*A Puritane set forth in his lively Colours, or K. James his description of a Puritan, etc.* 4to., 8pp. Extracted from the *Basilikon Doron*. In the British Museum.

*The Crosses case in Cheapside; etc. Printed in the Climactericall Yeare of Crosses and Crossemen.* 4to., 8+72pp. In the British Museum.

*A Warning for England, especially for London, in the famous history of the frantic Anabaptists.* In the Bodleian. Reprinted in the *Harleian Miscellany*.

*Petitions against Bishops, etc, falsely going under the name of a whole County or Town, etc, proved to be both contrary to our late taken Protestation, as also utterly unlawfull by many other cleere and euident Reasons.* By J.W. 4to., 2+18pp. In the Bodleian.

*Religious Lotterie, the churches amazement; wherein is declared how many sorts of religions there is crept into the very bowels of this kingdome, &c.* 4to. In the Bodleian.

*Tom Nash, his Ghost: To the three scurvy Fellowes of the upstart Family of the Snufflers, Rufflers, and Shufflers, etc.* 4to., 8pp. In the Bodleian and British Museum. Reprinted in *Old Book Collector's Miscellany*.

*A Satyre against Separatists, or the conviction of Chamber Preachers and other Chismatikes contrary to the Discipline of this our Protestant Profession.* By A.C. [Conjecturally ascribed to Abr. Cowley.]

4to., 8pp. In the British Museum. Reprinted in 1643, 1675, and 1681-2.

*New Orders New, Agreed upon by a Parliament of Roundheads.* 8pp. A coarse satire on the Puritans. In the Congregational Library.

*The Anatomie of the Separatists, alias Brownists, the factious brethren in these times, &c.* 4to. In the Bodleian and British Museum.

*A Collection of sundry petitions presented to the King and Parliament, in behalfe of Episcopacie, liturgie and supportation of Church revenues, and suppression of schismatickes.* 4to. In the Bodleian. Reprinted 1660, and 1681 in folio.

*Directions propounded and humbly presented to Parliament, concerning the Booke of Common Prayer, and Episcopall governments.* 4to. In the Bodleian and British Museum.

*England's Oaths. Taken by all men of Quality in the Church and Commonwealth of England. The Oath of Supremacie; the Oath of Allegiance; and the Late Protestation.* Pub. by G. F. for satisfaction of his parishioners. 4to., 2+6pp.

*The Doctrine of the Church of England, established by Parliament against Disobedience and wilful Rebellion.* Published by G. F. for satisfaction to his Parishioners of Watton &c. 4to., 4+45pp. This is merely the old homily on the same subject. Both these tracts had probably the same editor. They are in the Bodleian, British Museum, and Congregational Library.

*Certaine Frivolous Obiections against the Governement of the Church of England Answered &c.* 4to., 8pp. Extracts from Bp. Jewel. In the Congregational Library.

*The Dangers of New Discipline to the State and Church Discovered.* 4to., 2+32pp. In the Congregational Library and Bodleian.

*A Short History of the Anabaptists of High and Low Germany, &c.* 4to., 4+56pp. In the Congregational Library, Bodleian, and British Museum. Reprinted in 1643 and 1647.

T. G. CRIPPEN.

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