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# EDITORIAL

THIS year our Society celebrates its Jubilee, and it is pleasant to record that the fact is to be acknowledged by the Congregational Union of England and Wales in a resolution of congratulation at the May Assembly. Not only so, but the Union has made a grant of £50 as a recognition of the Society's work, and to enable the Jubilee to be fittingly celebrated; it has also promised to make a contribution to the Society's funds each year.

It is fitting that at the Annual Meeting our President should survey the half-century's work. Dr. S. W. Carruthers will be present to convey the greetings of the Presbyterian Historical Society, and there will be other speakers. The meeting will be held in one of the rooms at Westminster Chapel, London, on Wednesday, 11th May, at 5.30.

As part of the Commemoration we shall issue a special number in the autumn. This will include the President's Commemoration Survey, and other articles.

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In this commemoration year it is peculiarly fitting that we should have the Rev. K. L. Parry's paper on Isaac Watts, and that the Rev. C. E. Surman, who has done such yeoman work for the Society, should also be represented. Mr. Parry has been Chairman of the Committee responsible for the new Congregational Hymnbook, which is expected to see the light next year.

It is also very appropriate that one of the oldest members of the Society, Mr. N. G. Brett-James, should have an article in this number. Mr. Brett-James's *Mill Hill War Record* is in the press and his *Introducing Chaucer* is also announced. It is gratifying, to us as to him, that his son's book, *Report my Squad,* a story which covers the period from Alamein to Rangoon, has been recommended by the Book Society. Captain Antony Brett-James, by the way, has been commissioned by the War Office to write the Official History of the 5th Indian Division, in which he served.

Mr. Brett-James reports that the local paper, describing a lecture of his, spoke of the Nonconformists as the "Protestant *Deserters*"!

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All who have used the Congregational Library at 14 Beacon Street, Boston, will regret to hear of the death of the Rev. Frederick T. Persons last September. Mr. Persons combined courtesy with learning, and many scholars are in his debt, among them our Research Secretary, the Rev. C. E. Surman. In recent years Mr.

Persons often brought to mind the Rev. T. G. Crippen, the first Secretary of our Society, and its lynch-pin for many years. It was always worth while going to consult them on any point, for their minds roamed over the whole field of Congregational history; while it often took a considerable time to reach the particular information you sought, your mind was enriched about many other things.

Mr. Person's successor as Librarian is the Rev. Francis W. Allen, and we hope many of the delegates to the International Congregational Council will look in to see him and his Library, and be afflicted with a proper sense of shame when they realize how shabbily the denomination has treated the Memorial Hall Library in London. While they will not find at Boston the wealth of books on Nonconformist history and on hymnology possessed by the Memorial Hall Library, they *will* find a comfortable reading room, a large range of periodicals, a good selection of recent books, and facilities for borrowing the same. Arrangements are also made for frequent "book-talks" by recognized authorities. Let the officials and committees of the Congregational Union of England and Wales see, mark, learn—and follow.

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We hope all our readers saw Mr. Surman's sound counsel to writers of local Church histories—under "Congregational Comment" in *The Christian World*. We wish that somehow a copy could be placed in the hands of a diaconate before arranging for a history to be written, as well as in the hands of the chosen—or self-appointed—historian. Not once nor twice in the last twenty years we have been placed in an embarrassing position by the receipt of a local history sent by its enthusiastic author. What is one to say when the book is badly written, packed with inaccuracies and irrelevances, altogether disproportioned, and with a multitude of printer's errors? It is a great joy to be able to congratulate a church on a piece of work well done, which will stand the test of time, but what is one to say to an author who has not the beginning of the glimmer of an idea how to write a history, who has consulted nobody (sometimes not even a minister well fitted to advise), and allowed nobody to read the proofs but himself? We hope that Mr. Surman's article will prevent catastrophes of this kind in the future. Let it be an accepted axiom that to be a Senior Deacon, a Sunday School superintendent—or even a minister—for fifty years does not necessarily qualify one to write the history of his church.

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Independent Press showed itself enterprising when it secured the English rights of Mr. A. P. Davis's *Isaac Watts*. The book has been warmly welcomed on every hand, and all the reviews were favour-

able, with one exception. Mr. Parry's view of the book appears in the paper printed within: here we content ourselves with quoting what the Rev. Erik R. Routley says in the *Bulletin* of the Hymn Society:

> This book was published in the United States in 1943, and its appearance in this country last October was most timely. It can be recommended unhesitatingly as an admirable, indeed an indispensable work. Watts has had four biographers before Mr. Davis, namely Thomas Gibbons (1780), Thomas Milner (1834), Edwin Paxton Hood (1875) and Thomas Wright (1914); of these, the author tells us, only the first two are valuable as documents, so that well over a hundred years have passed since the last full-scale biography was written. Mr. Davis has gained access to a great deal of material, mostly in the form of correspondence, which was not available to his predecessors, and his handling of the material is masterly. A publisher's note draws attention to a slip or two in the text (which has been photographically reproduced from the American edition), but the reader need have no fear of trusting Mr. Davis as an authority. The book deals, of course, with the whole of Watts's life and activities, and indeed is not in any sense a hymnological work. It has a chapter on Watts's hymns, but this does not set out to be critical. The value of the book to those interested in hymns but not in history is to show how indispensable some historical sense is to any hymnologist; for it shows vividly what manner of man it was who in his early thirties could write "When I survey the wondrous cross" and three hundred other hymns, many of which compete with that one for the highest place. In all his life and work, in his hesitancy about going forth into the ministry, his reluctance to accept the call to Mark Lane, his tendency to preach best when at home; in his outward-looking theology and his overmastering sense of awe; even in his near-Calvinism, his disparagement of earth, his slightly ridiculous children's verses; and certainly in his love of facts and distrust of feelings Watts is seen to be the modest, self-forgetful but God-intoxicated saint of all his generation. Such is the picture which stands out of Mr. Davis's pages, and we are grateful for his great work. One of the most admirable features of the book is the comprehensive bibliography, running to 25 pages. And, if a Congregationalist may be allowed to do so, we congratulate the Independent Press on its enterprise in making this book available to us.

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Round about 30th January a concerted attempt was made not

merely to whitewash but to canonize Charles I, and more nonsense was written than about any other event in history, unless it be the execution of Mary, Queen of Scots, another accomplished liar. There may be some excuse for ignorant and prejudiced divines, who knew no better, but what is one to say of those who call themselves historians who set out to show—regardless of evidence—that Charles died for "democracy", religion, and the Church of England? *The Spectator*, perhaps in compensation for its treatment of *Isaac Watts*, and the *Sunday Times* both dealt delightfully with Dr. E. Wingfield-Stratford, who seems to be taking three volumes to make Charles I into the man his champion thinks he ought to be.

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If the Warwickshire County Council deserves a high place among civic authorities for the way it is caring for and publishing its records, its opposite number in the ecclesiastical field is the Lincoln Record Society, which has done excellent work since it was founded in 1910. True, the latest volume (39) is that for 1942, but an admirable piece of work it is, with Introduction and Indexes, so far as we have been able to test them, all they should be.

The volume, Vol. I of *The Rolls and Register of Bishop Oliver Sutton, 1280-1299*, deals with institutions to benefices and confirmations of heads of religious houses in the Archdeaconry of Lincoln; it is the work of Miss Rosalind Hill, whose enthusiastic Preface is followed by a scholarly Introduction. There is nothing exciting and nothing very human about the entries, which follow the correct formulæ; in these days, may be, many will be disposed to sympathize with the vicar of West Ravendale, who, receiving his meals from the priory, where there was "perpetual abstinence from meat", complained that a diet suitable for a religious was not enough to sustain a parish priest.

After this paragraph had been written there came to hand Dr. Nuttall's notice of Vol. 38 of the Society's works, which contains Vol. I of *The First Minute Book of the Gainsborough Monthly Meeting of the Society of Friends, 1669-1719*, transcribed down to 1689. Of it he says:

> It is good to see the Lincoln Record Society printing frankly Nonconformist source-material. The Editor, Harold W. Brace, who is the present Clerk of Lincolnshire Monthly Meeting, writes 14 introductory pages on "The Early History of the Gainsborough Monthly Meeting", in which he indicates influences predisposing to Quakerism in Lincolnshire as well as the nature of the material transcribed. He also provides an index of subjects (*e.g.*, Children, Disciplinary Proceedings, Testamentary Matters, each with several sub-headings), as well as a full index of persons and places; but no identification of the persons is

attempted, nor is the material elucidated by footnotes, except for dates. This is good, careful work, and might well inspire members of our Society to endeavour similar support for the transcription of our older church books.

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We are glad to welcome Miss Joyce Godber, M.A., F.S.A., as a contributor. Miss Godber is County Archivist to the Bedfordshire County Council, and her paper on Bunyan's Imprisonments rightly finds a place in the journal of a Society of which Dr. John Brown was for so long President.

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We should like one feature of the Jubilee number to be a list of works members have in progress—just to show that the Society has not a history merely. It is encouraging and gratifying that many young scholars are presenting theses for University degrees on aspects of Nonconformist history. In order that our list may be as complete as possible, we should be grateful if members would forward accounts of work on which they are engaged.

Mr. Basil Cozens-Hardy is publishing later this year through the Oxford University Press the diary of Sylas Neville, M.D. (1767-1788), republican Dissenter, sermon-taster, antiquary, medical student in Edinburgh, playgoer, art critic, indulger in gallantries.

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The keenness of the Rev. Richard Ball, one of our members, put us into touch with Mr. J. W. Clarke, of Bridewell, near Uffculme, the owner of the diary of Samuel Short, Dissenting Minister at Uffculme, where Mr. Clarke's family has long been resident. The Diary covers the years 1705-1726, and Mr. Clarke has generously presented it to the Society. Part of it was recently printed in the *Devon and Cornwall Notes and Queries*.

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Dr. Williams's Library has been a boon to many ministers and students, and we welcome the coming of "Friends of Dr. Williams's Library." The fit and proper person to deliver the Inaugural Lecture was Mr. Stephen K. Jones, who followed his father as Chief Librarian, and recently retired from the post. Mr. Jones's lecture—*Dr. Williams and His Library* (Heffer, 2s.)—is a readable account of the Library's founder and of developments until the present day.

Two useful pamphlets from the Kingsgate Press are the Rev. E. A. Payne's *The Baptist Movement in the Reformation and Onwards* (1s.), and a composite work by Drs. P. W. Evans, Henry Townsend, and Wm. Robinson, *Infant Baptism Today* (6d.).

# Isaac Watts and 18th Century Dissent

ISAAC WATTS is the only dissenting Divine to have a monument in Westminster Abbey. No honour was thereby intended to his dissent. His chief title to fame today is as the founder of English hymnody. But when he died he was not only the leader of English Dissent but a great national figure. Perhaps Bernard Manning is right when he says that as a writer of hymns we must "place him a little lower than Wesley". He is certainly right when he says that "to Watts more than to any other man is due the triumph of the hymn in English worship". Some of us would accept the verdict of Walter Raleigh: "Isaac Watts is the rock of ages among Hymn writers, first and easily the greatest. It's his language that knocks me, tip-top gravity and simplicity". Samuel Johnson, as we know, did not share this appraisal of his poetic work, but his tribute to Dr. Watts may serve to remind us that he has other titles to fame. "His poems", he says, "are by no means his best works. . . . It is sufficient for Watts to have done better than others what no man has done well". Of his prose works he says: "It is difficult to read a page without learning or at least wishing to be better. . . . He that sat down only to reason, is on a sudden compelled to pray".

But it was the man himself who made the greatest impression on his contemporaries. "Few men", says Johnson, "had left behind such purity of character".

> Not so the gentle Watts: in him we find
> The fairest pattern of an humble mind;
> In him the softest, richest virtues dwells,
> As mild, as light, as soft, as evening gales.

The "gentle Watts" is the word we find most often.

His was not the meekness of a phlegmatic temperament; indeed he could be peppery on occasion, especially when his fever was upon him, for he suffered from long periods of bad health and insomnia; but by his piety, if not by nature, he was a most humble, tender, lovable soul. After reading his *Orthodoxy and Charity United*, Johnson remarked that "it was not only in his book, but in his mind that orthodoxy was combined with charity". He could not avoid the controversies of his age, but he hated controversy. "Victory is the point designed, while truth is pretended; and truth often times perishes in the fray, or retires from the field of battle". "Oh that we would put off our pride, our self-sufficiency and our infalli-

bility, when we enter into a debate of truth". "A dogmatist in religion is not a great way off from a bigot, and is in high danger of growing into a bloody persecutor". Arthur Paul Davis well says of him: "Charitable, pious, gentle, his saintliness was tinged with just enough worldliness to make him human. Very few figures in his century have been so universally beloved, and few have been so worthy of such love". And yet of this great and good man, how little is known.

The standard biography by Thomas Milner was written in 1834. In his preface he quotes an interesting letter from Daniel Neal to Philip Doddridge, who had been asked to write the life of Watts. "This morning I was with Lady Abney on the subject of your writing Dr. Watts' life; and am now to acquaint you with her sentiments in concurrence with my own, which are that very few materials are likely to be found, and those that may be must not be communicated to you immediately, Dr. Jennings having declined writing the life, merely or principally for want of materials, which he had inquired for particularly of Lady Abney". Dr. Doddridge did not fulfil the undertaking, apparently because he could not find sufficient material. It would appear from Neal's letter that important material was withheld, and the implication is that Lady Abney withheld it. It was not until 1780, thirty-two years after his death, that the *Memoirs of the Rev. Isaac Watts* by Dr. Thomas Gibbons appeared, and Milner's *Life* came fifty years later. Milner says that the general impression that few materials existed was unfounded. But the only important fresh material at his disposal seems to have been a MS. diary in Dr. Watts' own writing, entitled "Memorable affairs in my life". But this consists only of ten small pages and gives little more than the dates of important events up to 1710. He mentions also private sources of information, but they do not seem to have amounted to very much.

By far the best biography was published in 1943 by Arthur Paul Davis[1], of Virginia Union University, U.S.A. It has a bibliography of over 200 works, showing that Watts has not been neglected, least of all in the United States. But if there was any fresh material in the possession of Lady Abney giving more personal details of his life and conversation during the 36 years he spent under her hospitable roof, it has never come to light.

Yet he lived among great events, and kept in touch with men and affairs. His long life spans no less than six reigns, Charles II, James II, William and Mary, Anne, George I and George II. John Milton died the year he was born. Isaac Newton was two years his

[1] *Isaac Watts, His Life and Works,* by A. P. Davis. Independent Press.

junior. He was four when *Pilgrim's Progress* was published. He was seventeen when Richard Baxter died. It was the age of Joseph Butler, Samuel Johnson, Pope, Swift and Addison. A typical representative of 17th-century dissent, he saw the rise of the Evangelical Revival. He was keenly interested in the religious life of New England. "In later life", says Dr. Davis,

> he came to know all the leaders of the colony, and his home in London became a sort of clearing house for American problems. He acted as literary agent for Benjamin Colman, Elisha Williams and others; sent books to the libraries of Harvard and Yale; collected money for missionary work among the Indians: found donors for Harvard; acted as trustee for two of her important funds; helped to pick her text books and professors; counselled New England's governors; wrote catechisms, hymns, and other texts which were used in the New England churches and schools; and took part in the Great Awakening Controversy. Without a doubt Watts entered as fully into the life of New England as any Englishman of his day.

He carried on a large correspondence with Cotton Mather and Jonathan Edwards. He took a leading part in the life of London Dissent; many distinguished people visited him at Stoke Newington. He was a faithful pastor to his people at Mark Lane. He was a great reader and the author of about a dozen major works on a great variety of subjects in addition to his many published sermons and essays. The idea that he wrote hymns in his young days, and then became a recluse and lived the life of an invalid the rest of his days is entirely mistaken, though the actual materials for a biography are very scanty.

The main facts of his life can be briefly told. Born at Southampton, 17th July, 1674, he was the oldest of the eight children of Isaac and Sarah Watts. His father was the son of a naval officer who had served under Blake in Cromwell's fleet. His mother's father, Richard Taunton, was an alderman of the city. He was thus descended from two well-known and highly respected dissenting families. His father was a clothier, who seems also to have kept a boarding school. He married Sarah Taunton in 1673. The following year he was imprisoned for his nonconformity. The Act of Indulgence had been passed in 1672, but the King had been compelled to withdraw it and there was a fresh outburst of persecution.

He was in prison when Isaac was born and there is a reliable tradition that he was suckled at his mother's breast while she sat on the steps of Old Town Gaol on a visit to his father. He was imprisoned again nine years later for six months; afterwards he left his family and lived privately in London for two years. Young Isaac attended

the Free School in Southampton. He was a promising lad and friends offered to pay for him to go to Oxford or Cambridge, but he refused to subscribe the articles of the Anglican Church. In his sixteenth year he went to Thomas Rowe's Academy in London. Rowe was minister of the Independent Chapel meeting at Girdlers Hall, and Watts became a member in 1693. He left the academy in 1694 and lived with his father in Southampton for over two years. It was during this period that he wrote his first hymn. He complained to his father about the dullness of the Psalm-singing at their Meeting House; his father told him to try and compose something better. Whereupon he wrote "Behold the glories of the Lamb". On 15th October, 1696, he left his father's home to go to London as tutor to the son of Sir John Hartopp of Stoke Newington, a wealthy dissenter and a member of Mark Lane Chapel which, under John Owen, had been the leading dissenting meeting in London, but which had somewhat declined under Dr. Chauncey. While he was with the Hartopps he wrote his *Logic*, though it was not published till 1724; and *The Improvement of the Mind*, of which Dr. Johnson said: "Few books have been perused by me with greater pleasure". He continued his own studies in preparation for the ministry and no doubt preached at the evening services held in the Hartopp home on the Lord's Day. But he did not preach in public till his twenty-fourth birthday, 17th July, 1698. In August of that year he returned to his home and preached several times to his own people. The following year he became assistant to Dr. Chauncey at Mark Lane, but his health broke down soon afterwards and he spent the next few months in visits to Southampton, Bath, and Tunbridge Wells. Dr. Chauncey resigned in April 1701, but it was not until March 1702 that Watts was finally appointed to succeed him. He left the Hartopps and lived with Thomas Hollis at the Minories for the next eight years. The church grew rapidly under his ministry, and in 1703 Samuel Price was appointed his assistant. In 1704 the church moved to Pinners Hall, and in 1708 to a new building in Bury Street.

Watts had by now become a recognized leader in the life of London Dissent. In 1706 he had published *Horæ Lyricæ* containing poems he had written ever since his student days, and including 25 hymns. The following year he published his *Hymns and Spiritual Songs*, at which he had been working for about 12 years. In 1710 he left the Minories and went to live with Mr. Bower in Bishopsgate Street. He was now working at his *Imitations of the Psalms*.

On 26th July, 1712, there appeared in the *Spectator* Addison's rendering of the 23rd Psalm: "The Lord my pasture shall prepare", and on 9th August "When all Thy Mercies". Watts

read them with keen delight and in the issue for 19th August appears a letter by him with his version of Psalm 114. "Upon reading the hymns which you have published in some late papers", he says, "I had a mind to try yesterday whether I could write one. The 114th Psalm appears to me an admirable ode, and I began to turn it into our language. . . . If the following essay is not too incorrigible, bestow upon it a few lightenings from your genius, that I may learn how to write better, or to write no more". Then follows: "When Israel, fled from Pharaoh's hand", as you can find it in Watts' Psalms with a few alterations.

In the autumn of 1712 he had a very grave illness, due, it is said, to over-work. The illness lasted the whole of 1713, and in the spring of 1714 he began to get better and Sir Thomas Abney invited him to spend a week at his country seat, Theobalds, near Cheshunt. He lived with the Abneys the rest of his life. Sir Thomas died in 1722, but Watts continued to live with Lady Abney and her daughter, who moved to Abney House, Stoke Newington, in 1736. The illness lasted about four years, and during that time he seldom preached. But he kept up a regular correspondence with his church on all sorts of matters. On 20th November, 1716, at the height of his illness, all the London churches observed a day of prayer for his recovery. He asked his church to stop his salary, but their only reply was to pay his doctor's bills. During his sick leave he sent copies of his *Guide to Prayer* and *Divine Songs for Children* to the young people and children of his congregation. Every child under fifteen was to have a copy of the *Divine Songs;* the kindness of the Abneys, he says, made it possible to give "such small presents to themselves and their children while I cannot preach".

For the rest of his life Watts never enjoyed robust health and he suffered much from insomnia; but he was no valetudinarian. Think only of the books he published after his illness; in 1721 *The Art of Reading and Writing English;* in 1722 *The Christian Doctrine of the Trinity;* in 1726 *The Knowledge of the Heavens and the Earth made Easy;* in 1729 *The Doctrine of the Passions;* in 1730 *A Catechism;* in 1731 *The Revival of Practical Religion* and *The Strength and Weakness of Human Reason;* in 1733 *Philosophical Essays;* in 1739 *The World to come;* in 1740 *The Ruin and Recovery of Mankind;* in 1747 *The Rational Foundation of a Christian Church;* to which must be added many sermons and essays. As we have seen, he kept up a wide correspondence with the religious leaders of New England; he also corresponded with Zinzendorf and the Moravians. He had a constant stream of distinguished visitors, including John Wesley, George Whitefield, Daniel Neal, William Coward, Philip Doddridge. Watts' study at Abney House was a veritable mecca for famous

personalities of his day. It is of all these personal relations that we should so much like to know more intimate details.

His last years were overshadowed by declining health and two family disputes which greatly troubled him, in which two nephews were involved. In 1738 he had a stroke which left him in a very feeble condition physically and mentally. The close came with serenity and calm on 25th November, 1748. His faithful servant and secretary, Joseph Parker, was with him to the end.

The life of Watts thus covers the period between the Declaration of Indulgence and the Methodist Revival, which is generally regarded as a period of decline and reaction. The evidence is impressive. "The Nemesis of Toleration", says Dr. Selbie. "The mark of smallness was upon it all", says Dr. Mackennal. "The word decadent might be written over most of the Independent Churches for the greater part of the 18th century", says Dr. Powicke. Even Dr. Dale says: "The mystic element of Congregationalism which had created the enthusiasm of the Brownists had almost disappeared . . . the original Congregational idea, which made a Society of Saints the very organ of the will of Christ, had lost its hold both on imagination and faith". Bernard Manning has done his best to answer these charges. This theory, he says, "makes nonsense of history and it hides the supreme achievement of 18th-century Congregationalism for the Catholic faith". "If it were true", he asks, "why was it that Congregationalism was ready to receive the fire from heaven whilst Presbyterianism did not receive it?" He finds the answer in the reality of our Church fellowship, and in the Liturgy of Congregationalism, especially the hymns of Isaac Watts. "To one man, Isaac Watts, we probably owe more than we can measure".

To this accusation that the story of Congregationalism in the 18th century is the story of "a depression after the Toleration Act, an inglorious sleep, and then a wakening" we should answer: First, that it hardly does justice to what Dr. Mackennal describes as "those small communities under the affectionate and unwearied care of godly ministers, living lives of great elevation, often of singular domestic graciousness and gravity", of which the church over which Watts presided at Mark Lane gives us a beautiful example. And secondly, that it ignores the fact that while the Revival brought new life to all the churches, it was not without the sacrifice of some of the great principles for which our fathers stood, which we are now seeking to recover, and to recover which we cannot do better than study Watts and Doddridge. "I believe", said Dale, "that we have some things to learn from the Evangelical Nonconformity which was not yet agitated and excited by the fervour of the Revival". I believe we can best learn it from Isaac Watts.

Let us begin with the idea of the Church. "The idea of the Church", says Dale, "for which the early Congregationalists cared so much that they endured imprisonment, exile, and death in the attempt to realize it, was almost swept away by the vehement tide of the Evangelical movement".

Watts' idea of the Church can be gathered from three sources: (1) *The Rational Foundation and Order of a Christian Church* (1747), one of his latest works; (2) his relations with his own church at Mark Lane; (3) his hymns.

The *Rational Foundation* was written at the very close of his life, that is, in the full tide of the rationalist movement, and its aim is to show that the Congregational idea of the Church is consistent with reason and common sense, as well as conforming to the teaching of Christ. We shall not look here, therefore, for the mystical doctrine of the Church, and we shall not find it. There is no disparagement of natural religion in Watts.

> As revealed religion in general acknowledges natural religion for its foundation, so all the parts of social as well as personal religion . . . so far as they are revealed and prescribed in the work of God, are still founded on principles of natural light and reason.
>
> In matters that relate to the constitution and government of Christian Churches, whose chief origin and design is to hold forth and maintain our religion publicly and visibly in this world, I am not afraid to say there is a most happy correspondency and similarity between the dictates of light and nature, and the prescriptions of the New Testament, almost all the way.
>
> The light of reason teaches us that several persons who profess the same religion must sometimes meet together, to celebrate the solemnities, rites, and ordinances thereof, and to worship God according to the rules of it.

When the religion is professed by great multitudes they cannot all meet in one place, it is necessary therefore that they should be separated into distinct societies. There must be sufficient agreement among them as to the essentials of their religion. "The acts of religion must be all free and voluntary". All persons are not equally capable of leading public worship; "reason dictates that one or more persons should be chosen to celebrate the sacred rites of this religion". How large may a Church be?

> All the Christians in the world are sometimes called the Church; so all who are in one city may be called the Church of that city; the Christians in one house may be called the Church in that house; and yet I believe it will be found that a Christian Church in its more usual form was made up of so many as could

conveniently meet together for worship and consented to do so, and the reason of things seems to make this most convenient for many purposes of edification and mutual help.

In all these matters we must be guided by the light of reason. Thus, the churches in a county or district may agree to send their ministers to consult together about their common welfare. They may choose one person to represent them and give him the name of overseer, or superintendent, or bishop. All the churches in a nation may choose a president and call him their archbishop. "I see nothing unlawful in all this, so neither do I see any ordinary necessity for it".

Here is the rationalism of the 18th century, the "religion of all sensible men". There is little here of that august conception of the Church for which, as Dale says, our fathers were willing to suffer and to die. A deeper note is struck in "The terms of Christian Communion" which follows the essay on the *Rational Foundation.* Christian communion is defined as "that fellowship which Christians have with God the Father and our Lord Jesus Christ, and with one another". The visible fellowship consists chiefly in the participation of the ordinances of the Gospel, especially Baptism and the Lord's Supper.

"Baptism is an ordinance appointed by Christ, for our entrance into the visible Church". The Lord's Supper is an ordinance appointed by Christ after we have entered into the Church, "for the assistance and increase of our faith, hope, our comfort and holiness".

The Church must consist of real Christians, but Christians and Churches not being able to search the heart as Christ and conscience can, the terms of our visible communion is a "credible profession of real Christianity". "There will be hypocrites in the Church of Christ in this world, and there is no help for it; the wheat and tares will grow together in the same field till the time of harvest . . . all that have the credible forms and appearance of Christianity must be admitted into the Church of Christ on earth". But what is meant by a credible profession? Three things are necessary. (1) A confession of all the necessary articles of the Christian religion. (2) A professed subjection to all the necessary rules of Christian duty. (3) Such a blameless and holy practice in life as may make the profession of this life appear in the common judgment of men to be the sincere sense of the heart. But is there to be no test of orthodoxy? Suppose a socinian, a pelagian, or an antinomian, should seek admission?

Those who believe not the necessary fundamental, and essential doctrines of the Christian religion cannot properly be

called true Christians, whatsoever general profession they may make of believing the truth, and being disciples of Christ. Therefore such are not to be received. For God in His revealed word has not told us to receive all that are sincere, but all that believe or have received Christ, and in this case I know no judge on earth superior to the Church with which communion is desired, and the officers thereof.

In what words must the faith be professed? "The best medium I can find for all the purposes of peace and truth is that every man should confess his faith in his own words". Finally he asks

whether all sorts of Protestants may join together as members of the same Church? I answer: (1) It is impossible and they cannot. (2) It is unlawful, and they ought not. (3) If it were possible and lawful, yet it is highly inexpedient and therefore it should not be done.

Watts became assistant to Dr. Chauncey at Mark Lane in 1689. Chauncey resigned in April 1701. It was not until January of the following year that Watts was called to succeed him. The delay was due partly to the indecision of the church. They sent a call to Thomas Bradbury, who put them off with indefinite replies. But the main reason was the state of Watts' health. He at first refused on this ground. But he sent a long statement to the church stating his views of church order and discipline. This statement was read in his church and the call was renewed and finally accepted. It is to this statement that we must look for his considered views, in his prime, in regard to the idea of the Church. We must be content with a summary of the more important points.

Jesus Christ, the King of Saints, has given command and power to his saints, to form themselves into spiritual societies and corporations, for his public glory and their own edification.

Every society of saints, covenanting to walk with God and one another in all the rules and institutions of the Gospel is a Church of Christ. Every such Church has power to increase its own numbers by the addition of members, or to purge itself of corrupt members, before it be organized and made complete by having fixed officers among them.

The members of such an incomplete Church, before any pastor is settled among them, may pray together, and exhort one another; yet this Church has not power in itself to administer all ordinances among them.

Though the pastor be named and chosen by the people, yet his commission and power to administer all divine ordinances is not derived from the people, for they had not this power in themselves, but it proceeds from the Lord Jesus Christ, who is the only King of his Church, and the principle of all power.

Pastoral acts are not performed in the name of the people, but in the name, stead, and place of Christ, by the pastor as his representative in that Church, and as his ambassador to it. Even so,"'they are not bound to submit blindly to the government of the pastor, unless he approve himself therein to act according to the mind and will of Christ in his word". Finally: "In the management of every affair in the Church, there ought to be a spirit of gentleness, meekness, lowliness of mind, care, affection and tenderness, both in the pastor and people, towards each other". The rational foundation remains but upon it he builds a much loftier conception of the Church as the body of Christ.

When we turn to the hymns there is surprisingly little about the Church itself as the fellowship of believers, but in hymn after hymn he sings with lyrical passion of the privileges of the sanctuary and the glory of public worship.

One privilege my heart desires:
O grant me an abode
Among the Churches of Thy saints,
The temples of my God!

There shall I offer my requests,
And see Thy beauty still;
Shall hear Thy messages of love,
And there inquire Thy will. *Ps.* 27.

He does not so often sing the glories of the fellowship:

The saints on earth, and all the dead
But one communion make;
All join in Christ, their living head
And of his grace partake.

In such society as this
My weary sould would rest;
The man that dwells where Jesus is,
Must be for ever bless'd.

Many of us feel today that while the vitality of the local fellowship of believers is our great contribution to the Catholic Church, it does not exhaust all that God means His Church to be. But in any greater Church which comes to be, the local fellowship must be conserved, and its vitality and power are nowhere more beautifully expressed than in the writings and hymns of Isaac Watts. We may see in the fulfilment of this vision the answer to his prayer for the garden of the Lord: "Make our best spices flow abroad".

We may turn next to Watts on the Bible. Dr. Powicke speaks of "that characteristic Puritan reverence for the letter of scripture

which, in Owen's case, was carried to the point of bibliolatry". He quotes Owen as saying that the writings of the Old and New Testament were immediately given out by God Himself by mediums incapable of altering them in the least iota or syllable. This is the plenary and verbal inspiration of Scripture which we associate with the Evangelicals of a certain school. It was not the view of Watts. "It is generally agreed by Protestant writers, that not the words of Scripture but the sense of it is properly Scripture. The words are but the shell in which the divine ideas are conveyed to the mind". A student in divinity should not imagine that our age "is arrived at a full understanding of everything which can be known by the Scriptures. . . . Why may not a sincere searcher of truths in the present age, by labour, diligence, study and prayer, with the best use of his reasoning powers, find out the proper solution of those knots and perplexities which have hitherto been unsolved?" We are indeed to believe what has been inspired by God,

> but if these pretended dictates are directly contrary to the natural faculties of understanding and reason which God has given us, we may be well assured these dictates were never revealed by God himself. . . . To tell us we must believe a proposition which is plainly contrary to reason, is to tell us that we must believe two ideas are joined while we plainly see and know them to be disjoined.
>
> When persons are influenced by authority to believe pretended mysteries in plain opposition to reason, and yet pretend reason for what they believe, that is but a vain amusement.

In his exaltation of reason Watts is, of course, a child of his age, but he stands too in the tradition that emphasizes intellect rather than emotion, which distinguishes the best type of Puritan from the Evangelicals of a later period.

How far did Watts adhere to the stern asceticism of the Puritans? The fact is that it was the Evangelicals who revived the more extreme features of a certain type of Puritanism. Isaac Watts was more broadminded. "You say", he writes in his *Education of Youth*, "must we look like old Puritans? Must we look like nobody? No, I am not persuading you to return to the habit and guise of your ancestors. . . . But there are some things in which you must dare to be singular, if you would be Christians". As regarding the theatre, he says: "A dramatic representation of the affairs of human life is by no means sinful in itself. . . . But the comedies which appear on our stage, and most of the tragedies too, have no design to set religion or virtue in its best light, nor to render vice odious to the spectator". As to dancing: "I confess that I know no evil in it. This is a healthful exercise and it gives young persons a decent manner of appearance in company". He recommends fencing and

riding as healthy exercises. Sport and recreation play an important part in a child's training. "Human nature, especially in younger years, cannot be constantly kept intent on work, learning, or labour. There must be some intervals of pleasure to give a loose to the mind, or to refresh the natural spirits". He condemns all cruel sports such as cock-fighting, lingering deaths to dogs and cats, and mangling of young birds. But "the rules of religion do not so restrain us from the common entertainments of life as to render us melancholy creatures and unfit for company. There is no need to become mopes or hermits, in order to be Christians".

He recommends draughts and chess as innocent games. Cards and dice are not unlawful in the nature of the game, but they generally go with gambling. He is severe about the gaming table. "Can you pray to win, when your neighbour must lose?" Drawing and painting is "a noble diversion and improves the mind". He is said to have had some skill himself in the use of pencil and brush. As to music, "various harmony both of the wind and string was once in use in divine worship, and that by divine appointment. It is certain then that the use of these instruments in common life is no unlawful practice, though the New Testament has not ordained the use of it in Evangelical worship". But the voice is "an organ formed and tuned by God Himself" and singing should be encouraged.

In a sermon on "Whatsoever things are honourable", which he translates "grave", he has much to say of "gravity" as becoming a Christian. But "we are not bound to banish mirth when we become Christians. . . . The wise man assures us, there is a time to laugh as well as to mourn. There are times proper for weeping, and some persons may have times for dancing too. . . . We may be merry and not sin".

How far was Watts a Calvinist in his theology?

Behold the potter and the clay
He forms his vessels as he please;
Such is our God, and such are we
The subjects of his high decrees.
May not the sovereign Lord on high
Dispense his favours as he will?
Choose some to life, while others die
And yet be just and gracious still.

That is the nearest he comes to high Calvinism. But Watts is also much influenced by 18th-century rationalism and there is a tension between the rigid doctrines of Calvinism and what his reason demands of the Justice of God. "In explaining some of the Calvin-

istic dogmas through the light of reason", says Dr. A. P. Davis, "he succeeds in explaining them away".

Watts says that Calvin himself in his commentaries has moved away from the "rigid and narrow limitations of grace" in the *Institutes*. The commentaries, he says, are the "labours of his riper years and maturer judgement". Halévy says of the hyper-Calvinism of the sects: "If Salvation is the gratuitous gift of God, and of God alone, it is not permitted to a man to convert his fellow men". Watts is full of Evangelical passion in his preaching.

> Thou poor trembling soul that wouldst fain trust in a Saviour, but thou art afraid, because of the greatness of thy guilt and thine abounding iniquities; believe this, that where sin has abounded grace has much more abounded; it is from the bringing such sinners as thou art to heaven, that the choicest revenues of glory shall arise to our Lord Jesus Christ.
>
> It is not the great business of a preacher of the Gospel only to please the few, but to become all things to all men, and if possible, to win a multitude of souls to Christ.

And also in his hymns:

> The guilty wretch that trusts Thy blood,
> Finds peace and pardon at the Cross.
>
> * * *
>
> Let every mortal ear attend,
> And every heart rejoice;
> The trumpet of the gospel sounds
> With an inviting voice.
>
> Rivers of love and mercy here
> In a rich ocean join,
> Salvation in abundance flows,
> Like floods of milk and wine.
>
> The happy gates of gospel grace
> Stand open night and day;
> Lord, we are come to seek supplies,
> And drive our wants away.
>
> * * *
>
> Come all ye vilest sinners, come,
> He'll form your souls anew;
> His gospel and His heart have room
> For sinners such as you.

The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, the first of our great Missionary Societies, was founded in 1701. Watts nowhere directly advocates the sending out of missionaries to the heathen. But he bids us pray for them.

> Pity and pray for the heathen world, the dark corners of the earth, the unlighted nations where the sun of Righteousness

never rose, where they can but feel after God through the mists of ignorance and error. . . . Now then, O Christians, send a pathetic sigh over the nations, lift up one compassionate groan to heaven for them, and say, 'When shall the day come O Lord that the heathen shall become Thy worshippers, and Assyria and Ethiopia Thy people?'

And after all, he gave us our greatest missionary hymn, "Jesus shall reign".

Watts was a great Evangelical preacher. To preachers he said:

Let all the warmest zeal for God and compassion for perishing man animate your voice and countenance, and let the people see and feel, as well as hear, that you are speaking to them about things of infinite moment, and in which your own eternal interest lies as well as theirs.

Ask old Mr. Wheatfield the rich farmer; ask Plowdon your neighbour or any of his family who have sat all their lives under your ministry, what they know of the common truths of religion, or of the special articles of Christianity. Desire them to tell you what the Gospel is, and what is salvation.

There is surely a touch of self-criticism in his description of a preacher who comes down from the pulpit after a learned discourse

as a man ashamed and quite out of countenance; he has blushed and complained to his intimate friends that he should be thought to have preached himself and not Christ Jesus his Lord. He has been so ready to wish he had entertained his audience in a more unlearned manner, and on a more vulgar subject, lest the servants and labourers and tradesmen there, should reap no advantage to their souls. . . . Well he knows that the middle and lower ranks of mankind, and people of an unlettered character, make up the greater part of the assembly.

He has some trenchant criticism of certain types of preaching in his day. There is Fluvio, whose language

flows smoothly in a long connection of periods, and glides on the ear like a rivulet of oil over polished marble, and like that too leaves no trace behind it.

Can you make the arrow wound when it will not stick?

When you brush over the closed eyelids with a feather, did you ever find it give light to the blind?

I have heard it hinted that the Name of Christ has been banished out of polite sermons, because it is a monosyllable of so many consonants and so harsh to sound.

It was on the ethical side that Dale thought the Evangelical Movement was weak:

The great aim of the Revival was to rescue men from eternal perdition. . . . They were dragging men from a burning house;

they were landing them from a sinking ship; when their converts were beyond the reach of the devouring flames and the raging sea, their great work was done.

Watts preached as firmly as any revivalist to save men from hell, but some of his finest discourses are on the moral virtues that should adorn a Christian character. "With great labour", says Dale, "the Evangelicals laid foundations, but they were unable to build on them". Watts lays the same foundations, but he builds on them. There is a great series of sermons on Paul's "Whatsoever things" in which he extols the virtues of a Christian life. How beautiful is this on humility, "that lovely virtue":

It is a lovely sight to see a man of shining worth, drawing as it were a curtain before himself, that the world might not see him, while the world do what they can to do him justice and draw aside the veil to make his merit visible.

Or this upon the treatment of servants:

I am in pain whensoever I hear a man treat his servants as he does his dog; as though a poor man were not made of the same clay, or were of the same ancient race, as his master.

Is it not a very desirable thing to have it said of any particular Christian, all that know him love him; he hath no enemies unless it be such as hate him upon the same ground as the devil doth, because of his piety and goodness.

And this of charity:

Charity is a grace of that alluring sweetness, that my pen would fain be attempting to say something in favour of it. I find a strange pleasure in discoursing of this virtue, hoping that my very soul may be moulded into its divine likeness. I would always feel it inwardly warming my heart. I would have it look through my eyes continually, and it should be ever ready upon my lips to soften every expression of my tongue. I would dress myself in it as my best garment. I would put in upon my faith and hope, not so entirely to hide them, but as an upper and more visible vesture, constantly to appear in among men. For our Christian charity is to evidence our other virtues.

But Watts never forgets the distinction between the ethical virtues and the fruits of grace. There is one passage which reminds us of Newman's famous description of a gentleman. He is preaching on the rich young ruler.

We are pleased and charmed with your conversation, whose manners are polished, and whose language is refined from the rude and vulgar ways of speech. You know how to speak civil things, without flattery, upon all occasions; to instruct without assuming a superior air, and to reprove without a frown or forbidding countenance. You have learned when to speak and

when to be silent, and to perform every act of life with the proper graces. Can you be content with all this good breeding to be thrust down to hell?

Watts had a profound belief in hell. There are few passages more characteristic and more moving than in the Preface to *The World to Come* in which we see the "gentle Watts" trying to evade the awful truth he was compelled to believe.

> When I pursue my inquiries into this doctrine only by the aid of the light of nature and reason, I fear my natural tenderness might warp me aside from the rules and demands of strict justice, and the wise and holy government of the great God. . . . I am constrained to forget or to lay aside that softness and tenderness of animal nature which might lead me astray and to follow the unerring dictates of the word of God.

Watts' own attitude to the Evangelical Revival was cautious but friendly. We have more evidence of what Wesley thought of Watts than of Watts' opinion of Wesley. John Wesley refers in his *Journal* to his visit to Watts on 4th October, 1738. Charles Wesley was also present. They walked and talked and sang hymns. "It was an interesting occasion in the field of hymnody", says Dr. Davis, "the three greatest English hymn writers joining their voices in song". The Wesleys had used Watts' hymns in the early days of the Holy Club in Oxford. John Wesley's first hymn book, the *Collection of Psalms and Hymns* (1737), contained 70 hymns, of which over a third were by Watts. Writing in 1765 Wesley described Watts as one of the 'Children of God' and expressed pleasure that Watts had not been against him. Watts said of "Come O thou traveller unknown" that it was worth all the verses he himself had written. But he wrote to Benjamin Colman that the Methodists had grown into "some odd opinions". He said he had discussed with Whitefield "the strange unscriptural and enthusiastic notions" of the Wesleys.

Watts saw much more of Whitefield than of the Wesleys, and he was often asked his opinion of him. He writes to the Bishop of London that Whitefield had visited him and had confessed that he felt divinely inspired but "could give no proof of it". "I said many things to warn him of the danger of delusion, and to guard him against the irregularities and imprudences which youth and zeal might lead him into, and told him plainly, that although I believed him very sincere and desirous to do good to souls, yet I was not convinced of any extraordinary call he had to some parts of his conduct". This was in 1739 when Whitefield was only 24. Dr. Davis quotes letters written by Watts to Benjamin Colman between 1723 and 1748 and published by the Massachusetts Historical Society, which contain very interesting references to Whitefield.

He said that Whitefield was far more popular than the Wesleys and that he had told the young man to "go on and prosper". He gave him money for an orphanage in Georgia. Whitefield discussed with him, while he was still a member of the Church of England, whether he should join the Dissenters, but Watts told him he could do greater service within the Church than he could in Dissent. Later he writes that "His narrow zeal for the Church of England as a party, and some imprudences, made him less acceptable here than in the beginning of his public preaching. . . . I must confess also there are several of us who rather despise than honour him; our sentiments about him are different". But later he writes: "I think he has been wonderfully assisted and greatly honoured by God as an instrument to call home souls by Jesus Christ the Saviour". He rebukes Doddridge, however, for preaching at Whitefield's Tabernacle —"sinking the character of a minister". Thus Watts seems to have held an intermediate position between Doddridge's active approval of the movement and the hostile criticism more often heard in dissenting circles. He kept his eye on Whitefield and disapproved of many of his ways, but he did not hesitate to approve his endeavour to "call home souls by Jesus Christ the Saviour".

"Watts' sermons, poems, essays, and hymns", says Dr. Davis, "all contributed to the making of the religious temper from which sprang the Methodist revival. As a precursor of the movement he influenced its then great leaders, Wesley, Whitefield and Edwards. Through Watts the Evangelical tendencies inherent in 17th-Century Puritanism were transmitted to the new Puritanism of the 18th Century". Bernard Manning emphasizes that the Independents were ready for the Revival when it came. May we not put it even stronger and say that they kept the fire burning on the altar at which Wesley kindled his torch? But as Dale points out, there was loss as well as gain. If we wish to recover those vital elements of early Dissent which were submerged by the Evangelical Revival we cannot do better than study Isaac Watts. Here we find that high churchmanship which is our great tradition. Here we find that respect for reason and tremendous emphasis on education which are characteristics of Puritanism at its best. Here we find a conception of the minister as the organ of the priesthood of all believers which was largely lost in the lay-preaching of the Evangelical movement. Here we find respect for culture and appreciation of the arts which one does not associate with Evangelicalism. Above all, here we find a typical example of Puritan piety. If we are to "own Him greatest in His saints", there are few men more worthy of our honour than the gentle Watts, who was not only "the first Englishman who set the Gospel to music", but adorned the doctrine in a life of singular piety and grace.

K. L. PARRY.

# The Imprisonments of John Bunyan

FROM their association with the writing of *Pilgrim's Progress*, the imprisonments of John Bunyan have always aroused interest. The late Dr. John Brown's *Life of Bunyan*, revised for the tercentenary by the late F. Mott Harrison, remains the standard work[1]; while an article by the late W. T. Whitley[2] in the *Transactions of the Baptist Historical Society* dealt in detail with this point. In recent years a little more evidence relating to the imprisonments has come to light[3], and this evidence it is the object of the present article to examine.

It may be well to recapitulate the position as it stands. So far as is known, nothing came of "the indictment against brother Bunyan at the assizes" in 1657-8[4]. The first term of imprisonment, then, which was in the county gaol, began in 1660. Bunyan was indicted at Quarter Sessions under the Elizabethan law[5] against conventicles, by which any person absenting himself from his parish church for a month might be committed to prison until he conformed. Because he refused to plead, the court ruled that he had confessed, and recorded his conviction. Though more than one source of slightly later date indicates a definite break in 1666 in Bunyan's imprisonment ("he continued about six years and then was let out . . . a little after his release they took him again at a meeting, and put him in the same gaol where he lay six years more"[6]), yet contemporary

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1 John Brown, *John Bunyan, his life, times and work* (tercent. ed., rev. by Frank Mott Harrison, 1928).

2 W. T. Whitley, *Bunyan's imprisonments* (*Trans. of the Bapt. Hist. Soc.*, vi, 1-24; 1918-19).

3 This article is a small tribute to the memory of the late Frederick Gurney, who in 1944 drew the writer's attention to the bond (discussed below) in the possession of the Bucks. Archæological Society. He was then preparing an article on it, but its completion was prevented by his death. His brother, Mr. E. T. Gurney, put his material at the disposal of the Bucks. Archæological Society, who generously allowed the writer to use it and to publish the bond, the importance of which had been previously noted also by the late Edwin Hollis, Curator at Aylesbury. To the Bucks. Archæological Society and to Mr. E. T. Gurney the writer is much indebted for permission to try to complete Mr. Gurney's work.

4 *The Church Book of Bunyan Meeting*, ed. G. B. Harrison, p. 20; cited Brown, p. 113. References in this article to older works are usually given to their citation in Brown, tercent. ed., as the most convenient work of reference.

5 35 Eliz. c. 1.

6 Doe's letter to the Christian Reader, preceding his alphabetical table, in *The Works . . . of John Bunyan . . . with a large alphabetical table* [by Charles Doe], 1692, cited Brown, p. 173.

evidence seems to indicate that there was no real break, followed by a fresh conviction; for the Clerk of the Peace for Bedfordshire, Paul Cobb, wrote in 1670 to Roger Kenyon, Clerk of the Peace for Lancashire, "one Bonyon was indicted upon the Statute of 35 Elizabeth . . . and because he refused to plead to it, the Court ordered me to record his confession, and he hath lain in prison upon that conviction ever since Christmas Sessions, 12 Chas. II"[7]. Any release in 1666 therefore appears to have been temporary and irregular. The circumstances of Bunyan's eventual release, license to teach and formal pardon, all in 1672, have already been discussed[8]. We are left then with a period of 12 years' imprisonment, 1660-72, during which varying degrees of lenience were shown to Bunyan by his gaolers.

The second imprisonment, which tradition has placed in the town gaol on the bridge, again in later sources is said to have lasted six months ("they put him in prison a third time, but that proved but for about half a year"[9]). It has been generally agreed that, because of damage to this gaol, not ordered to be repaired till the spring of 1675, the imprisonment was subsequent to this date; whereas it preceded the publication of *Pilgrim's Progress* (registered at Stationers' Hall in December 1677). Dr. Brown, writing in 1885, placed this short imprisonment in 1675-6, and described the part played by Dr. Barlow, Bishop of Lincoln, in effecting Bunyan's release[10]. The subsequent discovery of a warrant for Bunyan's arrest, dated 4th March, 1674-5, first published in 1887[11], has had two interpretations. Thorpe and Harrison opined that this was the warrant which led to the imprisonment in question[12]. Whitley, on the other hand, pointed out that the warrant referred to teaching at a conventicle; that the Conventicle Act of 1670 imposed only fines, not imprisonment, and that inability to pay the fine would have led, at the hands of county justices, to imprisonment in the county, not the town, gaol. He therefore held that this warrant had nothing to do with Bunyan's imprisonment, which must have been due to excommunication by the Bishop of Lincoln, and he regretted "that

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7 *Hist. MSS. Comm., 14th Report, App. Pt. iv, Kenyon MSS.*, p. 86; first cited Whitley, p. 5. This report prints "Benyon", but it is clear that the reference is to Bunyan in the frequent contemporary spelling "Bonyon".

8 Brown, pp. 176-8; Whitley, 16-19; but see also note on p. 137 in the same volume of *Transactions*.

9 Doe, *loc. cit.*

10 Asty, *Life of Owen*, cited Brown, pp. 241-2.

11 W. G. Thorpe, in *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries*, 2nd Ser., xii, 11-17.

12 Thorpe, *loc. cit.*; Brown, p. 266 (addition by Harrison).

no document is discoverable to verify the statement"[13]. That document is now to hand.

This article proposes (1) a somewhat closer analysis of 17th-century assize records[14] which have recently come to light, and of which some are now in print; and the consideration of (2) the "transmissio processus in visitacionibus archidiaconalibus" forwarded by the Archdeacon of Bedford to the Bishop of Lincoln and preserved among the diocesan archives[15]; and (3) of a copy of a bond relating to Bunyan's release, in the Aylesbury Museum[16]. The first relates to the first imprisonment; the two latter to the second.

It has always been a matter of regret that no records of the Bedfordshire Quarter Sessions survive for the period of Bunyan's imprisonment. When Brown, Whitley and Harrison wrote, neither were assize records known for the old Norfolk circuit for this date. In 1934 many of these latter were discovered. A number of them (whether this includes all that came to light cannot be said with certainty) are now in the Public Record Office and the Bedford County Record Office. Unfortunately these documents do not include minute-books, or a complete record of the proceedings of the assizes for any one of the years in question. They do, however, include for certain of the assizes the *nomina ministrorum* (a parchment membrane handed to the judge on which appear, in addition to the names of local dignitaries and officers, the names of prisoners at the bar), and the calendar of prisoners in gaol. There were thus for each assize two documents listing prisoners; and as there were two assizes each year, winter and summer, there must originally have been 48 such documents. Of these, 16 (8 of each) are now known to exist; four of them are in print.

Of the 8 lists of prisoners at the bar, 5 include the name of John Bunyan (1662 winter, 1665 summer, 1668 winter and summer, 1669 winter), and 3 do not (1662 summer, 1670 winter, 1671 winter); of

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[13] Whitley, p. 23.

[14] P.R.O. Assizes 16/15, 19; Bedford County Record Office, H.S.A. (various numbers). Some of those now at Bedford were among the select examples printed by W. M. Wigfield, Recusancy and Nonconformity in Bedfordshire, *Beds. Hist. Rec. Soc.*, xx, 145-229. Two of the documents bearing Bunyan's name and now at Bedford were purchased in 1948 by public subscription as the result of an appeal by Major Simon Whitbread (the chief subscribers being the four surviving children of Dr. John Brown: Mrs. J. N. Keynes, Mrs. A. H. Lloyd, Mr. J. Harold Brown and Mr.. E. Kenneth Brown); and one was deposited by Mr. W. N. Henman.

[15] In the care of the Lincolnshire Archives Committee, incorporating the Lincoln Diocesan Record Office (ref. no. Viv/1).

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[16] Aylesbury Museum MS. —, folios 104v, 105.

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the 8 calendars of prisoners in the gaol, 5 include the name of John Bunyan (1667 winter, 1668 winter and summer, 1669 winter, 1672 winter) and 3 do not (1666 summer, 1670 winter, 1671 winter). On the first three of these there is written opposite Bunyan's name "for misdemeanor"; on the fourth (1669 winter) "convicted upon the statute of 35 Eliz. for conventicles"; and on the fifth (1672 winter), this time an addition in another hand, " for nonconform' ".

What inference is to be drawn from these lists?[17] The number of prisoners varies from 7 (1669 winter) to 17 (1672 winter), when the numbers had been swollen by the addition of six persons "on a *significavit*". It does not therefore seem that all prisoners in the gaol appeared on the list, but only those who were to be tried, or whose cases were expected to come up in some form. It seems clear that at first the Clerk of the Peace and the local justices were anxious to prevent Bunyan from bringing his case (which in their view was decided by proper sentence passed at Quarter Sessions) to the notice of the judge of assize. "I desired my Jailor to put my name into the kalender . . . yet the Justices and the Clerk of the peace did so work it about that I, notwithstanding, was defered and might not appear". The Clerk of the Peace, Bunyan explains, came to the jailor, and "told him that I must not go before the Judge and therefore must not be put into the kalender; to whom my Jailor said, that my name was in already. He bid him put me out again; my Jailor told him that he could not: For he had given the Judge a kalender with my name in it. . . . At which he was very much displeased . . . and run to the Clerk of the assises . . . and thus was I hindered and prevented at that time also from appearing before the Judge"[18].

Yet this did not obtain for the whole period of Bunyan's imprisonment. This same Clerk of the Peace wrote in 1670, "Bonyon hath petitioned all the Judges of Assize as they came the Circuit, but could never be released"[19]. The ebb and flow of events during these twelve years have been traced both by Brown and Whitley—the passing of the Conventicle Act in 1664, its lapse in 1668, the new Conventicle Act in 1670, the Declaration of Indulgence in 1672. Is the appearance of Bunyan's name on all six existing lists for 1668 and 1669 due to renewed hope at the lapse of the first Conventicle Act? To attempt to draw precise conclusions from each list might be to put on the limited evidence more strain than it will

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17 I am indebted to Prof. T. F. T. Plucknett, Professor of Legal History in the University of London, for his advice on this point.

18 *A relation of the imprisonment of Mr. John Bunyan*, 1765, pp. 50-52.

19 See note 7.

bear. It is, however, clear that ten out of the sixteen surviving lists show Bunyan as in gaol and actively bringing his case before the Judge of Assize.

The first imprisonment, it has always been agreed, was due to Bunyan's being in conflict with the secular (as opposed to the ecclesiastical) jurisdiction. The warrant of 4th March, 1674/5[20], again comes from the secular authority; it is signed by county justices of the peace. But did this lead to imprisonment? It states that Bunyan "hath divers times within one Month last past in contempt of his Majestie's good Lawes preached or teached at a Conventicle meeting", presumably in the county. The penalties for such preaching, under the Conventicle Act of 1670[21], were a fine of £20 for the first offence, £40 for the second. Bunyan would once more be brought before the county Quarter Sessions. It is, again, exceedingly unfortunate that we have not the records for Bedfordshire Quarter Sessions. We know, however, that Nehemiah Cox, preacher when members of Bunyan Meeting were arrested and brought before Bedford Borough Quarter Sessions in 1670, was fined[22]. We can also tell from the published Quarter Sessions records of some other counties how offences under this Act were dealt with there[23]. Those of Warwickshire[24] and Hertfordshire[25] show the smaller fines inflicted on worshippers. In the more populous county of Middlesex we see more of the effect on preachers. Fines for the statutory amounts are to be found in the Middlesex county records[26], which at this period yield the names of no fewer than 72 preachers at conventicles who have "taken upon themselves to preach and teach". Did this warrant against Bunyan take effect? Of that we have no proof, but since William Foster's name in his capacity of a justice of the peace for the county appears on it, and since he may have been the originator of it[27], it seems likely that it did. If it did,

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[20] Several times reproduced in facsimile; see, *e.g.*, Brown, facing p. 266.

[21] 22 Car II, c. 1.

[22] Wigfield, *op. cit.*, 180, 183.

[23] See *Lincs. Rec. Soc.*, xxv (Minutes of Proceedings of Quarter Sessions, Kesteven, 1674-95), introduction by S. A. Peyton, for a useful general discussion of this point.

[24] *Warwick County Records*, v, vi (Sessions Order Book, 1665-74; Sessions Indictment Book, 1631-74).

[25] *Hertford County Records*, i (Sessions Rolls, 1581-1698).

[26] *Middlesex County Records*, iv, 165-168, 363-5 (Rolls, Books and Certificates, 1667-88).

[27] F. G. Emmison, The writer of the warrant for the arrest of John Bunyan, *Beds. Hist. Rec. Soc.*, xii, 97-8.

then a fine was probably imposed on Bunyan. If he could not raise the money, he made himself liable to imprisonment, but in the county, not the town, gaol. The conclusion seems to be, therefore, either that the warrant was served and the fine probably imposed, and, if enforced, presumably paid; or that Bunyan was warned and kept in retirement for a period so that the warrant was never served. This would explain the phrase, noted by Brown[28], in *Instruction for the Ignorant,* published in the same year: "being driven from you in presence, not in affection". Brown has also noted the fewness of entries in the Church Book between 1674 and 1678[29].

We come then to the second imprisonment. Here it must be emphasized that, at the same time as the justices of the peace through Quarter Sessions were endeavouring to enforce the Conventicle Act, the Church retained her ancient method of dealing with those who, in her view, were offenders, i.e. by excommunication, which in certain circumstances could be followed by imprisonment[30]. Bishop Barlow's intervention, already described by Brown, gave strong indication that the initiative for this second imprisonment of Bunyan's came not from the secular but from the ecclesiastical jurisdiction. Since the surviving Archdeaconry record for the period 1674-77 is a *Liber Instancium* and not a visitation book, it throws no light on the point. It does not seem to have been previously noted, however, that Dr. Foster, Commissary and Official, and William Johnson, Deputy Registrar, on 10th April, 1675, transmitted to the Bishop of Lincoln a 34-page volume giving details of the proceedings at the visitation of the Archdeaconry of Bedford in 1674. On page 4 it is reported that "John Bunnion, tinckar" of the town of Bedford, stands excommunicated, having been presented by the churchwardens for refusing to come to church and receive the sacrament. At some time then previous to 1674 John Bunyan had been excommunicated. How long would elapse after this before further action was taken is uncertain; the evidence of a book of episcopal and archidiaconal visitations for the archdeaconry of Lincoln, 1671-2, suggests that people might be presented as standing excommunicate year after year. If the offender were troublesome, however, state action might be sought on behalf of the Church court by way of a *significavit.* This was sent by the Bishop into Chancery in order that the writ *de excommunicato capiendo* might be issued.

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[28] Brown, p. 240.

[29] Brown, p. 232, and see the facsimile edition of the Church Book.

[30] I am indebted to Miss Kathleen Major, Reader in Diplomatic in the University of Oxford, for advice on this procedure, and for drawing my attention to the Lincoln document; also to Mrs. Varley, Archivist to the Lincolnshire Archives Committee, for transcribing extracts from it.

Is it not probable that Dr. Foster[31], having failed to curb Bunyan by action under the Conventicle Act, turned to this older procedure?

When did this take place?[32] Perhaps a year elapsed after the 1675 proceedings under the Conventicle Act; possibly again there was some little delay in setting the other machinery in motion. This brings the presumed beginning of the second imprisonment to the end of 1676. If it lasted, as is believed, six months, the date when Dr. Owen took up Bunyan's case with Bishop Barlow was 1677. "Now", writes Asty in a much-quoted passage, "there was a law that if any two persons will go to the bishop of the diocese and offer a cautionary bond that the prisoner shall conform in half a year, the bishop may release him upon that bond"[33]. In the Aylesbury Museum is a copy of the bond in question. Dr. Foster later became Commissary in the Archdeaconry of Buckingham[34], where the Registrar, Richard Heywood, kept a formulary. In this formulary on folios 104$^{v}$ and 105 Heywood transcribed this bond from the adjoining archdeaconry. The bond is dated 21st June, 1677, and the

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31 The description "a right Judas" has clung to William Foster. Yet this is not the impression given by Bunyan's own account of Foster's conversation with him in 1660. The meeting is one of incompatibles—the learned Church dignitary who believes in rules and in the strict enforcement of the law, is, according to his lights, honestly trying to reason with, and (in his view) help the man he sees only as poor, ignorant and misguided, and in whom he is unable to recognize the inspired preacher. "How" (said he) "can you understand them [the Scriptures] when you know not the original Greek?" Bunyan makes people "neglect their calling"; they should work six days and serve God on the seventh. These are only "poor simple ignorant people" that come to hear him. "Well", said he, to conclude, "but will you promise that you will not call the people together any more? and then you may be released and go home". (*A relation of the imprisonment of Mr. John Bunyan*, pp. 11-15, partly cited Brown, 136-7). Foster's surviving papers have been deposited by his descendants in the Bedford County Record Office, and it may sometime be possible to write a more detailed study of him. Throughout his three clashes with Bunyan he probably believed that he was doing his duty under difficult circumstances.

32 Search has been made in the Public Record Office for the *significavit* which caused Bunyan's imprisonment, but none appears to survive for the diocese of Lincoln for this period.

33 Cited Brown, pp. 241-2.

34 Dr. Foster was appointed Commissary in the Archdeaconry of Buckingham 14th March, 1688/9 (Linc. Ep. Reg. 34, f.107d), and had resigned by 30th September, 1701 (*ibid.*, 35, f.80d). His position in the diocese was high, for he was also Official in the Archdeaconry of Leicester (appointed 1669), Commissary in the Archdeaconry of Bedford (1674), Commissary and Official in the Archdeaconry of Huntingdon (1675), and Vicar General in Spirituals and Official Principal throughout the diocese, 1683 (information kindly supplied by Mrs. Varley). Richard Heywood was Registrar in the Archdeaconry of Buckingham at least from 1679 to 1701 (MS. Oxf. Arch. Papers Bucks., c. 228, in the Bodleian Library; information kindly given by the Keeper of Western MSS.).

sureties are Thomas Kelsay[35] and Robert Blaney[36], both of the parish of St. Giles, Cripplegate[37]. The whole process is thus described: "Whereas John Bunnyon of the parish of St. Cuthbert in the Towne County and Archdeaconry of Bedd' within the Diocese of Lincoln hath been presented at the Visitacion of the said Archdeacon of Bedf' by the Churchwardens of the said parish for refuseing to come to his said parish Church to heare divine servise and to receive the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper according to the lawes established in that behalfe, And whereas the said Archdeacon or his Officiall lawfully appoynted hath lawfully summoned the said J.B. to appeare before them or either of them at the Archdeacon's Court in Bedf' aforesaid the next Court day next following such his said Summons at the usual place and houres of the said Archdeacon's Court to answer the said presentment, which Summons being lawfully executed upon the said J.B., And the said J.B. wilfully neglecting or Refuseing to appeare before the said Archdeacon or his Officiall at the said Court was by the said Archdeacon or his Officiall decreed Excommunicate and was soe publiquely denounced in the said parish Church of St. Cuthbert and for his obstinate and willfull persever-

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35 This is no doubt the same Thomas Kelsey who was present at Hitchin in 1677 when Brother Wilson was set apart to the office of pastor; Church Book of the Bunyan Baptist Meeting at Tilehouse Street, Hitchin, i, cited Hine, *History of Hitchin*, ii, 70. No connection has been established between him and the Major-General, who was living and in London at this time (see *D.N.B.*). The name is not uncommon. A Thomas Kelsey (apparently son of another Thomas Kelsey) was given the freedom of the Drapers' Company by patrimony in 1677 (information kindly supplied by Mr. Raymond Smith of the Guildhall Library).

36 Robert Blaney was from 1654 to 1662 Clerk to the Haberdashers' Company. In 1664 an informer wrote "next dore to haberdashers hall leves one Blaney who was a confident to Cromwell whome the phanatick party doth consult with as A Cunning man"; and he was helpful to various preachers in procuring licenses; see G. Lyon Turner, *Original Records of Early Nonconformity*, iii, 475-8 (I am indebted to Mr. H. G. Tibbutt for this reference).

37 The choice of London sureties may be due to the fact that such sureties would be outside the jurisdiction of the Archdeacon of Bedford. It is no coincidence that they came from the parish of St. Giles, Cripplegate, where Bunyan's friend, George Cockayne (see *D.N.B.*) was preacher to an Independent community in Red Cross Street. This community was in close association with Bunyan Meeting; see for instance a letter written in 1681, "The Church of Christ in and about Bedford to the Church of Christ walking with our beloved Brother Cockain in London", cited Brown, p. 305. The possibility that George Cockayne was the "friend of this poor man" who begged Dr. Owen's influence with Bishop Barlow, already noted in this journal (see *Trans.* xii, C. B. Cockett, "George Cokayn") is strengthened by the discovery of this bond. Whether the two sureties were actually members of Cockayne's church it is difficult to ascertain, since the earliest surviving list dates from *c.* 1696 (John B. Marsh, *The Story of Harecourt*, p. 156).

ance under the said Sentence of Excommunication beyond the space of Forty days hath been Certifyed to the Bishopp of the said Diocese, and a Significavit for a writt de Excommunicato capiendo thereupon decreed and transmitted into the Chancery and the said writt thereupon Issued forth and executed and the said J.B. taken into Custody by the Sheriffe of the said County of Bedf' where he shall Remayne a prisoner, And whereas Request has been made for the said J.B.'s absolucion and releasement upon sufficient Caucion tendered in this behalf by the above named and bounden Th.K. and R.B., if therefore the said J.B. shall after lawfull Summons given by the said Reverend father Th., Lord Bishop of Lincoln or the said Archdeacon of Bedf' or his Officiall appeare and performe and obey the King's Majestie's Ecclesiastical Lawes and the Mandates of the Church. . . . That then this obligacion to be voyd or els etc.". Of course Bunyan did not conform; but perhaps their lack of success made the authorities, lay or ecclesiastical, reluctant to renew their efforts.

A further point arises: in what gaol was Bunyan placed during this second imprisonment? No reference to an ecclesiastical prison in Bedford is known. Moreover, a man taken on a writ *de excommunicato capiendo* was the king's prisoner; the writ was executed by the sheriff; though, as the offender remained in prison till absolved, the Bishop had the power of indirectly releasing him. It is difficult to resist the conclusion that the sheriff would commit Bunyan to the county gaol[38].

It is therefore suggested that, so far as our present knowledge goes, Bunyan's conflicts with authority were as follows. First, he was imprisoned in the county gaol from 1660 to 1672, by sentence of county Quarter Sessions, when his offence was against the statute of 35 Eliz. for conventicles; during this time he was allowed a certain amount of latitude, so much so that on one occasion in 1666 he and his friends mistakenly believed that he was released; and he was constantly trying to bring his case before the Judge of Assize. In 1675 a warrant against him was issued, again by the county justices, under the Conventicle Act of 1670; it is conceivable that this warrant was never served, but if it was he was probably fined, again by

[38] See for instance county gaol lists for 1672 winter (six persons "on a *significavit*"), or 1678 winter (two persons "*detent' super breve de excommunicato capiendo*"), both in the County Record Office (H.S.A.). The county gaol was directly under the sheriff's control, the gaoler being appointed by him, whereas the town gaol was the responsibility of the bailiffs, one of their sergeants being its keeper. It is true that the sheriff had an overriding power, but it would be unusual for him to exercise it in this manner. Are we justified, without further evidence than that of tradition, in assuming that he did so? I am again indebted to Professor Plucknett for advice on this point.

county Quarter Sessions. His second imprisonment was for the six months ending June 1677, when his offence was that he had not been to St. Cuthbert's Church to receive the sacrament, and had persisted in this conduct after being excommunicated whereupon the writ *de excommunicato capiendo* had been issued against him; from this he was released on Bishop Barlow's accepting a bond from two London sureties for his conduct. If the sheriff on this occasion followed the normal procedure, he committed Bunyan to the county gaol, and it was there that *Pilgrim's Progress* was written.

JOYCE GODBER.

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THE NOBLE ARMY OF CONGREGATIONAL MARTYRS. By ALBERT PEEL. Independent Press & Pilgrim Press. 5s.

THE CONGREGATIONAL TWO HUNDRED, 1530—1948. By ALBERT PEEL. Independent Press. 10s. 6d.

Both these books are the fruit of patient and diligent work by Dr. Peel, who has pre-eminently the gift for historical research and knows the documents of Congregationalism.

The first is a valuable contribution to the history of the early Congregational martyrs in the Elizabethan and following periods. It contains a full list of names and is a moving record of loyalty to the faith. Dr. Peel also gives a list of the martyrs of a later day in Madagascar, during the great persecution, and of those in many parts of the world who have since laid down their lives. All this is vital to our Churches; and here in small compass is a wealth of information which would otherwise for most of us be out of reach.

*The Congregational Two Hundred* is most easily described as a Dictionary of Congregational Biography, but it is much more than a dictionary. Dr. Peel selects two hundred of the outstanding names, during some four hundred years from 1530, of men who "left an impress of some permanence on the denominational life or on the outside world". Such a selection is not easy to make; and the mere gathering of the facts as set down here is a big task. So far as the present writer's knowledge enables him to judge, these records are remarkably accurate, and the selection justifies itself as being comprehensive and catholic. Perhaps the number of names from the last thirty years of the period is a little out of proportion; even if there were giants in those days. Be that as it may, these vignettes are much more than bare summaries of fact, and often catch the overtones of an individuality. I suppose a man's own predilections must influence a selection like this, and naturally there are other names one would wish to include: Dr. Powicke of Hatherlow, a historical scholar of distinction, a devoted pastor, and an Independent of the very first water; and Bernard Manning, if only as one more instance of the kind of laymen our Churches can train. Bernard Manning's influence is likely to be more and more appreciated in the coming years. But these are predilections of my own. This is a book of unique interest to Congregationalists; it will quicken faith and inspire courage.

A. T. S. JAMES.

# Nonconformity in Mill Hill Village before 1807

THE Mill Hill that one encounters on the Barnet and Watford By-pass is not the medieval village, with its green and its ponds, with its school and its barracks, its Roman Catholic Seminaries and its Cancer Research Building (H.M.S. *Queen Elizabeth* during the war), its Parish Church, built by William Wilberforce, and its three War Memorials. That remarkable mile of History and Romance is reached by the 240 bus route from Golders Green, through Hendon and up Bittacy Hill. The Ridgeway, which was the first road near London to have milestones erected on it in modern times, leads one to the old village of Mill Hill, grouped round the Angel Pond and the Sheep Wash, the village High Street, three hostelries—the Adam and Eve, Angel and Crown, and the King's Head—Rosebank, a Quaker Meeting House turned into a dwelling, a Methodist Church, and Mill Hill School with its glorious situation and its well-equipped buildings, including a modern school Chapel, which takes the place of one erected in 1825, when the transformed stable of old Ridgeway House, adapted in 1807, proved too small.

The early Puritans were not all separatists, and it was perhaps not until the Civil War that the dividing line became acutely obvious. It was a Hendonian, John Herne, a barrister of Lincoln's Inn, who defended William Prynne, the author of *Histriomastix*, but there is no need to suspect Herne of Puritan leanings, as he was also counsel for Archbishop Laud. In each case he failed to convince the law of his client's innocence. Herne's uncle, Thomas Paske, M.A., was vicar of Hendon, and the Commissioners, appointed in 1649 to enquire into the condition of parishes, deprived Paske, and appointed Francis Wareham, M.A., of Bene't College, Cambridge, a man of strong Puritan sympathies. The Nicolls of Ridgeway, Mill Hill, approved of Wareham's intrusion, but the Herberts, who were Lords of the Manor, were recusants. A certain John Juxon, who died on 5th May, 1659, asked that his funeral sermon should be preached by Wareham, who also preached acceptable memorial sermons in St. Paul's Cathedral and St. Mary, Aldermanbury. While he was vicar of Hendon, Wareham lost both wife and daughter, and when at the Restoration he lost the Hendon living he went to live near Woodcroft, Upper Hale, close to the Green Man Hostelry. Calamy speaks of him as a man of great natural wit, of polite learning, of great pleasantness in conversation, and a very practical preacher, but unsuccessful.

Another dispossessed cleric who came to live in Mill Hill was Richard Swift, curate of Edgware. Richard Swift was the son of a Norwich attorney, Algernon Swift, and was born in 1616. His education was somewhat restricted as his father died young, but he entered the Christian ministry without episcopal ordination and in 1650 he was appointed vicar of Offley in Hertfordshire, being also chaplain to Sir Brocket Spencer. In 1656 the Parliamentary Committee of Triers appointed Swift to Edgware, and he continued there until 1660, when the ejected rector, John Whiston, M.A., complained that he had been removed from his living by Sir William Roberts. Whiston and Swift were called before the Middlesex Justices, and Whiston was correctly restored to his benefice, and Swift became one of the 450 ministers ejected in England and Wales between May 1660 and 24th August, 1662; and not one of the 1,800 ejected on St. Bartholomew's Day itself. We must note the comment of Sir Charles Firth, an extremely fair-minded historian of the period:

> "The reaction which followed the Restoration cannot be fairly judged unless the legislation of the twenty years of revolution which preceded it is taken into account. The persecution of the Anglican clergy and the proscription of the liturgy of the Church of England should be borne in mind in estimating the causes of the oppressive enactments directed against the Nonconformists".

Another reasonable excuse for the second stage of severity towards dissent was the plot of Venner and his Fifth Monarchy men, which terrorized the City of London for four days in January 1661, with their frantic cries of "King Jesus, and their heads upon the gates". Calamy knew Swift well, and tells us that he was carried away by Fifth Monarchy notions, which might imply that he was in some way implicated in the plot. Protests were made by Baptists, Congregationalists and Quakers against this "horrid, treasonable Insurrection and Rebellion", but great harm must have been done to the cause of toleration and comprehension. The King was known to be tolerant in his views, and he offered Bishoprics or Deaneries to several prominent Presbyterians, and some were accepted. Richard Baxter, who became at Totteridge, which he found very cold, the near neighbour and friend of Swift and Wareham, refused the Bishopric of Hereford; and when the full effects of the ejections were seen it was found that many of the ministers were in the direst poverty and distress. The ejected ministers were among the cream of the Church, and the Earl of Peterborough's epithets of "sober, vigilant and industrious" were certainly well deserved by the three whom we are privileged to associate with Mill Hill. The decisions then made,

though somewhat relaxed within a generation by later acts of Parliament, tended to divide the nation into two very distinct classes.

The exclusion of Nonconformists from the local Grammar Schools and the Universities for more than two centuries led to the building up of Dissenting Schools and Academies, of which Swift's at Mill Hill seems to have been the earliest. Dr. Foster Watson writes enthusiastically about these institutions:

> "The history of these schools would be the finest record of Education outside the ancient Universities of Oxford and Cambridge to be found in England. It is not improbable that in the eighteenth century their academies were superior to the contemporary Universities—superior, if not in book-learning, at any rate in the culture of the finer virtues of life".

The curriculum varied from one school to another, but as a rule it included Latin and Greek, logic, natural and moral philosophy, rhetoric, theology and Biblical criticism; but the teachers were not too rigidly bound to the classical tradition, and so were able to use "their freedom to experiment, naturally not always wisely, but on the whole with fruitful results". From schools of this type came many Nonconformist Divines, and men so different as Robert Harley and Daniel Defoe; and Professor G. N. Clark in his *History of the Later Stuarts* suggests that "it is not fanciful to see in both of them traces of the characteristic nonconformist outlook, a scepticism about some accepted standards, and a seriousness about some matters which most men take comparatively lightly. The expression 'the nonconformist conscience', used in a later age, illustrates the fact that the two parts of the nation found it difficult to understand one another. It results from the existence of a party of independent and nonconformist morality and culture".

Swift moved from Edgware to Mill Hill in 1660, and from then until 1665, when he began to take in boarders, he was in great straits. He also had an outbreak of smallpox in his house, but fortunately without any fatal results. A kindly friend of his in London, the wife of a considerable merchant, sent him her sons to educate, and persuaded her friends to do the same, till he had a competent number of pupils. This is a tantalizing remark of Calamy's, giving us the vaguest details, and no names, numbers or dates. Probably such well-known Puritan families in Hendon as the Haleys, Hubberstys and the Paul Nicolls also helped him. The keeping of a school was an obvious way of making a living, and, though he had not been trained at a University, Swift, says Calamy, had acquired proficiency in languages, which would mean Latin and Greek.

Fortunately for Swift, Mill Hill village was not affected by the Five Mile Act, which forbade any Nonconformist minister who

refused the Oxford oath to live within five miles of a corporate town; but Archbishop Sheldon's questionary to all Bishops, asking for returns as to Conventicles, Nonconformist ministers and especially schoolmasters, must have been embarrassing for Swift.

It is a pity that we do not know the names of any of Swift's pupils, and for a very long time it was not clear exactly where he lived. In the various Hendon surveys, which are almost unrivalled in their number and completeness, there are two Ridgeways. One is the house and property which dates from 1525 and was occupied for a century and a half by a branch of the Nicolls. It was then owned by a succession of Quakers: Jeremiah Harman; Michael Russell; his son-in-law, Peter Collinson, the botanist; and his grandson Michael; then Richard Salisbury, another famous botanist; and since 1807 by Mill Hill School.

Swift's property was on the other side of the road, a house called Jeannatts, where a century later lived Lady Anne Erskine, the close friend of the Countess of Huntingdon. Swift figures in various schedules of tax payers, and in the Hearth Tax Returns for 1666 he is recorded as paying 18s. for six hearths, where Harrow School House only paid for four. He was more than once imprisoned in Newgate for holding conventicles, and one occasion was during the Great Plague of 1665. In the Domestic State Papers there is a record for Sunday, 9th April, 1666, when thirteen persons were present at Swift's house, and twelve were fined. It seems clear that Swift was the thirteenth and he was imprisoned. The Declaration of Indulgence, published by Charles II in 1672-73, does not seem to have affected either Swift or Wareham. The lists issued for London and Middlesex licences to Dissenters do not include either of them; but Charles's measure, designed to help "whatsoever sort of nonconformist or recusant", was a great relief to the hard-pressed Dissenters.

Calamy calls Swift a man of great charity, and records his generosity to many poor families in the parish. He put several children out to trade and did as much good as the gentlemen of fortune in the village. While he was living there, Lord William Russell was spending part of his time at Highwood House, only a mile away. He was to spend some weeks in prison for alleged complicity in the Rye House Plot and to end his days on the scaffold. His widow, Lady Rachel, went on living in Mill Hill, and it is hard to believe that she was not acquainted with the Dissenting lovers of freedom, who lived so near.

Swift was a pious man, daily employed in studying the Scriptures, and with an unshakable faith in Providence. "Why should God take care, and I also?" was a frequent ejaculation of his. His

pupils must have imbibed some of his piety. One wonders whether he also imbued them with the fifth-monarchy and communistic notions which he seems to have exhibited in his earlier years.

His forty years as a Dissenting Schoolmaster in Mill Hill do not seem to have been known by Samuel Favell and John Pye Smith, who visited the place and fixed on Ridgeway House for their proposed Grammar School. It was not till the 1890's that Lord Winterstoke (then Sir W. H. Wills) reminded or informed his audience on Foundation Day that there had been a previous Dissenting Academy at Mill Hill more than two centuries earlier.

Quite as important as Swift's school and conventicle is the story of the Quakers. An early Mill Hill Friend was Jeremiah Harman, whose father was an "Ironside"; and he lived at the larger Ridgeway House. George Fox came several times to the meeting house on the Ridgeway, as well as to the Hendon one at Guttershedge, which he visited in 1673 with his wife and daughter Rachel on his way to see William Penn at Rickmansworth. In his fascinating Journal there are references to his Mill Hill visits in 1677, 1678, and 1680, when he stayed with Anne Hailey, widow of Henry Hailey, who, according to the Hendon Survey of 1685, "holdeth for Terme, of Life, a Messuage and Ten Acres of Land, called John-at-Hedge, with the Appurtenance, late of Sir John Franklin and renteth yearly to the Lord 1s. 6d., and payeth for Service 4s.". On one of Penn's visits he refers to "a very large meeting, several friends coming from London".

A Friends' permanent meeting-house was established in 1678 in the long, low wooden house next to the King's Head Inn. The house, now called Rosebank, was erected on a piece of land let on lease at £5 per annum. It was enlarged in 1693, denoting an increased membership, but soon afterwards numbers began to decline, and it was associated with the one at Guttershedge, Hendon, and another at Mimms. No minutes are preserved, but we gather from the printed account of London meeting houses that in 1690 the Sunday collections ranged from 2s. 6d. to 8s. In 1709 fortnightly meetings were suggested, and William Jordan in 1715 left £20, half for repair and the remainder to entertain friends who visited the Mill Hill meeting for the Sunday services. Only ten or twelve shillings were spent each year, and in 1719, when the meetings were discontinued, there was £6 9s. 10d. in hand.

After some discussion Mill Hill and Hendon Friends were attached for services to Peel Meeting in Clerkenwell. The old building at Mill Hill is still in a good state of repair; it has been turned into a dwelling-house by putting in a floor halfway up the walls, and belongs to the School.

There is not room to speak in any detail of the achievements of that prince of Quaker Botanists, Peter Collinson, who moved his treasures from his Peckham garden and planted them in the grounds of Ridgeway House, where his father-in-law lived. He was the friend and correspondent of Linnaeus and Benjamin Franklin, of the Duke of Richmond, of Henry Fox, Lord Holland, and of Lord Petre; and was one of the most eminent botanists of the day. He appears in his letters as a charming man with the courtly manners associated with the Quakers, as an enthusiastic lover of Nature and of science in all its branches. He was a keen politician with little discrimination and some stupid prejudices, and a man who numbered among his friends most of the eminent Whigs, and not a few Tories, many Churchmen, several prominent Roman Catholics and Dissenters, and most of the foremost figures in scientific research in the century in which he lived.

A remarkably fruitful friendship was that with the Quaker botanist of Harrisburg and Philadelphia, John Bartram, who for 30 years sent him boxes of seeds and plants in return for English shrubs or for a money payment. These seeds and plants he distributed round the country, and there is hardly a single large estate in the country that does not owe much to his enthusiasm. Kew Gardens, Ken Wood, Thorndon and Goodwood are four among the many which were enriched by this Mill Hill Quaker, who tended his Ridgeway gardens for twenty years. He helped to secure Sir Hans Sloane's collections for the nation, and was thus almost a founder of the British Museum. He read Franklin's paper on Electricity to the Royal Society and was disappointed at their lack of interest. He was honorary agent of the first public libraries in America, and criticized Linnaeus's absurd notion that swallows spent the winter under water. He saw the coming break with America, which he deeply regretted, and fortunately died in 1768 before the drama came to a head. He introduced 180 new plants into England, and some sketches among Bartram's letters now in the Bodleian Library made it possible to rebuild the town of Williamsburg, U.S.A., in its old original Colonial style.

With the end of the very full and fruitful life of the Quaker, Peter Collinson, we are almost within a generation of the foundation of Mill Hill School, which took over old Ridgeway House, with its magnificent view of Harrow, and possibly of Windsor Castle and Eton. It was this inspiring view that determined the minds of Favell and Pye Smith. As many another since that time has been encouraged by the panorama still today unspoiled, so these pioneers in Nonconformist education, in their own words, "thanked God and took courage".

NORMAN G. BRETT-JAMES.

# Presbyterianism under the Commonwealth

[*Concluded*]

The lay members of the Wirksworth Classis were even more unrepresentative of the Churches than were the ministers. Twenty names are quoted, mostly unidentifiable, of whom only nine seem to have shewn any consistent interest in the Classis. These were:

*Edward Allen*—An Elder of the Church at Wirksworth, who attended 39 meetings between Dec., 1651 and April, 1658.

*German(e) Buxton*—Elder of the Church at Kirk Ireton. Third son of George Buxton of Bradbourne, uncle of Henry Buxton of Mill-houses (*infra*), and father of Edward, curate of Trunditch and from 1662 vicar of Duffield (Quoted by Calamy, but not ejected), and of Thomas*, curate of Tettenhall, Staffs, who was ejected thence in 1661, and licensed in 1672 as Congl. Teacher at Tamworth and Coventry. Probably also father of the Anthony Buxton who was ordained by the Classis, 21 March, 1654 (*q.v.*). German attended 19 meetings.

*Henry Buxton,* "de Bradbourn", an elder of the Bradbourne Presbytery and descendant of the ancient family of Buxton of Buxton. Henry Buxton, son of John of Buxton, settled at Bradbourne, *temp.* Elizabeth. The Henry Buxton here mentioned was his great-grandson, born 1610. He married Anne, daughter of Richard Wigley of Wigwell Grange, Wirksworth. Attended 54 sessions of the Classis.

*Henry Buxton, Junior,* "of Mill-houses", an elder of the Wirksworth Presbytery, whose connexion with the other Buxtons mentioned is not established. (The house of *John* Buxton of Wirksworth was licensed as a meeting-place in 1672). Attended 15 meetings.

*Richard Buxton,* younger brother of German Buxton, another elder of the Bradbourne Presbytery, attended nine meetings.

*John Rudyard,* Elder of the Wirksworth church, and appointed Scribe to the Classis on 16 January, 1654, in succession to Roger Coke. He was a fairly consistent attendant throughout the period covered by the minutes, registering 60 attendances.

*John Sclater,* Elder of the Hognaston presbytery, and another faithful attendant, although his minister does not seem to have been a member. He seems to have been a well-to-do yeoman, and (like Henry Buxton Senr.) usually has "Mr." prefixed to his name in the Minutes, a distinction only accorded to these two members. An action for non-payment of tithes was brought against him in 1668 (Cox, *Churches of Derbyshire,* ii, 490). Made 42 attendances.

*William Storer,* another elder of Wirksworth Church, made 24 attendances: nothing else is known of him, nor of

*John Storer,* "of Irichhay", who attended once; *Edward Storer,* who attended four meetings, or *Robert Storer,* an elder from Kirk Ireton, who was present 3 times.

*Gilbert Wallis* and *John Heapie* (representation not stated) each attended 18 meetings; *James Addams* (5), *William Allsopp* (3), *William Jessop* (5), *Thomas Mellor* (2), *Robert Newton* (1), *John Sutton* (1), and *Richard Varden* (6) were the other lay members.

On several occasions no lay-elder was present at Classis meetings; four times only Rudyard, the Scribe; 10 times only he and John Sclater; 8 times only he and Henry Buxton Senior were present.

MINISTERIAL MEMBERS OF THE CLASSIS: The Classis met 87 times during the period covered by the minutes: the ministerial members, given in order of appearance in the record, were:

†**Robert Porter*—50 attendances throughout entire period. Vicar of Pentrich, ejected thence 1662.

**Thomas Shelmerdine*—64 attendances: Rector of Matlock, whence ejected 1662. Brother of *Daniel, ordained by the Classis, 20 May, 1657, and father of Samuel who was licensed as Presb. teacher at Cromford in 1672.

*Martin Topham*, who made 77 attendances, appears to have been the principal figure in the Classis, in the first place, no doubt, on account of his position as vicar of Wirksworth, and by the predominance of lay representation from his congregational presbytery. The Rev. S. L. Caiger, the present vicar of Wirksworth, has kindly afforded the following details:

"*Robert Topham* was preferred to Wirksworth benefice in 1633 by Dr. Anthony Topham, Dean of Lincoln, patron of the living (Robert's father?). In 1643, it is presumed that Robert went over to the Roundheads, for he continued as vicar. In 1645 the Prayer Book was forbidden, but Robert still 'stayed put', so probably apostasized to the Independents. He held the living till his death (apparently) in 1650, when he was succeeded by his son.

"*Martin Topham*. The Parliamentary Inquisition of 1650 describes him as 'Viccar of Wirksworth with Alderwasley, Ible, Ironbrook Grange, Hopton, Alton, New Bugings and Idrichaye, able and of good conversation' (meaning that he was a sound Independent?). He married Elizabeth Wigley of Wigwell Grange in Wirksworth[20]. A letter is extant which he wrote to a Col. Sanders of Derby begging for a licence for one of his poor parishioners to brew ale. He took a leading part in the Presbyterian Classis, and in 1657 apparently approved the action of the magistrates for silencing a Quakeress, Jane Stones, to be stripped naked and whipped at the cart's tail in Wirksworth market place, for having interrupted a meeting of his Classis. I cannot make out whether he died in 1658 or 1660, but the next vicar was Peter Watkinson" (*q.v.*)

†**John Otefield*—82 attendances, the highest number. Rector of Carsington, whence ejected, 1662. Name is given consistently as Otefield (once as Oatfield) throughout the minutes, and so in licence documents (Lyon Turner, II. 704, 711), but his sons were known as Oldfield (under which indexed in *Cal. Rev.* and *D.N.B.*). Sons John, †Joshua, Nathaniel, Samuel, all became ministers. Samuel Oatefield, teacher, licensed at Alfreton, 1672, and John's house there as meeting place.

**Thomas Myles*—41 attendances, last on 19 Feb., 1655/6. He was minister at Bradbourne 1650-56, removing to curacy of St. Chad's, Lichfield in 1656, whence ejected.

*Roger Coke*, the Scribe of the Presbytery until 21 Feb., 1652. Apart from his consistent attendance at 30 meetings and the careful records which he kept, nothing is said about him. His name always appears on the ministerial side of the attendance register, but the church he represented is not stated[21].

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[20] Thereby related, in law, to Henry Buxton of Bradbourne.

[21] *Qy.* connected with Roger Coke (*fl.* 1600-96), the political writer—for whom see *D.N.B.*

*Peter Coates*—minister of South Wingfield from 1646, on presentation of Christian, Countess of Devonshire. Episcopally ordained 1660, and retained his vicarage till death, 26 Jan., 1675, aged 81: buried centre of chancel S. Wingfield church. Attended 35 meetings, and chosen Moderator more than any other minister, 21 times.

*Peter Watkinson*, who made 55 attendances, was minister of Kirk Ireton[22]. "Had acted as Independent Rector of K.I. from 1647; became vicar of Wirksworth, the next parish, in 1660, in succession to Martin Topham, *supra*. A strong Presbyterian and Moderator of the Classis no less than 19 times. In 1653 he was offered Chesterfield, but declined (apparently on advice of the Classis to whom he referred the invitation for opinion). In 1655 he was highly commended for his sermons against Socinianism. In 1660 the ejected clergy were restored to their livings, but this did not affect Wirksworth. In 1662 the Act of Uniformity led to Watkinson's honourable resignation from the benefice[23] in favour of the Rev. Thomas Browne at the same time as John Oldfield resigned from the adjacent benefice of Carsington on account of his Presbyterian views."

*Edward Pole*, rector of Bontishall (Bonsall) before Commonwealth period and until 1697. Parliamentary Commission of 1650 described him as "a man able and of good conversation". Made 42 attendances.

†**John Machin*—only appearance on 19 Feb., 1651/2. Had been ordained by presbyters at Whitchurch, Salop in 1649. Lecturer at Ashbourne "where for the space of two years he was a painful and laborious preacher, and exceedingly useful". Removed to Cheshire, where ejected.

*John Wiersdale*—6 attendances. Rector of Bradley, and apparently held the living until 1669. Of him see Special Case *in extenso, supra*.

*Francis Topham*—5 occasional attendances. Rector of Thorpe-by-Ashbourne from 1633. No other details. Believed brother of Martin, *supra*.

*Samuel Moore*, ordained by the Classis as Lecturer at Ashbourne, 15 March, 1652. He attended the meeting of the Classis on 17 May, 1653, but his presence evidently somewhat irregular, as he held no parochial charge, and a formal vote was passed admitting him to the privileges of membership, "not only as an Assistant to the Classis but also to act as a member of the Classis." Attended regularly until close of the minuted period, 23 attendances. (Robert Moore, curate of Brampton, Derbys., ejected 1662, had a son Samuel, possibly this man).

†**William Bagshaw*, first attended an extraordinary meeting for the ordination of Anthony Buxton, Richard Chantry, Humfrey Waldron and Thomas Ford at Wirksworth, 21 March, 1654. Invited to preach the next Classical sermon, which he did, 17 April, 1655. Present again as "Assistant" on 20 May 1656 and 20 Jan. 1656/7, and invited to attend "whenever he can make it convenient". He was a member of the Cheshire Classis in May 1691[24].

**Samuel Charles*—Ordained by Classis at Kniveton, 22 Aug., 1655. Admitted an assistant to the Classis (*in absentia*) 16 Oct., 1655 and subsequently attended 18 meetings. Vicar of Mickleover, Derbys. 1657-62, when ejected and removed to Chesterfield and Hull.

*Hieron*—probably *Samuel*, vicar of Shirley, who was ordained by the Classis, 19 Feb., 1651/2, though his brother, *John*, had on the same day made request that the next Classical Fast might be held in his church at Breadsall, where he had been rector since 1645. On four

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[22] Information per the Rev. S. L. Caiger, vicar of Wirksworth (1947).

[23] Not mentioned by Calamy. The Rev. A. G. Matthews informs us that he subsequently conformed, held livings in Staffs and Yorks, and died in 1688.

[24] Gordon, *Cheshire Classis*, 5, 6.

occasions when "Mr. Hieron" was present it is singular that no initial or christian name is given, nor place of charge—most unusually. Both brothers were ejected.

*John Beardmore*—B.A., of Clare Hall, Cambridge, was ordained by the Classis, 19 Aug., 1656. It is not indicated where he was settled. Was minister at Hognaston in 1690; possibly rector of Whitwell. Attended Classis meeting, 16 Sept., 1656; voted an Assistant on 16 Dec., 1656, but never attended subsequently.

*Samuel Trickett*—B.A., of Christ's, Cambridge, ordained by the Classis as minister of Bradbourn, 17 Dec., 1656. Present at next meeting of the Classis and made 22 attendances up to November 1658. He was episcopally ordained at the Restoration and instituted vicar of Bradbourn in 1661, becoming vicar of Norton, Derbys. in 1667.

**James Sutton*—ordained by Classis, 20 May, 1657, as vicar of Crich. "Having formerly addressed himself to this Classis for ordination, and appearing this day (21 April 1657) again had this Thesis given him, vizt An Scripture authoritis pendit ab ecclesia?" No record in minutes under review of this "former application". According to *Cal. Rev.*, was M.A. of Magdalene, Cambridge, in 1628.

*Brigges*—"Assistant pro tempore" at meeting, 16 March 1657/8, evidently as visitor. No further reference or clue to identity.

ANTI-SOCINIANISM: A series of resolutions, the first 15 May, 1655, provide that "each Classicall-Meeting some one be chosen to bring in to the Classis the next meeting after, a Thesis upon some point controverted betwixt us & the Socinians."

†John Biddle, the principal English exponent of Socinianism, was in this year banished to the Scilly Isles, after serving various earlier terms of imprisonment, and the controversy was in full swing. It is a singular commentary on the Presbyterian orthodoxy and zeal against Socinianism at this period to recall that in less than a century most of the old Presbyterian congregations in England had passed into Socinianism and/or become Unitarian[25]. Did the Classes perchance disseminate by disputation, and teach heterodoxy by much wordy assault upon it?

The various theses submitted to the Classis (at irregular intervals) in execution of these resolutions dealt with:

That there is no need of any special illumination of the Spirit of God to the right understanding of the Scripture.

That consequences drawne from Scripture are rightly equivalent to Scripture.

The first use and beginning of the Socinian errors and who have been the chiefe formenters (*sic*) of them in everie age unto these daies.

That God may be known by the diligent contemplation of the creature.

That there is a Trinitie of persons in the Deitie.

That the Holy Ghost is God.

That Christian religion may be confirmed by the Testimony of the Old Testament.

That man was created in the Image of God, which consisteth not only in dominion over the Creatures, but in righteousness and true holiness.

Latterly, although it was resolved that "the position agt the Socinians" be brought in by various members named, the "Position was waived" owing to small attendance or other business.

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[25] On this, see *e.g.*, T. S. James, *Presbyterian Chapels & Charities* (1867).

MARRIAGE OF COUSINS: On 20 July, 1652, is the entry:

> Whereas some persons under the power and inspection of this Classis have requested this Classis to give theire oppinion whether it be lawful (or the least expedient) for Cousen-Germanes to marry or no? Therefore it is this day voted by the Classis that this point be debated in the Classis att their next meeting.

And on 17 August, 1652:

> This day the case of Cousen-Germanes marrying was debated, according to the ordr of the Classis at their last meeting; & upon a full debate it was determined that though it might be lawfull, yet it was not expedient in regard to the offence that many Godlie Ministers did take thereat it being the verie next degree to those that are expresly pr'hibited in Scripture.

MINISTERIAL REMOVAL: On 19 July, 1653—Tuesday fortnight being August 2d appointed for a Classicall meeting to debate Mr. Watkinson's case concerning his call to Chesterfield. Whereas the Parishioners of Chesterfield have desired Mr. Peter Watkinson, a member of our Classis to be their minister. It is this day ordered upon the desire of Mr. Peter Watkinson of the advice of the Classis about the business that the said Mr. Watkinson doe declare his judgmt about that living & likewise exhibit the reasons of his judgmt to the consideration of the Classis, & the elders & people of Kirk Ireton are also desired to be there prsent to declare their judgment in reference to his removall.

There is no record of a meeting on 2 August, no reference to the matter in the next ordinary meeting of the 16 August, or thereafter, but Mr. Watkinson decided against Chesterfield (either by advice of the Classis or on his own initiative) and remained at Kirk Ireton till 1660. There does not appear, from the minute, to have been any claim to prescriptive *right of intervention* on the part of the Classis, such as modern [English] Presbyterianism could exercise.

WIDOWS & ORPHANS: On 21 October, 1656, it was ordered that there be some course taken for the reliefe of the widowes & orphans of ministers deceased within the Wirkesworth Classis. Which was done as followeth:

> We whose names are subscribed do contribute & promise to continue the several summes underwritten to be paid uppon the Classicall day in October yearly to the use aforesaid.

Nineteen names (mostly autograph) are appended: Nine ministerial members for sums from 10/- to 26/8d.; ten lay elders for sums from 2/6d. to 12/-, amounting in all to £8.19.6, of which £5.10.0 was given by the ministers. Some of the lay contributors do not seem to have been members of the Classis (at all events they are never recorded as having attended a meeting), such as Mr. Henry Fern (6/-), probably a representative of the distinguished Nonconformist family of that name. The sum subscribed is distributed, but names of beneficiaries are not mentioned.

WIRKSWORTH LECTURE: On 20 January, 1656, it was noted that

> Whereas there is a weeklie Lecture kept at Wirkesworth by certaine Ministers of this Classis everie one of them his month by course it is therefore noted and accordinglie ordered this day that he shall preach the Classicall Sermon within whose month so ever it falleth.

HUMILIATION: Two special days of Humiliation are ordered:

15 Jan., 1655/6—Because that the Lord hath visited divers places within

this Classis with feavers and other sicknesses: it is this day voted that the second Thursday in ffebruary next be set apart, and kept a day of humiliation in the Parish Church of Wirkesworth, Mr. Martin Topham to procure two sermons.

17 Aug., 1658—Voted that Septemb.I. next be observed for a private day of humiliation at the Vicarage in Wirkesworth by the ministers of this Classis.

ORDINATION THESES: The following titles for theses to be submitted and defended by candidates for ordination (in addition to those mentioned above *in loc.*) are recorded, as indicating prevailing theological tendencies:

| | |
|---|---|
| S. Hieron: | An sola fides justificet? |
| A. Wood: | Utrum ordinatio ministrorum sit necessaria. |
| S. Beresford: | An Ministerium Anglicanum sit vere Evangelicum. |
| J. Barrett: | An gratia sufficiens ad conversionem concedatur omnibus? |
| R. Smallie: | An Christ' p'omnibus et singulis intentionalit' sit mortuus. |
| T. Hill: | Posita præteritique divina media quibus utitur deus conversionem non sunt delusoria. |
| J. Hingley: | Utrum Pædobaptismus sit in Ecclesia licitus? |
| S. Moore: | Utrum Gratia convertans sit resistibilis. |
| J. Whiston: | An Christus sit Deus? |
| J. Truman: | Verum peccatum traducatur p'generationem vel inducatur p'imitaconem vel audetur peccatum originalie (*sic*). |
| T. Broad: | Utrum obedientia Christi est justitiæ divinæ satisfactoria. |
| S. L. Ogden: | Utrum Liceat unicuique ex dictamine p'priæ conscientiæ deum colere. |
| J. Staniforth: | An Christus hypostaticus vivatur Sanctis. |
| A. Buxton: | An Christi meritis sit satisfactio divinæ Justitiæ pro peccatis. |
| R. Chantry: | An in hac vita homo possit esse certus de salutæ suæ eternæ certidudine fidei. |
| T. Ford: | An Christi obedientia tollat obedientiam Christianam. |
| W. Yates: | An anima humana sit mortalis. |
| S. Charles: | Utrum in via detur perfectio graduum. |
| J. Greensmith: | An detur peccatum regnans in eternatis? |
| M. Edge: | That the name Jehovah is incommunicable. |
| A. Shaw: | An detur justificatio ab eterno. |
| R. Swynfen: | Utrum Paulus contradicat Jacobo in articulo Justificationis? |
| J. Spilsbury: | An Scriptores sacri fuerint infallibiliter acti in sribendis libris sacre Scripturæ. |
| T. Matthews: | An sola fide justificemur? |
| J. Beardmore: | An vocatio ad Christum et gratiam sit universalis et num bene distinguatur in efficacem & inefficacem. |
| T. Gorton: | Utrum subjectio filii ad patrem tollit æqualitatem cum patre? |
| T. Smith: | Utrum filius Dei vere assumpsit humanam naturam? |
| R. Horne: | Utrum Christus in anima passus est plus quam *sumpathetikos*. |
| S. Trickett: | An fides sit instrumentum Justificationis. |
| M. Hill: | Utrum impetratio Christi consistere possit cum omnium damnatione. |
| T. Hutchinson: | An decretum divinum tollat Liberum arbitrium? |
| D. Shelmerdine: | An scripturæ sunt perfectæ. |
| A. Smith: | Utrum successio ministroru' sit ecclesiæ veræ essentialis? |

"FOREIGN" ORDINATIONS. (The service being held at Wirksworth unless otherwise stated.)

*Samuel Beresford, 21 July, 1652, as assistant to his uncle, Thomas Blake, at Tamworth, Warwicks;

†*John Barrett, 19 Oct., 1652, as minister Wimeswould, Leics;

*Nicholas Hill, same date, was probably the curate of Burstwick, Yorks, ejected at the Restoration;

†*Thomas Hill, at Ashbourne, 15 March, 1652-3, as vicar Orton-on-the-Hill, Leics;

John Hingley, same date and place, as curate Shuttington, Warwicks, where seemingly sequestrated and succeeded in 1660 by Thomas Hill, *supra;*

*Thomas Leadbeater, at Crich, 21 June, 1653, as vicar Hinckley, Leics;

†*Joseph Truman, 27 Sept., 1653, as assistant to Richard Whitchurch at St. Peter's, Nottingham;

Thomas Broad, same date, as minister of Alveton, Staffs;

*Jonathan Staniforth, 8 Dec., 1653, as assistant to Thos. Bakewell at St. Werburgh's, Derby (which was in the area of the Classis for the Hundred of Morleston and Litchurch);

*John Chester, who had been rector of Witherley, Leics, since 1651, but applied for ordination on 21 Feb., 1653-4, though no record of the actual ordination is preserved, there following twelve blank leaves in the minute book;

*Thomas Ford, 21 March, 1654-5, as assistant to Geo. Crosse at Harleston, Staffs;

Anthony Buxton, same day, as minister of Hayfield, Derbys;

*Humfrey Waldron, same day, as rector of Broom, Staffs;

*John Greensmith, 22 Aug., 1655, as vicar of Colwich, Staffs;

Thomas Dresser, 18 March, 1655-6, as vicar of Woolstanton, Staffs;

*John Spilsbury, 17 Dec., 1656, as vicar of Bromsgrove, Worcs.

John Hickes, same day, as assistant to Geo. Crosse at Clifton-Camville, Staffs;

*Robert Horne, same day, for Nuthall, Notts;

Francis Lowe, for Marple, Stockport—see "Special Cases";

Thomas Hutchinson, 20 May, 1657—"because the place of his aboad is farr distant from this Classis" had his thesis sent to him: possibly the Hutchinson, Master at Mansfield School, Notts (see *Cal. Rev.*, 286);

*Thomas Smith, same date, as vicar of Castle Donington, Leics;

Thomas Matthews, same date, apparently for Worcestershire, though no specific charge is mentioned. He was evidently in the neighbourhood, however, and possibly within the Classis bounds, for on 20 Jan., 1656-7, it was "Voted that the next Classicall lecture be kept at Balladon the second Thursday in Februar next and that Mr. Samuel More and Mr. Thomas Mathęws preach then and there"[26];

*Thomas Badland, 20 May, 1657, as curate of Willenhall, Staffs;

*Richard Southall, same date, as curate of Wilnecote, Warwicks[27];

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[26] *Cal. Rev.*, 345 gives this man, incorrectly, as of Emmanuel, Cambridge. Minute states him to be "Bachelor of Arts, late student of Maudlin Colledge in Oxford" — matric. there "ser.", 11 Dec., 1651; B.A., 23 Feb., 1653-4, Foster, *Al. Oxon*, 989. One Thomas Mathews was rector Edlaston, Derbys, in 1664; one of that name rector of Wolverdington, Warwicks, in 1667, and Thomas Matthews was instituted vicar of Alfreton in 1694.

[27] *Cal. Rev.*, 452 as Southwell.

*Samuel Shaw, usher at Free School, Tamworth, Warwicks, appealed to the Classis for ordination in order that he might become curate of Moseley, Worcs., and ordained thereto, 12 Jan., 1657-8[27a];
John Kaye, 20 April, 1658, for Dewsbury, Yorks, "where he preacheth the word and is to officiate".

Ordained by the Classis to charges within its own bounds, or to unspecified cures, were:

†*Samuel Hieron, 19 Feb., 1651/2—not specified: became vicar of Shirley, Derbys, in 1657;
Anthony Wood, same date—to Addenborough;
*Robert Smalley, 19 Oct., 1652—not specified, but apparently at Willoughby-in-the-Wolds, Notts since 1650, and later vicar at Greasley, Notts;
Samuel Moore, 15 March, 1653/4, at Ashbourne—see Classis Members.
Josiah Whiston, 21 June, 1653, at Crich—not specified. Later became rector of Norton-juxta-Twycross, Leics: father of †William, the translator of Josephus, *etc.*; brother of *Edward and *Joseph;
Henry Allsopp, same date and place—to Crich, but does not seem to have acted as a Classis member;
†*Samuel Ogden, 27 Sept., 1653—as minister Fairfield and Buxton, Derbys;
William Yates, 22 Aug., 1655, at Kniveton—as assistant to Thos. Stubbing(s) at Cubley and Marston-Montgomerie, Derbys[28];
*Samuel Charles, same date and place—for Kniveton: see Classis Members;
Michael Edge, 18 March, 1655/6—not stated.
Amos Shaw, same date—not stated.
*Richard Swynfen, same date—for Sandiacre, Derbys;
John Beardmore, 19 Aug., 1656—not specified: see Classis Members;
Thomas Gorton, same date—as assistant to Geo. Crosse at Chilcote, Derby;
Thomas Egerton, to preach his approbation sermon and exhibit his thesis at next Classical meeting (17 June, 1656) but no further reference;
Samuel Trickett, 17 Dec., 1656—"minister of the Word at Bradbourn, within this Classis", where he succeeded Thomas Myles, *q.v.* See Classis Members.
John Hill, 17 Dec., 1655—no charge stated;
Mathias Hill—see "Special Cases", *supra.*
*Daniel Shelmerdine, 20 May, 1657, as vicar of Barrow-on-Trent with Twyford, Derbys—son of Thomas of Matlock (see Classis Members);
*James Sutton—see Classis Members;
Abraham Smith, 17 Nov., 1658—see "Special Cases";
*Thomas Smith—see "Special Cases";
Thomas Gilliver—see "Special Cases"[29];
John Baker, 12 Jan., 1657/8—no location;
John Kelsall, same date—for Hathersage;

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27a See Sibree & Caston, *Independency in Warwickshire*, 337f.

28 William Yates, pleb., matric St. Mary Hall, Oxford, 25 Nov., 1650: Foster, *Al. Oxon.* Possibly this man.

29 Thomas Gilliver matric, Magdalen Hall, Oxford, 2 Oct., 1652; B.A., 5 Nov., 1656—*Al. Oxon.*

Edward Mainwaring, 17 Nov., 1658—no location;
*John Sanders, same date—no location, but apparently for Boothby Graffoe, Lincs;
Thomas Stanhope, same date—as assistant at Hartshorn, Derbys[30].

The present vicar of Wirksworth is unable to state the whereabouts of the original Minute Book from which the transcript was made. The following information about it was given by J. Charles Cox, who edited it for the Derbyshire Archæological Society in 1880:

> The book is a small quarto, consisting of ninety-four leaves of paper, and covered with a single thickness of parchment. It begins with the date December 16th, 1651, and from that time to February 21st, 1652, the entries are in the handwriting of Roger Coke, the official Scribe of the Presbytery. Then follow eleven blank pages. The entries are resumed on January 16th, 1654, by John Rudyard, who succeeded Coke in the office of scribe, and are continued in his handwriting to the end of the volume, the last date of which is November 17th, 1658.
>
> On a fly-leaf at the beginning of the book is the following record:—
>
> The Revd. Nathaniel Hubbersty[31] bought this class book of Wirksworth Church at Mrs. Holland's sale[32], August 8th, 1806, and gave it to Charles Hurt, junr.
>
> The book was traced in 1879 to the possession of Philip Hurt Esq., late of Wirksworth, who inherited it from his uncle, Mr. Charles Hurt, and placed the MS at the service of the editor.

No other transcript of the minutes is known. Of this book Alexander Gordon says:

> "A model for such Minutes is to be found in those of the Wirksworth Presbyterian Classis (1651-58, wanting Mar. - Dec., 1654) unsurpassed in fullness of practical details, amounting to embodiment of the whole work done, and information received, by that Presbyterian Classis[33].
>
> CHARLES E. SURMAN.

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[30] St. John's Camb., B.A., third son of Sir Edward Stanhope of Grimston (*D.N.B.*). At Restoration was episcopally ordained and instituted vicar of Hartshorn, Derbys, 9 May, 1663. Father of Geo. Stanhope, Dean of Canterbury, a voluminous writer (also *D.N.B.*).

[31] Mr. Hubberstey was at that time curate at Wirksworth.

[32] *Qy.* connected with the Holland family, of which Joseph Holland was minister at Charlesworth 1716-49, or of the Hollands, ministers at Allostock, Cheshire. The Cheshire Classis Minutes found a first home at Allostock.

[33] *Cheshire Classis Minutes*, Commentary, 126.

# Congregational Historical Society
## Statement of Accounts for Year Ending 31st December 1948

| *Income* | £ s. d. | £ s. d. |
|---|---|---|
| Balances brought forward— | | |
| Current Account ... ... ... | 15 1 10 | |
| Capital Account ... ... ... | 103 0 0 | |
| Cash in Hand ... ... ... | 3 16 6 | |
| | | 121 18 4 |
| Subscriptions, 1948— | | |
| Current Subscriptions ... ... | 49 10 3 | |
| Arrear Subscriptions ... ... | 10 15 0 | |
| Advance Subscriptions ... ... | 5 5 0 | |
| | | 65 10 3 |
| Donations— | | |
| Congregational Union of England and Wales ... ... ... | 50 0 0 | |
| Congregational Insurance Co. Ltd. | 10 0 0 | |
| Printing of *Index* ... ... ... | 11 6 1 | |
| | | 71 6 1 |
| Capital Account Additions ... ... | | 12 12 0 |
| Interest on Investments ... ... | | 1 2 6 |
| | | £272 9 2 |

| *Expenditure* | £ s. d. | £ s. d. |
|---|---|---|
| Secretary's Expenses, January to May | 2 10 0 | |
| Secretary's Expenses Float ... ... | 10 0 0 | |
| Editor's Expenses ... ... ... | 2 5 6 | |
| Treasurer's Expenses ... ... ... | 3 18 9 | |
| | | 18 14 3 |
| Printing— | | |
| *Transactions*, 1948 ... ... ... | 59 17 6 | |
| *Index* ... ... ... ... | 30 12 6 | |
| Letter Headings ... ... ... | 1 13 4 | |
| | | 92 3 4 |
| Setting Article not included in 1948 issue of *Transactions*— | | |
| Paid in Advance ... ... | | 12 5 0 |
| Balances Carried Forward— | | |
| Current Account ... ... ... | 18 16 10 | |
| Capital Account ... ... ... | 125 12 0 | |
| Cash in Hand ... ... ... | 4 17 9 | |
| | | 149 6 7 |
| | | £272 9 2 |

The Society holds 2 Shares of £25 each in North-West Building Society.

ROLAND H. MUDDIMAN,
*Hon. Treasurer.*