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Transactions

of the

Baptist Historical Society.

The Fifth-Monarchy Manifesto of 1654.

Transcribed from the original in the British Museum, E 809 (15), by J. W. Thirtle. Notes appended by the Editor, drawn very largely from "The Political Activities of the Baptists and Fifth-Monarchy Men In England During the Interregnum," by Louise Fargo Brown, Ph.D., Instructor of History in Wellesley College.

[Title page.]

A
DECLARATION
Of several of the
Churches of Christ,
AND
GODLY PEOPLE
In and about the Citie of
LONDON;
Concerning
The Kingly Interest
OF
CHRIST,
AND
The present Suffrings
OF
His Cause and Saints in England.
LONDON

Printed for Livewel Chapman, at the Crown in Popes-head-Alley, 1654.

MAY, 1913.

129

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[1]

A

DECLARATION

Of several of the
Churches of Christ,
And Godly people:

Being a few of the despised Remnant in and about the City of London, that yet cleave close to the Cause and Interest of our Lord Jesus, so much disowned and rejected in these times of Apostacie, and in this hour of our great Tribulation and Temptation.

In the Name of Jehovah-Nissi, (Exod. 17. 15). our Lord Christ, Protector of his People, King of Saints and Nations: To all that are sanctified in Jesus Christ, whether in Churches, or out, that partake of the same Faith (with us) of our Lord Jesus, especially the sealed number now upon their watch, that have not defiled their garments, whose robes are washed with the blood of the Lamb, that are redeemed from among men, and follow [2] the Lamb whithersoever he goeth, in these three Nations, or elsewhere. We their unworthy Brethren, one with them in the present Sufferings of our Lord Jesus, and his Saints, in the behalf of our selves, and many others, Do from the bottom of our hearts, wish like Faith, Grace, Zeal, Light, Joy, and Peace, which we enjoy from God the Father, and Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

Forasmuch as we believe many godly people in these three Nations and elsewhere, are deceived (and therefore unsatisfied) concerning us in the matters of our faith, relating to the most precious Cause, Interest, and Monarchy of the Lord Christ, (which we cleave unto) through misrepresen-

tations and false reports made of us and our Principles, by persons, and Letters posted about the Nations for that purpose, full of errors, mistakes, unchristian censures, uncharitable reproaches and invectives, wherein the Adversaries have all the advantage against us, that worldly power can possess them with: but now, that we may no longer (by a forced silence) be a dissatisfaction to our Friends, grievous to the Truth, offence to the Saints, a trouble to our own Consciences, and advantage to the Adversaries, or be so much the subject (as we have been) of our Enemies malice, to forge their lyes, jealousies, or evil reports upon, nor yet be suspicious to many, and for signes and wonders to most in the Commonwealth; as if we were monsters, and not men; infidels and not believers; enemies to Government, and not orators for it day and night, as God hath appointed it; We shall therefore (in the behalf of thousands more (we hope) one with us herein) in all faithfulness, meek-[3]ness; and clearness, declare unto you, (and to all the world) how far we are engaged in this most glorious (though crucified) cause of Christ, (maugre all opposition of Men or Devils) in as little room as this short Narrative will allow us; being awakened thereunto every day. Yet it cannot be expected that in this Paper we should relate all our Grievances, lay down all our Grounds, or answer all Objections, (which we hope to do hereafter) but onely so far as may make obvious to any unbyassed eye or understanding, the just rise of our Discontents, Troubles, and Dissatisfactions, and as may exonerate our souls in the sight of Heaven and Earth.

O our bowels, our bowels! our hearts even ake, and are pained within us, to hear the doleful and daily groans of Gods people, crying out, O where are our Deliverers and Saviours! The Reeds that we leaned upon, have pierced our hands, and we bleed! And after our eyes fail with looking for Freedom, Peace,

and Light, behold Darkness, Oppression, and Distraction! and what hope is left us? And all this, through the declension of the Armies first Principles, and former Declarations, extant to the view of the world: witness p 14, 15 of the Remonstr, Albans, & p 66. They urge it upon the grounds of Common Right, Freedom, and Safety, that Parliaments be by a certain succession, Annually, or Biennially. And in their Declar. June 14. 1647 p. 8, 9. they declare this so "essential and fundamental to Freedom, as that it cannot, nor ought it to be denied or withholden from us: and that arbitrary or absolute power in any person or persons during life, doth not render that State any better then Tyranny, nor the People subjected thereto [4] any better then Vassals." And therefore they say, p. 9. "We are so far from designing or complying to have an absolute or arbitrary power signed or settled for continuance in any persons whatsoever, as that (if we might be sure to obtain it) we cannot wish to have it so in the persons of any whom we could most confide in, or who should appear most of our own opinions or principles, or whom we might have most personal assurance of, or interest in; but that the Authority of this Kingdom in Parliament may ever stand, and have its course." Yet for all this, were not the last Parliament dissolved, for that they would rule as Saints, (or part of the fifth Monarchy, for Christ) and for doing that the former Parliament neglected, and therefore were dissolved? and for doing that which the Army and good people had many yeers declared to be their duty to do? viz. Remostr. p. 20. And have not some by Printing opprobriously and injuriously abused those precious members that stood for the Magistracie and Ministry of the Gospel, or Uction, as if they would have had no Government, no Ministers, nor Propriety at all? and, after all their integrity, cast an Odium upon them, and upon the name of Saints, yea, and upon the Interest of

Christ, against which they have opened the mouthes of many thousands to blaspheme? O these are the swords which pierce our hearts! Besides, doth not this Personal Interest now up, look too much alike that which God hath confounded and stamped upon before our eyes? in the same predicament of Pride, Profaness, Persecution of Saints, and Oppression, with them that went before? Oh! are not the Wicked exalted on every side, and such taken up again, (Malignants and others) as not [5] long since they most declaim'd against? and are not the Saints (and them onely, or mostly) afflicted, cast out of their Assemblies from praying and preaching? and some of the faithfulest of them in all these Wars, now closely imprisoned (for their Consciences and this Cause of Christ) from the common air, yea, cast among Malefactors, condemned, threatned, reproached, and trampled on? Oh! can we have hearts so hard, as to mention these, and (many more) such-like effects, without yerning and mourning? Besides, are not the new Court of Tryers at Whitehall for Ministers, of like make with the Bishops High-Commission-Court? The Graven image of the worldly power, creating a worldly Clergie, for worldly ends, highly scandalous, and against the Rule of the Gospel, and Faith of Christ, and as much to be exploded as the Pope and Prelate? notwithstanding they assume the title of Orthodox, and soundness of opinion to themselves, and upon that account charge others (that are not one with them in their Carnal and Antichristian Interest) with Errours and Rashness. But, as the Declaration of the Army to Scotland, (p. 15) saith, "This hath been found in all ages of high advantage to them that assumed it, that it were strange if those (Civil Tryers) should not have used it to smite them withal, whom they would render odious, and destroy." And is not This against their own Declar. to Scotland, p. 16. where they say, "That that Church-Government which is of

God, Gods own means, viz. his Word, must establish, without a busie meddling with, or engaging of the authorities of the world?" And the Lo. General CROMWEL, in his Letter to the Kirk assembly from Dunbar, p. 11. [6] saith, "It is worth considering, how those Ministers take into their hands the instruments of a foolish shepherd, that meddle with worldly policies, or earthly powers, to set up that which they call The Kingdom of Christ; which indeed is neither it, nor, if it were, would such means be found effectual for that end; and neglect, and not trust to the Word of God, the Sword of the Spirit," &c. Is not this all true in the Tryers? And is not this also against their own Remonstr. Albans, pag. 20. where they declare it the Parliaments part, "to protect religious men, and take away all the corrupted Forms of outside Religion, and (National) Church-state, whether imposed without Law, or rooted in Law in times of Popish ignorance or idolatry, and of Gospels dimmer light; and also to take away the dependence of the (National) Clergie in Civil Laws and Ecclesiastical affairs, which they had upon the King; or that interest of the Clergie in Civil Laws and Affairs, which the craft of both in length of time had wrought for each other: But that the King's part was to discountenance the Godly, or any conscience obliging above or against humane or outward Constitutions, and to uphold and maintain the Civil dependence of the Clergie, and their Church-matters, under him." Our bowels are so moved at these things, that we cannot refrain from bewailing our condition, after so vast a stream and treasure of the blood, tears, prayers, lives, and spoils of our dearest relations. O did we ever think to see so many hopeful Instruments in the Army, Churches, and elsewhere, to be so fully gorged with the flesh of Kings, Captains, and Nobles, &c. (i.e. with their [7] Lands, Mannors, Estates, Parks, and Palaces) so as to sit at

ease, and comply with Antichrist, the World, Worldly Church and Clergie. Oh! how hath the Cup of the Whore foxt and enchanted men! viz. with the wine of the wrath of her fornication, to commit sin with her daily, (which the sober blush to see) and to paint her over afresh, for New Lovers to lie down with, to their utter ruine! O the Mystery of Iniquity works apace! This subtil spirit and soul of Antichristianism (in a new body) hath bewitched many of the Common sort, and is wonderful cunning to deceive; although by this universal falling away amongst us, the Man of sin is (blessed be Jehovah) more discovered than ever, who must be destroyed with the breath of Christ's mouth, and the brightness of his coming. Yet under a sad sense of so many fresh assaults which the Saints meet with daily by outward Violence, and Ecclesiastical Tyranny, and in a clear apprehension of that heavey Doom and Precipice hard by (we verily believe) upon all those Powers and Interests of men, which keep warm the Seat of the bloody Beast for the Mother of harlots: And after many Solemn Meetings, and seekings of God for a special presence, rolling our selves onely on his Arm, having no carnal confidence, (blessed be our wise God) now left us to look upon, we are fully perswaded in our souls, that he who hath hitherto most eminently appeared, and plainly, owned this blessed Cause (which the Apostates of the times have cast aside, and we yet cleave unto) in England, Ireland, Scotland, and elsewhere, according to the faith and prayers of his poor despised people that he will yet appear, and that more eminently, (and terribly too) to save, then ever, and [8] witness to the righteousness of his own Cause, and the innocencie of his servants that suffer therein, in great mercy and pity, passing by the failings and infirmities of us his poor creatures. Therefore though we are not sure that God will vindicate his own Name to purpose, ere long, under so

much reproach; yet, in the dread of that Name, we appeal unto the LORD, who will be a swift witness against us, if we utter these things in hypocrisie, or for base ends, or for any carnal Personal Interest whatsoever, if we are not in the sincerity and simplicity of our hearts (so far as we have one grain of true grace in us) for Christ alone, and his poor, rejected Cause and People, that we may ease and exonerate our selves in the sense we have of our duty herein, and be withdrawn (to the eye of all) from partaking in the crying sins and Apostacie of the Times; with all faithfulness, holy awe, and humility, we profess and declare,

I. For this Cause and Kingly Interest of our Lord Jesus, in England, Ireland, and Scotland, or elsewhere, according to the several Declarations of the Army: sealed to with the blood of thousands of the precious Saints, the cry of whose blood is for Christ, according to the Declaration of the Army to Scotland, p. 36, 37, 8, 29. who declare, "They were stirred up by the Lord to assist the Parliament against the King, for this end, to bring about the destruction of Antichrist, and the deliverance of his true Church and People; and upon this simple account was it, that they engaged in the Wars of the three Nations, against all Opposers of this work of Jesus Christ; having these things singly in their eye, viz. the destruction of Antichrist, and advancement of the [9] Kingdom of Jesus Christ, and deliverance and reformation of his Church, and the establishment of Christs Ordinances according to his Word, and the just Civil Liberties of Englishmen. And this, they declare, with the loss of many precious Saints, p. 38. That they engaged against the late King and his Monarchy, as one of the ten horns of the Beast, guilty of the blood of the Saints: which act (they say) they are confident God will own against all Kingdoms or Nations that will oppose them, and that will not suffer Jesus Christ to be King." So page 39. they declare,

“they value the Churches* of Christ, who are the lot of Gods inheritance, a thousand times beyond their own lives; and that it is their duty to persevere therein to the utmost hazard of their lives: and that the Lord made them instruments to vex all in his sore displeasure, that take counsel against Christ, whom the Lord hath anointed and decreed King: and that they were not meerly the servants of man; and that they not onely proclaimed Jesus Christ, King of Saints, to be King, but that they would submit to him (alone) upon his own terms and admit him (onely) to the exercise of his Royal authority.” Therefore say they, in pag. 40, “We beseech you, in the fear of God, look about you: for our Lord Jesus is coming, &c.” Now accordingly we have and do declare for this Royal Interest of [10] Christ, which ought to be set up, which so much blood hath been poured out for, like water, in the three Nations. This Cause of Christ was magnified by God, in answering the Dunbar- Appeal against the King of Scots: the English Army appealing to God, according to the Act of Parliament, 1648, declaring it High treason to set up Charles Stuart, or Any other person, Chief Magistrate in England, or Ireland, or any of the Dominions thereunto belonging. And as our Appeal was for No King but Jesus, (by which were the greatest Victories obtained that we had) the Scots Appeal, on the other side, was for A King, or personal Interest of Man, &c. God’s answer was so full and wonderful on the No king’s side but Jesus, and according to the Act of Parliament, (upon which the Army marched against the King of Scots) that all Scotland was given in in few months, and their armies destroyed: and, to use the very words of the Act of

* Margin: Then owning the Congregated Churches, as appears by Letters written to Mr. Feak, and Mr. Simpson, and the Churches that walk in fellowship with them, and others.

Parliament, Die Martis, 17 Septemb. 1650. "This answer was enriched with so many remarkable circumstances, as is to be admired at by succeeding generations; evidencing such a divine presence, as the Commonwealth can never be thankful enough for: and that it was given in as a Seal or Confirmation from heaven, of the justness of this Cause, after solemn appeals made on both sides to God himself, the righteous Judge in this War between England and Scotland: and that God did so decide the Controversie, (himself) was of such value and high consequence, that Generations to come may taste the sweet of it," &c. Besides all this, much more we might mention (of their own) for this Cause and Kingly Interest of Christ; which [11] we are resolved to adhere to, and (if the Lord will enable us) never to recede from, but to live and die in it. Neither is it a Resisting of Government (as some say of us) but a Reforming of it (which our Principles lead us to) according to the Word. And seeing the Army and Parliament have often declared, as pag. 7. of Declar. June 14. 1647. "No resisting of Magistracie, to side with just Principles; upon which Maxime they assisted the Parliament against the King: and that it is one witness of God in the world, to carry on a testimony against the injustice and unrighteousness of men, and against the miscarriages of Governments, when corrupted, or declining from their primitive and original glory." We use their own words. 'Tis true, Every soul must be subject to the higher powers; and it is in obedience thereunto, that we are subject to Christ, and stand by this his Cause (as we do) so long as the Controversie is not now (with us) between Man and Man, (as was wont to be in other ages) but it is between Christ and Man. Which of these two then shall have the absolute power of Government in the nations? and who are the resisters of the higher powers which are of

God, those that own, or those that oppose Christ's claim? Judge ye!

2. Because the Boutefeu's of the Times are ever blowing up the flames upon us, and incensing the present worldly powers and others against us, with their lying accusations, and evil surmisings, as the adversary did, Ezra 4. and Nehem. 6. against Iudah and Ierusalem, (to render them odious to Artaxerxes) that they intended to rebel when they had done their building; and that if he suffered them to go on, it would [12] hinder his Revenue, &c. and so Sanballat sent Nehemiah word, that he and the Jews intended to rebel, when they had done with the walls they were about: and all this, to weaken the hands of them that had a minde to work. Therefore, to avoid such Jealousies and Fears, We do freely declare against all Carnal Plots, Devilish Designes, or Ungodly Combinations of men whatsoever, as inconsistent with those gracious Principles which have (we hope) carried us (and yet do daily) into a spiritual warfare and hot contest for this Cause of Christ, by the Word, Faith, Prayer, and Solemn appeals unto our God, the righteous Judge of heaven and earth. And indeed, being (thus) armed with the whole armour of God, we dare (as before) wrestle with Principalities and Powers; and, through the grace of our God, we are not afraid of their Armies or Numbers, but (although we have not the least reliance on any arm of flesh, yet) we can bid defiance unto all the enemies of this glorious Cause of Christ contended for by the Saints, with those means that God's Word leads us unto; for which, our dear brethren are imprisoned, and suffer persecution at this day. Therefore, in a just and necessary defence of what is dearer to us then our lives, (bought with the price of the blood of Christ, and thousands of his dearest Saints) we call heaven and earth to witness between us and our brethren that have denied us and

this Cause! For in Cases not clearly or properly under mans judgment, or where it is not easie for man to give a certain judgment, the engaged, upon sure Principles and Pretences, do centre in appeals to God for judgement: and so did the two tribes and a half, Josh. 22, for that it is then [13] the proper work of God to bear witness, and give righteous judgment: which as he hath always done, sooner or later, clearer or darker, after the Appeal is made to him; so in this last age and part of the world he hath made more haste than formerly to judgement, and given it more quickly, speedily, and terribly, and made his own Arm so bare therein, as all men might see it: witness the aforesad' Appeal at Dunbar. In the same Cause the Appeal is now made (by us) again. All which hath induced us to take up the Word of God, Faith, and Prayer (by Solemn Appeals to the just Judge of Heaven and Earth) in the like and the same Cause. A few particulars of the Matter whereof, take as followeth.

1. About their Vows, Declarations, Promises, Engagements, made unto God for Christ and his Interest, in time of their great distress: all which, are they not broken, both as to Magistracie, Ministry, Churches, Liberty, and the Right of the Saints of the most High? We appeal to God.*

2. Whether an espousing of the same or a like interest with that which God hath destroyed before our eyes, and rejecting this blessed Cause of Christ, King of the Nations, for a Personal Cause of Man, as we now conceive, Jer. 3. 1, Mal. 2. 11. be not a provocation of God in the highest degree, and too full a testimony of the foulest hypocrisie and selfishness in them, whose former Profession and Declarations obliged them to the contrary?

3. Whether a persecuting and imprisoning some of

* Margin: Psal. 66. 13, 14. Deut. 23. 21, Eccles. 5. 3, 4, 5, 6.

the choicest and holiest servants of Christ, in the present light, and work of this Generation, whilst the [14] Wicked are exalted on every side, and such as were cast by, taken up again, Isa 49. 24, 25. Ier. 13. 17. be of God, or no?

4. Whether the violence and force, flattery, or any other wayes which are used to compel any of us, against our Consciences, to prostrate to mens carnal interests, and to sin against the light, be according to their former pretended Principles, or the Word of God?

5. Whether their unjust and unchristian accusations of us in the face of the world, are not full of loathsome and cruel lyes, whiles they spread about, That we are against Magistracie, Ministry, Propriety, Ordinances, and the like? Whether it be so or no, we appeal to him that judgeth righteously.

6. Their vexing and rising up against the Spirit of God, which they call an Impostor, and the false, devilish, fanatick spirit of Black-Fryers, or Alhallows-meeting; speaking blasphemously against it, and that frequently: wherein we appeal to the Lord to judge, whether that Spirit that is among them, leading to Pride, Pomp, Worldliness, Carnallity, Lying, Persecution, and Blaspheming; or that Spirit which leads us day and night to the duty of Faith, Assembling, Praying, Preaching, Exhorting, and Building up in the present Truth contested against by them, and to Comforting, Counselling, and Quickening up one another every day, to hold fast our profession without wavering; to Self-denying and Mortification, that we may not minde the present World, nor the vanities thereof: Whether this Spirit, our infirmities excepted, or theirs, which acts them, be of God; and which is the devilish [15] worldly, and deluding spirit. Isa. 63. 10. 2 Pet. 2. 7, 8.

7. Is not pomp, pride, and vanity in Court and elsewhere, now up again, (in some respects more then

ever) so much contested and inveighed against for so many yeers together, by themselves and others? Whether by these (amongst other things) they have not opened the mouthes of the Enemies to blaspheme Christ and his Spirit? to reproach his Cause, and to harden their hearts? And whether they have not given advantage to Charles Stuart or some others, to invade us, our lives, our relations, afresh, by open Wars, Inundation of blood and Mischief, so as seems to make void and uneffectual many yeers Wars, with vast treasure, expence and blood?

8. Whereas they say, we are all for Wars, and would have no Peace with the Nations round about; we appeal to God therein, whether we are not for the best, safest, and lasting (godly) Peace? and, were it God's will, could wish no more blood might be shed! Although we would not willingly see a Peace (worse then War) made with the nations, against the Word of God, Safety and Liberties of the good people, (for which so many have bled both by Land and Sea) and upon such terms too, as makes more for the interest of some men, then for the Publick; or upon such Articles (as might make us blush for shame, at this time of the Day, and after so many outgoings of God in the midst of us) as have not so much as one Article for the Lord Jesus, or his Saints, that are in the present work of this generation, concerning Christs Kingdom or Interest, to subscribe unto, Numb. 33. 52, 53. to the end. Exod. 23. 32, 33, and 34. chap. 12. 13.

[16] Upon these (and many other) grounds, we are induced (and are resolved in the strength of Christ) to keep up the Altar *ED, and continue our Appeal until the Lord doth answer in justice, and yet in much mercy, to his poor little remnant, (which we are perswaded will be speedily) as Luke 18. 7, 8. And if men

* Marginal reference: Iosh. 22. 34.

will (yet) needs blinde their eyes, and harden their hearts (we could wish it be not to their destruction) yet we do bless our heavenly Father that hath opened our eyes, and kept our feet from falling, (with them) that we can so comfortably see the things that concern our (best) Peace, according to the Law and the Testimony, in the sure Word of Prophecie. Blessed be JEHOVAH. Amen, Amen.

3. But thirdly and lastly, for that we finde much Misunderstanding among some, and Misrepresentations among most, of the Fifth Monarchy, or Kingdom of Christ in the Nations, which the holy Scriptures, both in the Old and New Testament, do clearly and plentifully declare, with a positive period to the Worldly, Heathenish Laws, Ordinances and Constitutions of men, as they are now executed in the Nations of the world: And whereas it is also upon the hearts of many of the choice servants of God, that in this present Age the Lord JEHOVAH is setting up the fifth Kingdom, (as Dan. 2. 44 & 7. 22, 26, 27, Zech. 21 [sic]) which shall not be left to other people, but shall break in pieces all the four kingdoms, and remain for ever and ever; and that (at this time) whenas the fourth Monarchy is partly broken in these Nations, that Christ may be the onely Potentate, the King of kings, and of all Nations, 1 Tim. 6. 15. Micah 4. 7. Zech. 9. 9, 10. Col. 1. 16. [17] Heb 2. 8. Rev. 11. 15. & 17. Chap. 14 & 19, Chap. 15. 16. Now finding this (the present Truth) so much opposed by the National Rulers and their Clergie, yea, and by some godly people and Church-members, accounted Orthodox, who cannot endure the day of Christs coming; We therefore are resolved, according to the presence and assistance of the Lord with us, to entertain a serious Consideration and Debate, for the benefit of all others, touching the premises, viz. of the Laws, Subjects, Extent, Rise, Time, Place, Offices, and Officers of the fifth Monarchy,

or Kingdom, whereby the world must be governed according to the Word of God, without the mixture (as now is) of Mens Laws and Inventions, whether in respect of Magistracy or Ministry, Church or Civil affairs: which Debate we intend to hold once a week in this City of London: and we desire our beloved brethren which are one with us in the present Truth and sufferings, whether in Churches or out, whether in City or Country, (that are enlightned) to take special notice of it, for this end, that they may enjoy the like freedom with us in those Meetings and Debates, as often as they please to come. And if the Lord give us the liberty, we do purpose to proceed with the Debate of it from this day onward, until we have taken up a full and clear Narrative thereof (so far as shall appear to us) out of the Scriptures, fit to publish to the view of all men, that our Principles in that point of the fifth Monarchy, may be fully known; with desire to know what any of our Adversaries (now against us) shall have to say to us or to our principles therein; who are contented with all our souls (the Lord knows) to be convinced of any Errour [18] or Mistakes by the Word of Truth: But we think not Imprisoning or Persecuting us, a competent or fit way to convince our Consciences, if we were in errors, as they pretend.

And although we need no Law of men to allow us this Liberty, it being our Birth-right in Christ among Christians, and so fully warranted by the Word of God, and practice of Primitive Saints; yet if we should condescend to be Captious of our times, we could tell them, The Instrument, intituled, The Government of the Common-wealth of England, Scotland and Ireland, in the five and twentieth Article declares, "That Liberty shall be given to discover and confute Errour and Heresie, and whatsoever is contrary to sound doctrine." All which the Engager, fol. 46. hath promised in the presence of God to observe, and cause to be observed

to his power; subscribed, O CROMWEL. In the mean time men would do well to take heed of Blaspheming, Reproaching Christ, his Spirit, and his Monarchy, as they do daily, (for which our hearts are grieved within us) and to search the Scriptures whether these things be so or no. For as the Lord Cromwel writes, in his own Letter to the Kirk of Scotland, "The Word of the Lord may be to some a word of judgement, that they may fall backward and be broken, and snared and taken; there may be a spiritual fulness, which the world may call drunkenness, (or giddiness)"

Act. 2. O that we might beseech such in the bleeding Bowels of Christ, (crucified before our eyes) to think it possible they may be mistaken! Though the Great Ones, and Wise Ones, Priests and Rulers, Scribes and Pharisees, and Orthodox [19] Professors (so accounted of the times) were all on their side; yet a little handful of the weak ones may have the Truth (though but the despised persecuted Truth) on their side. And we do in the tenderness of our hearts and affections to all that are faithful, beg of them in the Name of the Lord Jesus (who is coming to reign righteously and gloriously) that they will have nothing to do with them that are guilty of so great sins, lest partaking of their sins, they partake also of their plagues. And we hope the Lord will enable us to undergo the sharpness of this day, for our dear Christ and his Cause, through the Reproaches, Imprisonments, Persecutions, unjust Charges, uncivil Railings, or un-Gospel Carriages, which we have, or are like to meet with, whether less or more, so we may drink out of Christ's Cup, and pledge our Master, who first drank to us the bitter Potion.

We shall close at present with our heartiest prayers and supplications, That God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ would in his due time cast down all those carnal, earthly, cruel, and political combinations of men (of all sorts) that would not have him to Reign

over us, but set up themselves, and their own corrupted interests, in the room of that Scepter of righteousness which he hath given into the hands of his dear Son; that he would by his Spirit (resting and abiding upon you and us) keep up all our hearts in a constant and patient waiting for his coming till he comes: Even so come quickly, Lord Iesus come quickly.

[Page 20—blank.]

[21]

Ordered by this Assembly (mentioned in the last branch of the Declaration) That 150 (and no more) of the Names subscribed to the Declaration, be transcribed out of the Original Copie, and published in the name of the rest: And that a short Word to the Reader be drawn up and printed, to signifie so much.

The 30 day
of the sixth
month. 1654.

Of the Church
that walks
with M. Feak
now close pris-
oner for this caus-
of Christ at
Winsor-Castle.

Emanuel Runwel
Will. Bathoe
John Jones
Philip Hieron
Miles Petty
John Greene
Tho. Cartwright
Robert Shepherd
Peter Kirby
Peter Chamberlain
John Light
John Spittlehouse
John Davies
Richard Ellis
Richard Smith
Robert Feak
John Rogers
Henry Bridges
Glid. Beaumont
Gregory Garth
Hur Horton

In the name of
the whol Church
that walks with
Dr. Chamberlain.

In the name of
the whole Body
that walks with
Mr. Rogers,
now prisoner for

William Medley
Christoph. Crayle
Samuel Rutter
Edward Grove
John Saunders
Gregory Kirby
William Russel
Benjamin Rutter
Francis Young
Abel Wescot
Humphrey Talbot
James Gresham
John Fuller
Nicolas Spencer
Thomas Ridel
Joseph Jefferies
Thomas Bernard
James Hicks
William Righton
John Palmer
David Morris

this Cause of
Christ at Lam-
beth-prison.

Of the Church
that walks with
Mr. Raworth.

Richard Bland
James Wilson
George Rickets
Thomas Selbie
Thomas Walcham
Daniel Rosier
John Swetnam
Robert Aske
Philip Rickards
Robert Young
George Lawson
Josiah Carsewel
John More

With M. Knowis.

John Withinbrook
Thomas Franklin
John Perkins
John Dunton
Robert Mason
David Towler
Ioseph Heather
Simon Wyld
Iohn Hewet
Nathaniel Aske
Thomas Harrison
Iohn Webber
Daniel Ingold
Thomas Wilkes
Ieremy Wright
Iohn Sealy
Iohn Turner
Will. Shrewsbury
Iohn Combe
Arthur Jones

Of the Church
that walks with
Mr. Simson.

[22]

Peter Kidd
David Hackman
Ioseph Cleaver
George Barret
Iohn Clarke
Thomas Pierson
William Minchin
Nathaniel Hewet
Ioshua Rickards
Iames Allen
Iohn Berry
Iames Rich
Iohn Jones
Ioseph Mackreth
George Ewbanck
William Morris
Iohn Thorne
Peter Soone
Iohn Green
Iohn Iackson
Thomas Trouer
Iohn Richardson
Thomas Kaymond
Iohn Luxford
Iohn Willow
Christopher Cope
Iohn Tufnel
Hugh Griffin
Samuel Bradleigh
Iohn Young
Caleb Nicolas
Robert Smith
Thomas Crundal

Of the Church
that walks with
Mr. Jesse.

Of the Church
that walks with
Mr. Barbone.

[23]

John Franklin	Thomas Baker
William Lucas	John Hayward
James Mason	Will. Burrowston
William Mort	John Glover
William Seale	Lewis Honyburne
Edward Farmer	John Allen
Humphrey Bache	Philip Thomas
Samuel Gilbert	Ralph Willis
Ferdinando Adam	John Nicks
William Smart	John Low
Thomas Wheeler	John Read
Lawrence Ranson	Anthony Cooper
Thomas Hill	Robert Woodard
Matthew Turner	Nich. Waterson
Robert Steele	Jeremy Wright
William Johnson	William Bate
Mihil Miles	John Marlow, &c.

Of the Church
that walks with
L. Col. Fenton.

Of the Church
that walks with
Justice High-
land.

[Page 24—blank]

[25]

To the Reader.

Christian Reader.

Thou art desired to take notice, that the End of this DECLARATION being to witness to the blessed Truth, with the persecuted Cause and servants of the Lord Jesus, these NAMES published are thought sufficient. Fewer, might have rendered it an inconsiderable Testimony, and given Men advantage against us (and Christ's Cause) on that side. The Multitude, or More (either those which we have, or the which we might have hereto) might probably represent it far more evil, formidable, or dangerous to them, (that are too ready, the Lord knows, to receive any Charge against us for our Faith and Consciences, in these matters of Christs Kingly Interest.). Now to obviate this Advantage, also, which men might have taken, Order is taken for these Names onely, and no [26] more, to be published here-

with; and that several other Churches beside, whom we might mention, be forborn. And for subscriptions out of the Countries (notwithstanding the hundreds out of Kent) they are also all omitted, on purpose, to leave it to the Churches in their several Counties to bear their own Testimony to this suffering Cause of Christ and his Saints, as in discharge of our Duty (with the comfort of our Consciences, blessed be our heavenly Father) we (who are judg'd to be in the first place concern'd) have done, and DO this DAY, in the sight of heaven and earth; and GOD IS OUR RECORD.

FINIS.

A study of the Fifth Monarchy Movement appeared in our last volume at page 166, by Professor Farrer. The circumstances that led to this manifesto may, therefore, be briefly stated. The Rump of the Long Parliament had dallied with the Army petition of August 1652 that tithes be abolished, that legal procedure be reformed, that none but godly men sit in Parliament or hold office. It had allowed the Commission for the Propagation of the Gospel to expire, and was rushing a Bill to perpetuate itself, when Cromwell marched in a file of musketeers and expelled it, Harrison handing the Speaker out of the Chair. The deed met with frank support from Canne, Powell (not yet Baptist), and all the Fifth Monarchy zealots. They had seen first Charles I. executed, then Charles II. of Scotland defeated and driven away, now the remnant of Parliament gone; the way seemed clear for Christ to establish the Fifth Monarchy and rule through His saints.

Edmund Chillenden and John Spittlehouse proposed new plans, as also John Rogers. Cromwell and the other leading officers adopted the common element in these, that the new assembly should be composed chiefly of godly men. These were nominated by the council of officers, after careful consultation with the Gathered Churches throughout the country, and other local notables; 140 were summoned, and all but two accepted. A full list may be seen at the Museum, 669 f. 19. No. 3; among the advanced members were Colonel Robert Bennet, John Crofts, William Reeve, offset by his colleague, Henry Lawrence, of a more

conservative type, Henry Danvers, Samuel Moyer, Arthur Squib, John Pyne and Dennis Hollister, Samuel Highland, William Spence, and John James. Such a band of Baptists has hardly sat in any other Parliament. There were others, who were Fifth Monarchy pædobaptists, of whom the most important were John Carew, Praisegod Barbone, and Hugh Courtney, with Major-general Harrison co-opted. Three of these were baptized in February 1657-8; Barbone's case shall be considered presently.

The Nominated Parliament had about sixty of these radicals, as against eighty-four conservatives, including Generals Monk, Blake, Cromwell, Lambert, Desborough; Colonels Montague and Howard; Sir Anthony Cooper and Sir Charles Wolseley, with other real baronets and lords. The radicals attended regularly, and usually did as they desired, but on crucial occasions the others came and defeated them. The final snap-division was on 12 December 1653 when the majority dissolved Parliament, and another file of musketeers soon ejected Harrison and the minority. Within the week Cromwell was installed as Lord Protector under a new Instrument of Government, and the Fifth Monarchy was out of practical politics.

Harrison and many other officers resigned, Anna Trapnel, of John Simpson's church, fulminated prophecies against the "Little Horn," as she identified Cromwell, and Vavasor Powell, on 18 December, had a hymn sung at Christ Church, plainly repudiating Cromwell's rule and titles:

To Christ our King, let us praise sing,
 Who is our Savior dear,
 Who is our Protector and our Rock,
 Who will come and soon appear.

His Saints shall reign with him on earth,
 And great ones they shall bow;
 The Battle and the Battle ax
 And men of war shall know

That he will arise, and he will rule,
 And their power shall fall,
 And Christ our great Commander, He
 Shall be our General.¹

¹ The Faithful Scout, Museum, E 223.

Feake, Rogers, and Trapnel had at last to be sent to prison without trial, while efforts were made to induce moderate Baptists to speak up vigorously for the Protectorate. Chillenden claimed to have thwarted Danvers in getting up a protest;² Kiffin, Spilsbury, and Sansom wrote to Ireland in favour of the new constitution;³ Richard Lawrence was elected President of the Council of State; Samuel Richardson became a vigorous pamphleteer; Henry Borden, editor of the *Faithful Scout*, a weekly paper, used his position well; and Henry Hills was printer to the Commonwealth.

Until the Protectorate Parliament met, the Protector and Council were empowered to issue Ordinances; on 20 March and 28 August there appeared two, which established central and county Tryers of nominees to livings, as alluded to on pages 124-5 of this present volume. These peculiarly excited the opposition of the Fifth Monarchy men, as appears on page [5] of their manifesto. Since Parliament was to meet on 4 September, and would have to confirm or disallow all these interim ordinances, they held this meeting in the City, and published their declaration on 2 September. Its language, on page [12], expressly disclaiming the least reliance on any arm of flesh, is hardly reconcilable with the frequent allusions to the Army and the Appeal at Dunbar, and it is not to be wondered at if some outbreak were feared. The Parliament itself needed very resolute handling within eight days, though its objections to Cromwell were on other grounds.

The external troubles were two: a Royalist plot and Fifth Monarchy dissatisfaction. In the nature of things, the two parties could not come to terms, and Cromwell always distinguished them; but in many speeches and letters he warned the Fifth Monarchy men that their action tended to anarchy. In Wales, Powell and his friends were able to declare they had 20,000 men ready to hazard their blood; Courtney and Allen were active in Devon; at Hull, Colonel Overton was suspect; further north, Bramston, Hobson, and Oates were preparing an officers' petition; Alured, Saunders, Okey, Sexby, Lawson, and Sankey drafted another; and Lawson probably had a hand in one from the seamen.

For the third time Cromwell cast aside all legality. He abruptly dismissed the Parliament in January 1654-5, and pre-

2 Thurloe iv. 365.

3 Nickolls 159, a misprint being corrected.

pared to rule again by the sword. Efforts were again made to get Baptist support, as by addresses from the military churches in Scotland, and others at Hexham, Horton near Bradford, Derby, Burton, Dublin.⁴ On the other hand, the general feeling that Baptists were being turned out of the army was voiced by Trooper John Sturgeon, in an anonymous pamphlet, quickly echoed by others.⁵ Cromwell now lost patience, stopped all unlicensed printing, and appointed twelve officers to rule the counties with almost unlimited powers against both Royalists and Fifth Monarchy men. There was no Baptist among these: the nearest approach to one was Major-general John Disbrowe, who had married Cromwell's sister Jane, and whose father James was an early member at Fenstanton;⁶ though Colonels Packer and Lilburne were deputies for other major-generals. From that time the Fifth Monarchy men had no real chance; they did, indeed, prepare an insurrection in April 1657, and another in January 1659-60, but both failed ignominiously.

On each occasion the populace confounded the Baptists with them; as the mistake was very excusable, and is quite common still, this manifesto may be analyzed to test the connection. In the group of those walking with Christopher Feake, not one name is recognisable as Baptist: Dr. Brown indeed classes Feake himself as Baptist, on the ground that in 1646 he "had begun to have scruples as to infant baptism." Unfortunately, she does not support this statement by evidence, and there is nothing to say whether his scruples were quieted. The whole church of Peter Chamberlain was undoubtedly Baptist. John Rogers was, on the other hand, Pædobaptist. Raworth and his friends are not known as Baptist, but Simpson was. Jessey was an open-communion Baptist, Barbone was not, though Dr. Brown, who, in her earlier pages, has reproduced several exploded fictions, has accepted the loose statements that he was. When they are tested, the only evidence seems to be that his name figures in this declaration; and elsewhere she has been at pains to insist that the Fifth Monarchy party included both Baptists and Pædobaptists—much as the Keswick movement finds support from both sections. This makes us rather hesitate when, in the same sentence, she sets down Lieutenant-

4 Nickolls, 134.

5 A Short Discovery. Museum, E 852 (3).

6 Fenstanton Records, 251.

colonel John Fenton and Justice Samuel Highland as Baptists; she offers no proof. More than fifty names are given as from their three churches, and we are not aware of any of these men figuring as Baptist, though there is abundant literature of and about that period. We conclude, therefore, that the Baptist element in the Fifth Monarchy movement was rather less than half at this period. It could be shown that many other Fifth Monarchy men became Baptist about 1658, of whom Harrison, Powell, Carew, and Courtney are outstanding examples; and it could also be shown that many of them became Seventh-day Baptists, a phenomenon deserving study.

One other feature about this Declaration ought to be noted. At first sight, it looks as if ten churches signed, but a closer scrutiny of the side notes dispels this idea. Two churches did authorize their male members to sign "in the name of the whole Body": those walking with Chamberlain and Rogers. The other signatures are only by irresponsible members "of the church that walks with" Raworth or Simpson. And in these cases we miss the names of the pastors; Francis Raworth, Hanserd Knollys, John Simpson, Henry Jessey, Praisegod Barbone, John Fenton, Samuel Highland, did not sign. Samuel Richardson speedily called attention to this, called it a libel, "as if it were signed by those said churches, and upon examination it is proved false and counterfeit." 7

The activity of the Fifth Monarchy men, both in literature, in preaching, and in fighting, and the fact that they included many Baptists, gave colour to the general idea that English Baptists were of the same type as the German Anabaptists a century earlier, who were always judged by Munster as a revolutionary set of visionaries. Against this it was hard for quiet men like Kiffin, Spilsbury, and Richardson to persuade the public that Baptists, as such, had distinctly religious aims.

7 Apology for the Present Government. Museum. E 812 (18).

William Mitchill's "Jachin and Boaz." — 1707.

(Concluded from last issue.)

[21] XXIII of Christian Liberty.

THE Liberty which Christ hath purchased for Believers under the Gospel, consists in their Freedom from the Guilt of Sin, the condemning Wrath of God, the Rigour and Curse of the Law, and in their being delivered from this present evil World, Bondage to Satan, and the Dominion of Sin, from the evil of afflictions, the fear and sting of Death, the Victory of the Grave, and everlasting Damnation; As also, in their free Access to God, and their yielding Obedience to him, not out of slavish Fear, but a Child-like Love and willing Mind; all which were common to Believers also under the Law, for the Substance of them; but under the Gospel the Liberty of Christians is further enlarged, in their Freedom from the Yoke of the Ceremonial Law, the whole legal Administration of the Covenant of Grace, to which the Jewish Church was subjected, and in their greater boldness of Access to the Throne of Grace, and in fuller Communications of the Free Spirit of God, than Believers under the Law did ordinarily partake of. They who under any pretence of Christian Liberty do practise any Sin, or cherish any lust, or live in the neglect of any known Duty, as they do thereby prevent the main Design of the Free Grace and Love of God in the Gospel, to their own Destruction; so they wholly destroy the end of Christian Liberty, which is, that

being delivered out of the hands of our Enemies we might serve the Lord without fear, in Holiness and Righteousness before him all the days of our Life.

[22] XXIV of Liberty of Conscience.

GOD alone is the sole Lord of the Conscience, and hath left it free from the Doctrines and Commandments of Men, which are in anything contrary to his Word, or not contained in it; so that to believe such Doctrines, or to obey such Commands is to betray true Liberty of Conscience; and the requiring of an implicate Faith, and an absolute and blind Obedience, is to destroy Liberty of Conscience, and Reason also.

XXV of Religious Worship, and of the Sabbath Day.

THE Light of Nature and Works of Creation shew, that there is a God who hath Lordship and Sovereignty over all, is just, good, and doth good unto all, and therefore to be feared, loved, praised, called upon, trusted in, and served with all the Heart, and all the Soul, and with all the might: Yet the acceptable way of Worshiping the true God is instituted by himself, and so limited by his own revealed Will, that he may not be worshiped according to the Imaginations and Devices of Men, or Suggestions of Men, under any visible Representations, or any other way not prescribed in the Scriptures of Truth. Religious Worship then is to be given to God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, and to him alone; not to Angels, Saints, or any other Creatures, and since the Fall, not without a Mediator, nor in the Mediation of any other but Christ alone. Prayer with Thanksgiving, being one special part of natural Worship, is by God required of all Men; but that the same may be accepted, it is to be performed [23] in the Name of Christ, in Faith, by the help of the Spirit, according to his Will, with Understanding,

Reverence, Humility, Fervency, Faith, Love and Perseverance, and when with others in a known Tongue: Prayer is to be made for things lawful, and for all sorts of Men living, or that may live hereafter, but not for the dead, nor for those of whom it may be known that they have sinned the Sin unto Death. The Reading of the Scriptures, Preaching and Hearing the Word of God, Singing of Psalms or Hymns, and Praises to God, as also the Administration of Baptism and the Lord's Supper, are all parts of Religious Worship, to be performed in Obedience to God, with Understanding, Faith, Reverence, and godly Fear: Solemn Humiliation, with Fasting and Thanksgiving upon special occasions, are in their several Times and Seasons to be used in a Holy, Religious Way. Neither Prayer nor any other part of Religious Worship is now under the Gospel either tied unto, or made more acceptable by any place in which it is performed, or towards which it is directed, but God is to be worshiped in all places in Spirit and Truth, as in private Families daily, and in secret each one by himself; so more solemnly in the publick Assemblies, which are not to be carelessly nor wilfully neglected or forsaken, when God by his Word or Providence calleth thereunto. God hath appointed and set apart for Holy Use, for his own Worship and Service, by his Word, in a positive, moral, and perpetual Commandment, binding all Men in all Ages, particularly one day in seven, for a Sabbath to be kept holy unto him, which from the beginning of the World to the Resurrection of Christ was the last day of the Week, and from the Resurrection of Christ was changed to the first day of the Week; which is to be kept in re-
[24.] membrance of the Work of Redemption wrought by Christ, to the end of the World, as the Christian Sabbath. This Sabbath is not to be spent idly in thinking our own Thoughts, in speaking our own Words, finding our own Pleasures, indulging our Flesh,

and gratifying its Lusts, in tippling, drinking, clubbing, carding, dicing, sporting, playing; or in worldly Business, as unnecessary Journeys; but this Sabbath is then kept holy unto the Lord, when Men after a due preparing of their Hearts, and ordering of their common Affairs before-hand, do not only observe an holy Rest all the day from their own Works, Words and Thoughts about their Worldly Employments and Recreations, but also are spending the whole time in the publick and private Exercise of God's Worship, and in the Duties of Necessity and Mercy.

XXVI of the Civil Magistrate.

GOD, the Supreme Lord and King of all the World, hath ordained Civil Magistrates to be under him, over the People, for his own Glory and the Publick Good; and to this end hath armed them with the power of the Sword for the Defence and Encouragement of them that do well, and for the Punishment of Evil Doers: so that it's the Duty of People to pray for Magistrates, to honour their Persons, to pay them Tribute and other Dues, to obey their lawful Commands, and to be subject to their Authority for Conscience sake; from which Ecclesiastical Persons are not exempted, much less hath the Pope any Power or Jurisdiction over them in their Dominions, or over any of their People, and least of all to deprive them of their Dominions or Lives, if he shall judge them [25] to be Hereticks, or upon any other pretence whatsoever.

XXVII of Marriage.

Marriage is to be between one Man and one Woman, neither is it lawful for any Man to have more than one Wife, nor for any Woman to have more than one Husband at the same time: Marriage is honourable in all, being ordained of God, for the mutual help of

Husband and Wife, and for the increase of Mankind with a legitimate Issue, and of the Church with hopeful Seed, and for the preventing of Uncleaness: It is lawful for all sorts of Persons to marry, who are able with Judgment to give their Consent. It is the duty of Christians to Marry in the Lord, and therefore they that profess the true Reformed Religion, should not marry with Infidels, Papists, or other Idolaters; neither should such as are godly be unequally Yoked by Marrying with such as are wicked in their Lives, or maintain damnable Heresies.

XXVIII of the Catholic Church.

THE Catholic or universal Church, which is invisible, consists of the whole number of the Elect that have been, are, or shall be gather'd into one under Christ, the Head thereof; and is the Spouse, the Body, the Fulness of him that filleth all in all. The whole Body of Men throughout the World, professing the Faith of the Gospel, and Obedience to God by Christ according to it, not destroying their own Profession by any Errors everting the Foundation, or Unholiness of [26] Conversation, are and may be called the visible Catholick Church of Christ: Although as such, it is not entrusted with the Administration of any Ordinance, or to have any Office to rule or govern in or over the whole Body: There is no Head of the Church, but the Lord Jesus Christ, nor can the Pope of Rome in any Sense be Head thereof, but is that Antichrist, that Man of Sin, that Son of Perdition, that exalteth himself in the Church against Christ, and above all that is called God, whom the Lord shall consume with the Brightness of his coming: So that according to his Promise we expect that in the last days Antichrist being destroyed, the Jews called, and the Adversaries of the Kingdom of Christ broken to pieces as a Potter's Vessel, the Churches of Christ being enlarged and edified through

a free and plentiful Communication of the Spirit, shall enjoy in this world a more quiet, peaceable and glorious Condition than they have enjoyed hitherto.

XXIX of the Communion of Saints.

ALL Saints that are united to Jesus Christ their Head, by his Spirit and Faith, although they are not thereby made one Person with him, have Fellowship in his Graces, Sufferings, Death, Resurrection and Glory: And being united to one another in Love, they have Communion in each others Gifts and Graces, and are obliged to the performance of such Duties, publick and private, as do conduce to their mutual good both in Soul and Body. All Saints are bound to maintain an holy Fellowship and Communion in the Worship of God, and in performing such other Spiritual Service as tends to their mutual Edification; as also in relieving one another in outward things [27] according to their several Abilities and Necessities; which Communion, though especially, to be exercis'd by them in the Relations wherein they stand, whether in Families or Churches; yet as God offereth opportunity, is to be extended to all those who in every place call upon the Lord Jesus.

XXX of the Sacraments.

Sacraments are holy Signs of the Covenant of Grace immediately instituted by Christ, to represent him and his Benefits, and to confirm our Interest in him, and solemnly to engage us to the Service of God in Christ, according to his Word: There is in every Sacrament a spiritual Relation, or a Sacramental Union between the Sign, and the thing signified: Whence it comes to pass that the Names and Effects of the one is ascribed to the other: The Grace which is exhibited in or by the Sacraments rightly used, is not conferred by any

power in them, neither doth the Efficacy of a Sacrament depend upon the Piety or Intention of him that doth administer it, but upon the Work of the Spirit, and the Word of Institution, which contains, together with a Precept authorizing the use thereof, a Promise of benefit to the worthy Receivers. There be only two Sacraments ordained by Christ our Lord in the Gospel, that is to say, Baptism and the Lord's Supper, neither of which ought to be administered but by a Minister of the Word lawfully called.

[28] XXXI of Baptism.

Baptism is an Ordinance of the New Testament instituted by Christ, to be unto the Party baptized a Sign of his Fellowship with him in his Death, Burial and Resurrection, of his ingrafting into him, of remission of Sins, and of his giving up himself unto God through Jesus Christ, to live and walk in Newness of Life: Which Ordinance is by Christ's own appointment to be continued in his Church until the end of the World. The outward Element to be used in Baptism is Water, wherein the Party is to be baptized, in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Baptism is not rightly administered by pouring Water or Sprinkling it upon the Parties Face: But Baptism is rightly administered by immersion or dipping the whole Body of the Party in Water, in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, according to Christ's Institution, and the Practice of the Apostles, Mat. 3. 16. Joh 3. 23 Mat 28. 19, 20. Acts 8. 38 and 10. 48. Rom. 6. 3, 4, 5. Col 2. 12.

¶ To whom Baptism is to be administered.

Baptism is to be administered to all those who actually profess Repentance towards God, Faith in and Obedience to our dear Lord Jesus Christ, and to none other, Mat. 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10. Acts 2. 37, 38 & 8. 36, 37, 38. Mat 28, 19. Mark 16. 16.

It is the Duty of all those who are rightly Baptized, to give up themselves to some particular orderly Church of Jesus Christ, that they may [29] walk in all the Commandments and Ordinances of the Lord blameless, for the Glory of God, their own and others Edification. Although it be a great Sin to neglect or contemn this Ordinance, yet Grace and Salvation are not so inseparably annexed unto it, as that no Person can be regenerated and saved without it, or that all are undoubtedly regenerated and saved who are Baptized.

XXXII of the Lord's Supper.

THE Lord's Supper is an Ordinance of the New Testament instituted by Jesus Christ, wherein by giving and receiving Bread and Wine, according to Christ's Appointment, his Death and Blood is shewed forth; and the worthy receivers are, not after a corporal and carnal manner, but by the Spirit and Faith, made Partakers of his Body and Blood, with all his Benefits, to their Spiritual Nourishment and Growth in Grace. In this Sacrament Christ is not offered up to the Father, nor any real Sacrifice made at all for Remission of Sins of the Quick or the Dead; but only a Memorial of that one Offering up of himself, by himself, upon the Cross, once for all; and a spiritual Oblation of all possible Praise unto God for the same: So that the Popish Sacrifice of the Mass (as they call it) is most abominably injurious to Christs own Sacrifice, the only Propitiation for all the Sins of the Elect. The outward Elements in this Sacrament, duly set apart to the use ordained by Christ, have such relation to him crucified, as that truly, yet Sacramentally only, they are called sometimes by the Names of the things they represent: to wit, the Body and Blood of Christ; Albeit in Substance and Nature they still remain truly and only Bread and Wine, as they were be[30]fore. All ignorant and ungodly Persons, as they are unfit to enjoy Communion with

Christ, so are they unworthy of the Lord's Table, and cannot without great Sin against him (whilst they remain such) partake of these holy Mysteries, or be admitted thereunto; yea, whosoever shall receive unworthily, are guilty of the Body and Blood of the Lord, eating and drinking Judgment to themselves.

XXXIII of the State of Man after Death.

THE Bodies of Men after Death, return to Dust, and see Corruption; but their Souls, which never die, having an Immortal Subsistence; immediately return to God who gave them; the Souls of the Righteous being made perfect in Holiness, are received into the highest Heavens, where they behold the Face of God in Light and Glory, waiting for the Redemption of their Bodies: And the Souls of the wicked are cast into Hell, where they remain in Torment and utter Darkness, reserved to the Judgment of the Great Day: Besides these two places for Souls separated from their Bodies, the Scriptures acknowledge none.

¶ of the Resurrection.

AT the Last Day such as are alive, shall not die, but be changed, and all the Dead shall be raised up with the self-same Bodies, and none other, although with different Qualities, which shall be united again to their Souls for ever: The Bodies of the unjust shall by the Power of Christ be raised to Dishonour: But the Bodies of the Just by his [31] Spirit unto Honour, and be made Conformable to his own Glorious Body.

¶ of the last Judgment.

GOD hath appointed a Day wherein he will Judge the World, in Righteousness by Jesus Christ, to whom all Power and Judgment is given of the Father; in which day not only the fallen Angels shall be judged; but likewise all Persons that have lived upon the earth,

shall appear before the Tribunal Seat of Christ, to give an account of all their Thoughts, Words and Deeds, and to receive according to what they have done in the Body, whether Good or Evil. One End why God hath appointed this Day, is, for the manifestation of the Glory of his Mercy in the Eternal Salvation of the Elect; and of his Justice in the Damnation of the Reprobate, who are wicked and disobedient: For then shall the Righteous go into everlasting Life, and receive the Fulness of Joy and Glory in the Presence of the Lord: But the Wicked who know not God, and obey not the Gospel of Jesus Christ, shall be cast into Eternal Torments, and be punished with everlasting Destruction from the Presence of the Lord, and from the Glory of his Power. As Christ would have us to be certainly persuaded that there shall be a Judgment, both to deter all Men from Sin, and to be for the greater Consolation of the Godly in their Adversity: So will he have that day unknown to Men, that they may shake off all carnal Security, and be always watchful, because they know not at what hour the Lord will come, and that they may be ever prepared and in readiness to say in Faith and Love and Godly Boldness, Come Lord Jesus, come quickly Amen.

CONCERNING
DISCIPLINE

[32] In that I have been much abused (or rather the Truth) both by Friends and Enemies about what I hold, and have a considerable time maintained concerning visible particular Churches or Christian Societies, to the end the Truth may not be hid, nor Friends nor Enemies imposed on when I am gone; I shall show in the following particulars what my judgment is as to a particular Church of Christ, instituted according to the Rule of the Glorious Gospel of the ever blessed God, to whom be Glory for ever Amen.

And in the first place, we must know, that as our Lord Christ hath (according to the Order and Wisdom of Heaven) the Pre-eminence in all things; so by the Appointment of the Father, all Power, for the Calling, Institution, Order and Government of the Church, is invested in a Supreme and Sovereign Manner in him, as the only Head and Law-giver thereof.

2. In the Execution of this Power, wherewith he is so intrusted, the Lord Christ, by his Word and Spirit, calleth out of the World, to a state of Grace, and to Communion with himself, all those that are given to him by his Father, that they may walk before him in all the ways of Obedience, which he prescribeth to them in his Word.

[33] 3. Those thus called (through the Ministry of the Word by the Spirit) he commandeth to walk together in particular Societies or Churches, for their mutual Edification, and the due performance of that Worship, publick and private, which he requireth of them in this World.

4. This instituted Church of Christ is a Society of Persons, called out of their natural and worldly States, by the Administration of the Word, and Effectual Work of the Spirit, to true Faith in Christ, and willing Obedience through Love, and to the Knowledge and Worship of God in Christ, joined together (as they are in duty bound) by special Agreement, for the exercise of the Communion of Saints, in the due Observation of all the Ordinances of the Gospel, Rom. 1. 5, 6. 1 Cor 1. 12 1 Cor 14. Heb 3. 1. Jam. 1. 18. Rev. 1, 2, 3, Chapters, read them with Understanding; 1 Pet. 2, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, Eph. 2. 20, 21, 22 2 Cor 6. 16, 17, 18.

5 They are constituted a Gospel-Church, and interested in the Right Power, and Privileges of a Gospel-Church, by the Will, Promise, Authority and Law of Jesus Christ, upon their own Voluntary Consent and Engagement, to walk together in the due Subjection of

their Souls and Consciences, unto his authority as their King, Priest and Prophet, and in an holy Observation of all his Commands, Ordinances and Appointments, Mat. 18. 20. and 28. 18, 19, 20. Acts 2. 40, 41, 42. Exod 24. 3 Deut 5. 27. Psal 110. 3. Isa. 44. 5 & 59, 21 Eph 4. 7, 8, 9, 10. 2 Cor 8, 5.

6. To this and each Church thus gathered according to the Mind of Christ, declared in his Word, he hath given all that Power and Authority, which is any way needful for their carrying on that Order in Worship and Discipline, which he hath instituted for them to Observe, with Commands and Rules for the due and right exerting and executing [34] of that Power according to his mind, not for Destruction but to Edification.

7. These particular Churches thus gathered and appointed by the Authority of Christ, and intrusted with Power from him, for the ends before expressed, are, each of them, as unto those ends, the Seat of that Power which he is pleased to Communicate to his Saints or Subjects in this World; so that as such they receive it immediately from himself.

8. Besides these particular Churches, there is not instituted by Christ any Church more extensive or Catholick, intrusted with Power for the Administration of his Ordinances, or the Execution of any Authority in his Name.

9. The Matter or Members of these Churches are Saints by Calling, visibly manifesting and evidencing (in and by their Profession and Walking) their Faith in Christ unto Justification of Life, and Obedience unto the Call of Christ, who, being further known to each other by their Confession of the Faith, wrought in them by the Power of God, declared by themselves, or other wise made known, do willingly consent and agree to walk together according to the Appointment of Christ, giving themselves to the Lord, and to one another, according to the Will of God, in a professed Subjection

to the Ordinances of the Gospel, Rom 1. 5, 6. 1 Cor. 1. 1, 2. Heb 3. 1. Jam. 1. 18. Rev. 1. 20. 1 Pet. 2. 4, 5, 6. Eph. 2. 20, 21, 22. 2 Cor. 6. 16, 17, 18. and Eph. 1. 1, 2. Phil 1. 1. Col 1. 1. 1 Thess 1. 1. 2 Thess. 1. 1. 2 Cor 8. 5.

10. A particular Church, gathered and compleated according to the Mind of Christ, consists of Officers and Members. The Lord Christ having given to his Called Ones (united according to his appointment in Church-order) liberty and power to choose Persons, fitted by the Holy Ghost for that purpose, to be over them in the Lord, and in his Name to minister to them.

[35] 11. The Officers appointed by Christ to be chosen and set apart by the Church, so called and gathered for the peculiar Administration of Ordinances, and Execution of Power or Duty which he entrusts them with, or calls them to, to be continued to the end of the World, are Pastors, Teachers, Elders, and Deacons, Acts 14. 23 & 20. 17, 18-28. 1 Cor. 12. 28. Eph. 4. 11, 12. Phil 1. 1. 1 Tim 3. 1, 2. & 5. 17. Tit. 1. 5, 6. Heb. 13. 7-17. 1 Pet. 5. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5.

12. It is required unto the due qualifying and constituting of a Teaching Elder, or Pastor of the Church; (1) That he be well acquainted with the Holy Scriptures, and the whole Will and Mind of God therein revealed and contained. (2) That he be furnished with the Gifts of the Holy Spirit, for the Edification of the Church, and the Evangelical Discharge of the Work of the Ministry, Acts 20. 28 Eph 4. 8, 11, 12, 13. (3) That he be unblameable, holy and exemplary in his Conversation, Tit. 1. 7, 8, 9. 2 Tim 3. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7. (4) That he have a willing mind freely to give up himself unto the Lord in the Work of the Ministry, 1 Pet. 5. 2, 3. (5) That he be chosen and called thereto by the Suffrage and Consent of the Church that he is to be over in the Lord, Acts 14. 23. Acts 1. 13, 14, 15-23, 24, 25. (6) That he be solemnly set apart or ordained by

the Laying on of the hands of its Eldership, if such there be, (or other wise by holding up of the Hands of the Church) with Fasting and Prayer, wherein the Presence, and (so far as is needful and regular) the Assistance of the Elders or Messengers of other Churches is expedient, Acts 13, 2, 3 1 Tim 5. 22 1 Tim. 4. 14.

But in the 13th place, the Essence of this Call of a Pastor or Elder unto office, consists in the Free Election of the Church, together with his Acceptation of it, and Separation to it, [36] by Fasting and Prayer in the Church: and those who are so chosen, though not Set apart by Imposition of Hands, have the Essence of Ordination, and are Ministers of Jesus Christ, in whose Name and Authority they exercise the Ministry to them so committed.

14. The principal Duties of a Pastor or Teaching-Elder, thus called and set apart by the Church, are, (1) to be Examples unto the Flock in Faith, Love, Knowledge, Meekness, Patience, with readiness for the Cross, upon the Account of Christ, and the Interest of his Glorious Gospel, with Constancy therein, 1 Tim 3. 10, 11, 12, 13. & 4. 12 2 Tim 2, 3 Col 1. 24. Phil 2. 17. & 3. 17. (2) To preach the Gospel of the Grace of God, for the spiritual Nourishment and Growth, and to watch for the Souls, and take care of all the spiritual Concernments, of the whole Flock committed to their Watch-Care, Heb. 13. 17. Acts 20. 24, 25-28. (3) To preach the Word in season and out of Season, with all Care and Diligence, dividing it aright, 2 Tim 2. 15 & 4. 2. Rom 12. 6, 7, 8. (4) To preserve and contend for the Truth of the Gospel, 1 Tim. 6. 20. Acts 20. 28, 31. Jude 3. (5) To administer all the Ordinances of the Gospel duly and orderly, 1 Cor. 4. 1, 2. 1 Tim 3. 15. (6) To stir up and exercise the Gifts they have received in the Discharge of the whole Work and Administration of all Ordinances, 1 Tim 4. 14, 15, 16. (7) To instruct,

admonish, cherish and comfort all the Members of the Church, as their Conditions, Occasions and Necessities do require, Acts 20. 18, 19, 20, 25, 26. 1 Thes. 3. 5. 2 Tim 2. 24, 25. (8) To attend with Diligence, Skill and Wisdom unto the discharge of that Authority which in the Rule of the Church is committed to them, Rom' 12; 8 1 Tim. 5. 17.

15 Although it be incumbent on the Pastors [37] and Teachers of the Churches, to be instant in Preaching the Word, by way of Office; yet the Work of Preaching the Word is not so peculiarly confined to them, but that others also gifted and fitted by the Holy Ghost for it, and approved (being by lawful Ways and Means in the Providence of God called thereunto) may (giving themselves up to the Work) publickly and constantly perform it, to the Glory of God.

16. However they who are engaged in the Work of Publick Preaching, and enjoy the Publick Maintenance upon that Account, are not there by obliged to Administer the Lord's Supper to any other than such as (being Saints by calling, and gathered according to the Order of the Gospel) they stand related to as Pastors or Teachers; yet ought they not to neglect others living within their bounds; but besides their constant Publick Preaching to them, they ought to enquire after their profiting by the Word, instructing them in, and pressing upon them (whether young or old) the great Doctrines and Practices of the Gospel, even personally and particularly, So far as their Strength and Time will admit.

17. Ordination by a Bishop, or by any Eldership (foreign to the Church we treat of) by Virtue of any Authority derived, or pretended to be derived either immediately from Christ, or otherwise, through a long Succession of ordain'd Bishop's or Elderships from the Apostles, and consequently, tho very remotely from Christ still, doth not duly constitute any Person a

Church-Officer, nor communicate Office-Power to that end.

18. The Work of Deacons is to serve Tables i.e. the Lord's Table, the Minister's Table, and the Poor's Table; their number is to be proportionable to the State of the Church. They are first to be tryed, and then chosen and set apart as the Elders.

[38] 19. A Church furnished with Officers (according to the Mind of Christ) hath full Power to administer all his Ordinances, and where there is want of any one or more such officers as are required, that Officer or Officers which remain in the Church, may administer all the Ordinances proper to their particular Place and Offices: But where there are no Teaching-Officers, none may administer the Sacraments, nor can the Church authorize any transiently to do so.

20 In the carrying on of Church-Administrations, no Person ought to be added to the Church, but by the Consent of the Church it self, that so Love, without Dissimulation, may be preserved between all the Members thereof.

21. The Duty of the Church towards their Elders, Pastors and Teachers, is, (1) To have them in Reverence and Honour for their Office and Works sake, 1 Thes. 5. 12, 13, 1 Tim 5. 17. (2) To obey them Conscientiously in all things wherein they speak unto them in the Name of the Lord, Heb. 13. 17. 1 Cor 16. 16. (3) To pray earnestly for them, that they may, and to exhort them (if need require) to fulfil the Work of the Ministry which they have received in the Lord Eph 6. 18, 19, 20. Col 4. 3. 2 Thes 3. 1. 1 Thes 5. 25 Col 4. 17. (4) To communicate unto them of their Temporals for their comfortable Subsistence in the World, and their Usefulness unto others, Gal. 6. 6. 1 Cor. 9. 14. 1 Tim. 5. 17, 18. 2 Cor. 11. 8. and Chap 9. Rom. 16 26, 27. (5) wisely to order things by their Direction, so as that they may be among them with Comfort and

without Fear, 1 Cor. 16. 10. (6) To abide with and stand by them in their Sufferings for the Gospel and Service of Christ among them, 2 Tim. 1. 16, 17, 18. 2 Tim. 4. 16, 17.

22. Whereas the Lord Jesus Christ hath appointed and instituted as a means of Edification, [39] that those who walk not according to the Rules and Laws appointed by him (in respect of Faith and Holiness, so that just Offences do rise thereby to the Church) be censured in his Name and Authority, every Church hath power from Christ committed to it, and residing in it self, to exercise and execute all those Censures appointed by him, in the Way and Order prescribed in the Gospel.

23. The Censures so appointed by Christ are Admonition and Excommunication: And whereas some offences are, or may be known only to some, it is appointed by Christ, that those to whom they are so known, do first admonish the Offender in private: In Publick Offences, where any one Sins before all, or in Case of Non-amendment upon private Admonition, the Offence being related to the Church, and the Offender not manifesting Repentance, he is to be duly admonished in the Name of Christ, by the whole Church, by the Ministry of the Elders of the Church: And if this prevail not for his or her Repentance, then he or she is to be cast out by Excommunication, by the Authority and Consent of the Church. Mat. 18. 15 &c.

24. As all Believers are bound (by the Appointment, Law, and Command of Christ) to join themselves to particular Churches, when and where they have opportunity so to do: so none are to be admitted unto the Privileges of the Churches, who do not submit themselves to the Rule of Christ in the Government of them. Acts 2. 40, 41, 42, 43, 44.

25. This being the way prescribed by Christ and practised by his Primitive Followers, in case of Offences,

no Church-Members upon any Offences taken by them, having performed their Duty required of them in this matter, ought to disturb any Church-Order, or absent themselves from the Publick Assemblies or the Administration [40] of any Ordinance upon that Pretence, but to wait upon Christ in the further Proceeding of the Church. And to the end Peace and Order may be preserved to the Glory of Christ, and Comfort of the Church in all its Administrations, it is required in the 26th place, that they who desired to be joined to the Church, be first free from just Blame and Offence in the World, Phil. 1. 10, 11, 27. & 2. 15. 1 Cor 10. 32. 1 Thes. 2. 11, 12. Tit. 2. 10, 11, 12. 14. (2) That they be instructed in the saving Truths and Mysteries of the Gospel, as to Faith and Holiness. John 6. 35-45 Acts 26. 18. 1 Pet. 2. 9, 10, 11. 2 Cor 4. 3, 4, 6. (3) That they be sound in the Faith, as to the Fundamentals of the Gospel, 1 Tim. 1. 15, 16, 19, 20. 2 Tim. 1. 3, 4, 5, 6. Tit. 1. 13. Jude 3. (4) That the Lord having called them unto Faith, Repentance and Newness of Life, by Jesus Christ, they give up themselves to be saved by, and to obey him in all things, Eph 4. 20, 21, 22, 23, 24. And therefore, (5) are willing and ready, through his Grace, to walk in Subjection to all his Commands, and in the Observation of all his Laws and Institutions (according to their Light) notwithstanding any Oppositions, Difficulties or Persecutions, which they may meet withal upon that Account, 2 Cor 8. 5.

Again, 27. The Duty of the Church, and more particularly of its Elders towards them, that offer themselves to Communion, is, (1) In Christian Wisdom and Discretion, as far as possibly they may, to discern and judge by the Rule of Truth applied in Love, between sincere Professors, and hypocritical Pretenders, Acts 8. 20, 21, 22, 23. Tit. 1. 10, 11, 16. Rev. 2. 2. Jer. 15. 19 (2) To instruct, direct, comfort, nourish, cherish,

and encourage in the way, such as they judge to love the Lord Jesus in Sincerity, Acts 18. 26, 27, 28. 1 Thes 2. 6, 7, 8, 11. (3) By the Elder to recommend [41] and propose them unto the whole Church, with Prayers and Supplications to God for them, Acts 9, 26, 27. (4) To admit them, being approved, into the Order and Fellowship of the Gospel in the Church, Rom 14. 1 & 15. 2, 5, 6, 7.

28. The Power of Censures being sealed by Christ in a particular Church, is to be exercised only towards particular Members of each Church respectively as such; And there is no Power given by him unto any Synods or Ecclesiastical Assemblies to Excommunicate, or by their Publick Edicts to threaten Excommunication, or other Church-Censures, against Churches, Magistrates, or their People, upon any account, no Man being obnoxious to Censure, but upon his personal miscarriage, as a Member of a particular Church.

29. For the avoiding of Differences that may otherwise arise, and for the greater Solemnity in the Celebration of the Ordinances of Christ, and the opening a way for the larger Usefulness of the Gifts and Graces of the Holy Ghost, Saints living in one City, or Town, or within such distance as that they may conveniently assemble for Divine Worship, ought rather to join in one Church, for their mutual strengthening and Edification, than to set up many distinct Societies.

30. As all Churches, and all the Members of them, are bound to pray continually for the good or Prosperity of the Churches of Christ in all places, and upon all Occasions to further it, (every one within the Bounds of their Places and Callings, in the Exercise of their Gifts and Graces) so the Churches themselves (when planted by the Providence of God, so as they may have Opportunity and Advantage for it) ought to hold Communion among themselves for their Peace, increase of Love, and mutual Edification.

31. In Cases of Difficulties, or Difference, either in point of Doctrine, or in Administration, where-[42]in either the Churches in general are concerned, or any one Church, in their Peace, Union and Edification, or any Member or Members of any Church are injured, in or by any proceeding in Censures not agreeable to Truth and Order; it is according to the mind of Christ, that many Churches holding communion together, do by their Messengers meet in a Synod or Council, to consider and give their Advice in or about that matter in difference, to be reported to all the Churches concerned: Howbeit, these Synods so assembled are not intrusted with any Church-Power, properly so called, or with any Jurisdiction over the Churches themselves, to exercise any Censures either over any Churches or Persons, or to impose their Determinations on the Churches, or officers.

32 Besides these occasional Synods or Councils, there are not instituted by Christ any stated Synods, in a fixed Combination of Churches, or their Officers in lesser or greater Assemblies, nor are there any Synods appointed by Christ in way of Subordination to one another.

33. To the end that Peace and Holiness (without which no Man shall see the Lord Heb. 12. 14) may be preserved in the Church, it is the Duty of every private Member in their mutual Walk towards, and Watch over one another, to exhort one another unto Holiness and Perseverance, and if they observe any thing in the Ways and Walkings of any of their Fellow-Members, not according to the Rule and the Duty of their Profession, which therefore gives them offence, to admonish them thereof in private with Love, Meekness and Wisdom; and in case they prevail not unto their Amendment, to take the Assistance of some other Brethren in the Work; and if they fail of Success therein also, to report the matter, by the Elders Direc-

tion, unto the whole Church, Mat. 18. 16, 17, 18. 1 Thes. 5. 14.

[43] 34. The general Duty of the whole Church consists in their performing, doing and keeping inviolate all the Commands and Institutions of Jesus Christ, walking unblameably and fruitfully in the World, and holding forth the Word of Truth, and glorifying of the Lord Christ in and by the Profession of his Name, and keeping his Commandments and Testimonies unto the end, Mat. 28. 19, 20. Acts 2. 42. Phil. 2. 15, 16. & 4. 8, 9. 1 Thes. 3. 8. 1 Pet. 4. 10, 11, 12, 13, 14. 1 Tim. 3. 15. Heb. 10. 23, 24, 25, 26, 38, 39.

35. The Discipline of the Church consists in the due exercise of that Authority and Power which the Lord Christ in and by his Word hath granted unto the Church, for its Continuance, Encrease, and Preservation, in Purity, Order and Holiness, according to his Appointment, Mat. 16. 18, 19. Rom 12. 8. 2 Cor 10. 4, 5, 6, 7, 8. Rev. 2. 2, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23.

36. Persons that are joined in Church-Fellowship, ought not lightly or without just cause to withdraw themselves from the Communion of that Church whereunto they are so joined: Nevertheless, where any Person cannot continue in a Church without Sin, either for want of the Administration of any Ordinance instituted by Christ, or by his being deprived of his due Privileges, or compelled to any thing in practice not warranted by the Word, or upon the account of Convenience of Habitation; consulting with the Church, or Officer, or Officers thereof, may peaceably depart from the Communion of the Church wherewith he hath so walked, to join himself with some other Church of Christ, where he may enjoy the Ordinances in the Purity of the same, for his Edification and Consolation.

37. Such reformed Churches as consist of Persons sound in the Faith, and of Conversions becoming the Gospel, ought not to refuse the Com-[44]munion of

each other, so far as may consist with their own Principles respectively, though they walk not in all things according to the same Rules of Church-Order.

38. The Duty of one Church of Christ towards other Churches, is, (1) In walking circumspectly, so as to give them no just Offence, Eph 5. 15, 16. 1 Cor. 10. 32 (2) In Prayer for their Peace and Prosperity in the way of the Gospel, Psal 122. 6, 7, 8, 9. Eph 6. 18 1 Tim. 2. 1. (3) In Communicating Supplies to their Wants and Necessities according to ability, 2 Cor 8. 4, 6, 7. Acts 11. 29, 30. Rom. 16. 26, 27. (4) In receiving with Love and Readiness the Members of them into Fellowship, in the Celebration of the Ordinances of the Gospel, according to Primitive Practice, as occasion shall be, Rom 16. 1, 2,. 3 John 8, 9. (5) In desiring and making use of their Counsel and Advice in such Cases of Doubt and Difficulty as may arise among them, Acts 15. 2. (6) In joining with them to express their Communion with them in the same Doctrine of Faith, 1 Tim. 3. 15.

39. The end of all this Dispensation and Order of things, is the Praise and Glory of God the Father, the Exaltation and Honour of Christ Jesus the Mediator of the New Covenant, the furtherance of the Gospel, the Encrease and Enlargement of the Kingdom of Christ in the World, that his Name and Fame may be spread abroad, the Edification and Consolation of Believers, herewith the fitting and making them meet for Heaven and Eternal Glory hereafter, by the Work of the Spirit of Grace, Acts 4. 9, 10, 11. & 5. 12, 13. 1 Cor. 3. 22, 23. Eph. 4. 11, 12, 13. Col. 1. 12, 13. 1 Pet. 1. 7, 8, 9.

FINIS

Dr. Peter Chamberlen.

PASTOR, PROPAGANDIST, AND PATENTEE.

IN Transactions Vol. II., there was given, in the first place a biographical sketch of "Dr. Peter Chamberlen, Physician to Stuart Kings and Baptist Pastor" (1601-1683), and in the second place a *précis* of the original records of a London congregation over which for a time the same Dr. Peter Chamberlen presided. In the former article the Pastor was presented as a Sabbatarian who was ready to debate his distinctive convictions before a scornful world; in the latter, as if by contrast, it was shown that the church of which he was pastor held its meetings on Sundays like the generality of Baptist folk of the time and since! From these divergent outlines certain questions emerge, and with those it is proposed at present to deal.

In the first place, it is obvious that the Records—"A Book for the Accounts" and "Acts of the Church"¹—present a picture of First Day worship, though by no means ideal in some of its incidents. There appears to be no instance, in the entire document, of a meeting held on the Saturday. Largely in the handwriting of Dr. Peter Chamberlen himself, the Records describe meetings as having been held on such a day of the month and the year, with the additional peculiarity that the days of the week are expressed by the use of familiar astronomical signs, whether the day be Sunday, Monday, Tuesday, or Friday. The philomath—the physician-astrologer of the seventeenth century—would naturally affect such a method of narration. Moreover, from a survey of the material as a whole, we gather that, at the time covered by the Records, there was no controversy on the Sabbath question among the people who "walked with Dr. Chamberlen"; indeed, a prominent member of the church, Dr. Naudin, who had a deplorable share in the "lamentable breach and division" which fell among the community, spoke quite naturally of Sunday gatherings: he refers to "the next following Lords day" and

¹ "Transactions," Vol. II., pp. 129-160.

"the last Lords day of my meeting with you."² Unquestionably the church was one of the First Day order.

In the second place, it is important to observe that while the biographical sketch "A Sabbatarian Pioneer," covered the entire career of Dr. Chamberlen, the Records represent only a brief period, being, in fact, limited to the years 1652-4. Within a short period after that, the Doctor expressed himself on the subject of the Sabbath in vigorous terms. In 1657, moreover, his friend John Spittlehouse (with W. Sellers, otherwise Saller) wrote on the Seventh Day Sabbath, and his admirer Thomas Tillam did the same; while in 1658 a series of disputations took place in "Stone-Chappel by Pauls, London," between Chamberlen, Tillam, and Coppinger on the one part, and Jeremiah Ives on the other part, some account of which was published by the last-named with the title "Saturday no Sabbath." Needless to say, however, the fact that the church whose Records have been summarised was made up of First Day worshippers tells nothing against the statement that the Pastor was at that time a Sabbath keeper in his personal practice. Joseph Stennett, the second, served the (First Day) Little Wild Street Church, though himself a consistent Sabbatarian; and there have been many other cases of a like accommodating order.³ With the light furnished by the Records, however, as given to the world by Mr. Champlin Burrage, we are enabled to "round-off" our conceptions of the man, and to estimate more definitely (and more accurately) the varied influences which bore upon his life.

In Trying Circumstances.

Our interest in the Doctor begins in 1648, when he was baptized as a Christian believer. He had been among the Independents; but when the Anabaptist label was put among him, he was increasingly the butt of derision. All the time he was of a progressive tendency; educated abroad, he had seen and heard things which entered deeply into his life. If impulsive in action, he was deliberate in matters of profession, and accordingly he did not hurry before the public with the convictions which in due time came to dominate his mind. Hence though, as the inscription on his tombstone informs us, he began to "keep ye 7th day for ye saboth" in 1651, it was not until some years later that he faced the world as a Sabbatarian. Enough for him to declare one thing at a time; and it was when intro-

² "Transactions," Vol. II., p. 155.

³ See "Seventh Day Baptists in Europe and America: Historical Papers" (1910), Vol. I., pp. 100, 103.

ducing "the imposition of hands" to the community in Lothbury, of which his church was the head and centre, that he sowed the seeds of that disruption which the Records describe with such tragic informality.

While the members in general accepted the Doctor's practice in regard to the Fourth Principle, one member, Dr. Naudin, objected that the teaching should have been supported from the Book of the Revelation by the quotation of passages to which he himself gave an entirely different meaning; and he "admonished" the Doctor thrice for what he had said about the Star, the Angels, the White Horse, and Babylon, as these are named in the Apocalyptic visions. The consequences were far-reaching; and the impatience of the Doctor under foolish criticism told sadly against his influence in the church.

Yet we must observe that the Records do not place the Doctor in a dishonourable light. The same cannot be said, however, of his brethren, Theodore Naudin, John Light, and John More, neither of whom would seem to have had a strong backing among the general membership, though the Doctor more than once carried the support of the church as a whole. That the pastor was strenuous is beyond question: he was, in fact, charged with "anger." This, however, was thrown back upon Naudin with indignation:

How are you blameles, who are blamed [?] by all? & blameworthy by your Contention Turbulency. Anger. being in Law with your own Father. At distance with your wife (as by her Letters appear) at Continual difference with your mayd (as by her too frequent Complaints)

The brethren were grieved by the pastor's long discourse—"by the Hower"; but it hardly appears as if others in the fellowship were competent to teach. Yet the Doctor seems herein to have shown a remarkable consideration toward his brethren, for after speaking in meetings for worship it was his custom to ask whether others had anything to say. Moreover, it appears that he could concede with grace, and he knew how to ask forgiveness.

The Imposition of Hands.

The charges just mentioned were preferred in January 1653-4. There is ample evidence to show, outside the Records, that precisely at that time the Imposition of Hands was being keenly debated in the Baptist fraternity. On the first page of "A Discourse between Cap. Kiffin and Dr. Chamberlain about Imposition of Hands," printed in London in 1654, we read:

Dr. Chamberlain and the Brethren at Mr. Mores in Lothbury was invited by Mr. Willis and others on the first day (being 6. Novemb. 1653) to be the fift day following (being Thursday 10. Novem.) at the Glasse-house, to assist a Dispute between some of the Congregation meeting with Capt. Kiffin and himself, about Imposition of hands.⁴

In this encounter it would seem that three churches were actively concerned—(1) that of Chamberlen-More, (2) that of Kiffin, (3) that of Willis, which met in Glaziers' Hall. On that occasion, in the course of his argument, the Doctor uttered words which suggest that he already held Sabbatarian views. He said, [for instance, of the Apostles, that "their Examples, Doctrins and practices were binding commands, yea the very example of all Saints and churches in good and lawfull, of commendable Things."⁵

It will be remembered that it was in the "sweet society" of his "most heavenly brother Doctor Chamberlen" that Thomas Tillam, of Hexham, Northumberland, "obeyed Xt in ye 4th principle"—the laying on of hands—in reporting which to his North-country friends, he wrote:

Brethren, be earnest wth God that I may walk worthy of his mercie bestowed upon me, and that I may have a prosperous and speedy returne to you; and God is my witness, how greatly I long after you all in ye bowels of Jesus Xt. I thank and heartily salute you all. Oh that you could embrace it as ye mind of Xt to greete one another with a holy kisse. Oh how amiable it is in ye churches where it is practised.⁶

Was the "holy kisse" another of the observations which afforded Tillam so much satisfaction while in London? Almost certainly it would find expression, in some measure, at the "love-feast" which he attended in connection with Chamberlen's

⁴ It would appear to have been in the course of a meeting preliminary to the "Dispute," in fact "at Bro. Mores," that the words were spoken which gave such mortal offence to Dr. Naudin (see "Transactions," Vol. II., pp. 140, 1 top).

⁵ It may be remarked that it has all along been a point with the Seventh Day Baptists, not only to rest on Saturday but also to work on Sunday—following the terms of the Fourth Commandment as to the six days as well as the seventh. Hence it is significant that, as early as 1650, an anonymous pamphleteer, Philalethes (not Philoletes, as given in Aveling's book, and reproduced in "Transactions" II., pp. 24 and 112), in an attack on the Doctor, called upon him to consider "whether your misemploying so many for the spreading your pamphlets on the Sabbath day [meaning, as in Presbyterian usage, Sunday] be according to the rule of Gods word." Already the Doctor was setting aside the Puritan claims for the sanctity of Sunday.

⁶ "David Douglas; History of Baptist Churches in the North of England" (1846), p. 58.

church. It is known to have prevailed among certain sections of believers in Germany, and the Doctor may have seen it there or in the Netherlands.

That which caused trouble in the London Church led to nothing better at Hexham. First, there was correspondence between Thomas Goare (or Gower) of Newcastle, and the church in Coleman Street, London, over which Hanserd Knollys presided—"great storms and commotions"; and then there was a disowning of Tillam and all who were with him in the practice of laying on of hands. One of the Hexham people, Stephen Anderton by name, "having endeavoured a schism" on the point, and failed, took another course:

He opened his mouth in blaspheming against Mr. Tillam's doctrine, and plunged himself into other gross evils. For which he was by the elders, with the joint approbation of the church, delivered unto Satan, with Thomas Ogle.⁷

These men were among the first-fruits of Tillam's work in the North. They partook of his enthusiasm, but do not seem to have had the resource which time and again stood him in good stead.

John More and the Doctor.

John More, whose name figures prominently in the Records, was for a time a particular friend of Dr. Chamberlen, afterwards an open opponent. It would almost appear that the Doctor was his father in Christ, and was looked upon by him as a teacher and champion in whom it was worth while to boast. The connection caused annoyance to More's employer, one William Webb, who organised a "dispute" with the design of showing that such laymen as the Doctor and his convert had no right to teach and preach. The record remains in a little book, issued in 1652, entitled: "The Dispute between Mr. Cranford and Dr. Chamberlen. At the house of Mr. William Webb, at the end of Bartholomew Lane, by the old Exchange: on March 1, 1652, and April 1, 6, 13." The primary subject of debate was "Whether or no a private person may Preach without Ordination"; and, further, "Whether or no the Presbyterian Ministers be not the true Ministers of the Gospel"⁸

⁷ "Records of the Churches of Christ"—1644-1720 (Hanserd Knollys Library, 1854), p. 295.

⁸ The book was issued on June 8, 1652, which, as appears from the note of urgency in the preliminary correspondence, was with all speed after the "Dispute." Hence, if the April meetings were held in 1652 (O. S.) which is beyond question, the March meeting must be assigned to 1651-2. In the course of the correspondence it is said that More "was lately baptized"—"was Baptized the first of February one thousand six hundred fifty two"—clearly a mistake for 1651-2, for the Dispute was

In the course of the proceedings, the Doctor took strong ground against everything emanating from Rome. He said:

I beseech you in the Lord, consider what a miserable Ordination that must be which is squeezed out of an ulcerous Church (as you confess it), and to believe that the most Holy God with such sacrifices can be well pleased.

Things went "fast and furious" for several days, and at the end the Doctor "was scarce able to speak for hoarsnesse."

Not only in the matter of the dispute did More "ingage" the Doctor: he publicly announced himself as one of his admirers. This was in "A Generall Exhortation to the World, by a late Convert from the World," a book issued in 1652. Therein the national churches of the day were admonished to a speedy "repentance for all their idolatrous and abominable practises in their pretended worship of God according to his Word, as in relation to their Ministerie, Maintenance, Membership, &c." This work is cast in a tone of severe rebuke of will-worship, and the argument for Believer's Baptism is presented with characteristic incisiveness. The writer alludes to "mungril assemblies" and speaks of "the ridiculousness of infants Membership":—"Can they put on Christ by Baptism, Gal 3. 27. before they know how to put on their own clothes?" The author could follow Dr. Chamberlen in the style of trenchant onslaught. In a Postscript, on p. 78, we find that which is to our purpose:

The Author is in Church Fellowship with Doctor Chamberlain, at whose House every Wednesday precisely from the hour of two in the afternoon untill four, you may either receive fuller satisfaction, as to what is here delivered as also to any other Scruple that you shall please to propound in relation to the profession of a true Disciple of Jesus Christ, by way of dispute or otherwise, unto which you are all hereby invited, whether pretended Ministers, or their (yet deluded) Parishioners.

At this time, More had a high opinion of his pastor, whose teaching in regard to the laying on of hands he proceeded to support in a work entitled "A Lost Ordinance Restored: or Eight Questions in reference to that Principle of the Foundation

held IN CONSEQUENCE OF THAT BAPTISM. By an error that may easily be understood, on the one hand the baptism, and on the other hand the opening of the dispute, were both assigned to the year in which the book was printed and published. Having, as a fact, been baptized some weeks before the opening of the year 1652, More had been a Baptist over ten months when, on December 15, 1652 (as the Records show) he baptized Bar Ishaie at Old Ford ("Transactions," Vol. II., p. 134, note 3).

of the doctrine of Christ, termed Laying on of hands." This was issued in 1653; and therein, writing as "one of the least of all Saints," More dealt with certain queries propounded by non-observing ministers and churches. He concluded with "A General Exhortation to all Baptized Churches not yet under the practice, according to the rule of the word of God."

At length, however, as we find in the Records, More follows others who turn their backs upon the Doctor. Thus the laying on of hands had cost the pastor and the church more than could be foreseen. The break-up seems to have taken place in 1654, after the issuing of the document known as "A Declaration of several of the Churches of Christ and Godly People in and about the Citie of London; concerning the Kingly Interest of Christ and the present Suffrings of His Cause and Saints in England," for among the signatories to that document we find the names of John Light, John Spittlehouse, John Davis, Richard Ellis, Richard Smith, and Robert Feak, with that of the pastor, the same being bracketed as having signed "in the name of the whol Church that walks with Dr. Chamberlain." Indeed, the trouble was in progress at the very time, and the Doctor had already inscribed on the Records the sad words which appear under date of April 30: "Dr. Naudin & Mr. More falne away"!*

The Mill Yard Church.

With the break-up of his church, the Doctor entered upon a new chapter in his career; to use the terms of our own day, "he left the pulpit for the pew." It would seem that he lost no time in finding a congenial fellowship. His strength of character and self-reliance had carried him through many a difficulty; and wherever he might go he would command attention if not respect. For one thing, the Lothbury quarrel was not the affair of the Sabbatarian community out of which grew the historic Mill Yard Church, and it would seem that the Doctor was there accorded a welcome. To such a fellowship he would go, not under the shadow of a criticism like that passed by Arise Evans, who had "wholly forsaken the Faith," but rather as a pastor who (like many a worthy successor) had struggled with "a kind of Laodicean spirit"⁹ and found the work of exorcism beyond his power.

*As a fact, the Declaration was signed on "the 30 day of the sixth month, 1654"; and it would thus seem that More was by August among the signatories as "walking-with" another church.

9 "Transactions," Vol. II., p. 139, 146.

The Mill Yard community seems to have had its rise in the work of John Traske (or Trash) of whom Ephraim Pagitt speaks in the first edition of his "Heresiography," published in 1645, along with the Sabbatarians and other sects that vexed his soul. Pagitt speaks of Traske as one whom he knew well. In subsequent editions of this book—e.g. the sixth, dated 1661—there is given "A Relation written in the year 1635, and now published for an admonition to Quakers and Sabbatarians," also a letter addressed to Mrs. Traske (who was a woman of superior education) while lying in prison "for keeping Saturday for Sabbath and working on the Lords Day"—during an imprisonment which extended over sixteen years, or thereabouts, and only ended with the death of the victim. Some account is also given of John Traske, her husband—that he was "born in the County of Somerset, and a School-master there, being about four and thirty [other accounts say twenty-four] years of age, came to London about the year of our Lord 1617, where being zealously affected, and in the path of non conformity, he fell into divers points differing from the way of the Church."

Traske (or Trash) and his friends, we are told, "cried down all printed books except the Bible," and from them went forth preachers upon whom the leader had laid hands of consecration. In an anonymous book, entitled "Dissenters and Schismatics Exposed," issued in 1715, the Sabbatarians are likewise singled out for treatment, and it is there affirmed that "the congregation Trash left behind him spread his Errors, which are not extinct to this day." Among the followers of Traske was one Returne Hebdon, who wrote a book entitled "A Guide to the Godly." This was printed in 1648, and is described on the title page as follows: "The Dayly Meditations of Returne Hebdon, Gentleman, who for his conscience (through the tyranny of the Bishops) suffered many years imprisonment in the Kings-Bench, and there remained till death. Being very usefull for Instruction of all those who desire to walke in the paths of JESUS CHRIST. Left to Mrs Traske, who, not long since for the same judgment died in the Gate house, and published by a friend of hers." The "many years" of Hebdon's imprisonment may reasonably be supposed to take us into the first quarter of the century, and doubtless Mrs. Traske was at that time suffering for her convictions. It is generally believed that Mill Yard gave crystallised form to the work and influence of Traske; it is quite certain that, in 1660 the historic church was in the heyday of its power. To this fellowship, by whatever name it might be known at the time, the Doctor gave himself.

Accordingly we find, shortly afterwards, the name of Dr. Chamberlen in the Mill Yard Church Book, as the same is retained in the custody of Lieut.-Colonel T. W. Richardson, the present Pastor of the Church. In a good state of preservation, the ancient Minute Book opens about the year 1673, and was used for a full century from that date. As is well known, the Church lost some of its documents in a fire in 1790, but not (it is believed) the most important of them. In the book as we may now examine it, there appear the names of Dr. Chamberlen and Richard Smith, possibly others from the broken-up Lothbury fellowship. When did the Doctor join? We can only presume that it was about the year 1659 when he took part in the famous debate on the Sabbath against Jeremiah Ives. Among people of his own mind and judgment, he would be assured of spiritual comfort. Not for a permanency, however!

Free though he was from pastoral cares the Doctor was largely preoccupied during this time with political and other undertakings which kept him much under public observation. For instance, in 1659, utterly disappointed that the Commonwealth had not realised the Kingdom of God upon earth, he wrote: "A Scourge for a Denn of Thieves," a pamphlet of a vigorous type. Here are some early paragraphs:

Behold, I Peter Chamberlen, Doctor in Physick, do once more bear Witness, That if the Laws of God be set up, in the Name and Title of the Laws of God: And the corrupt Laws of our Heathen and Antichristian Forefathers, and of our more corrupt Lawyers and Courtiers be abolished; There shall be more equal Distribution of Justice, even concerning Meum & Tuum (besides other Matters) in one year than hath been done these 500 years by Kings, Parliaments, Councils, Armies, or People, by all the Laws of men; and all People shall rest satisfied.

But if men go on to prefer Man before God, and to prefer the Laws of Men before the Laws of God; I do hereby testifie, that my Soul is guiltless of the OATH that lies upon the whole Land, wherein both Parliament, Army, and People are engaged.

I said in Print, If Publick Goods and Lands were sold, the Parliament would remain in Debt: and the Souldiers unpaid, AND IT IS SO.

I said in writing, That God would chastise the Parliament, AND IT WAS SO; for this Men thought me Mad.

I lost four years Attendance on the Parliament for the Publick Good; yet I had many Friends amongst them. I lost

both Houses, Lands and Goods by Committees and Officers of Parliament and Protector: I lost the Rewards and Wages due to me from the late King; yet have done service unto all without Recompence. I ask none, but the fruit of mine own Labours, which is not yet granted. 'Twas GOD MADE ABRAHAM RICH. Gen. 14. 23 & 14. 1.

LET MY VOICE AT LAST BE HEARD.

The Doctor offered to come to the help of Parliament and to find £500,000, and more, to meet the needs of the time; and he also proposed an assemblage of "worthies" to discuss the situation; but nothing seems to have come of his proposals.

Inventions and Patent Rights.

Now again we find the Doctor devoting his attention to various inventions, or proposals of such an order. For several years he was engaged upon a scheme whereby carriages and ships should be propelled by wind—"navigating with all winds in a straight line"; and for this he obtained patents in France, Venice, and the United Netherlands, and at length the protection which he sought was granted him in his own country—to him and "his Heirs and Assigns for ever" (1668-9). Now also he promoted his "art or way of writing and printing true English whereby better to represent to the eye what the sound doth to the ear than what is now practised"; and for this also he obtained from the King a grant of sole benefit for fourteen years (1672).

The State Papers, wherein we find occasional mention of these things, also tell us of payments of money; e.g., in 1669 "out of the privy seal dormant," £100 for board-wages from 7 June to 20 Sept; and in 1670, "as the King's free gift" the sum of £200. It appears that from time to time the Doctor experienced difficulty in securing that approach to the Sovereign which he desired, and in 1677 he wrote to His Majesty:

I am unable to avail myself of the permission granted me to speak with your Majesty when I would, being prevented by new orders and new faces, who know not how necessary I am to the Royal Family, nor on what service I am at present engaged. I request the grant of a petition annexed, with some key, medal, ring, or other outward token, to make my access easy, for speedy promoting of my great affairs.

Annexing:

Petition of Dr. Peter Chamberlain, eldest physician in ordinary to the King, for a pass during life, that he

may go and come as often as he requires it; is often obliged to cross the seas, having to do with many kings, princes, and republics about his new art of navigation.¹⁰

We are unable to say whether this brought the petitioner anything. Equally without result do we search for any materialisation of the "new art of navigation." The incidents under this head, however, seem to raise the question whether, having regard to the times, it was likely that a man engaged in affairs at once so garish and out of the ordinary, could possibly continue in happy fellowship with Christians who had a critical way of "looking on the things of others"?

The Doctor Excluded from Mill Yard Church.

In those days of discipline on a scale which can hardly be realised in the twentieth century, the Doctor's public proceedings could not but excite suspicion and challenge investigation. Suffice it to say that there came an end—something happened. The Doctor was judged or misjudged; certainly he was excluded from the Mill Yard fellowship. No definite information has come down to us; but in a Minute, bearing date Jan. 18, 1675, there is a reference to "the matter of Dr. Chamberlain." We further read that "upon a Letter by Bro. Sall [Saller] to the Dr. he had declared his intention of being satisfied in Case Bro. Sall. would signify in publique wt he had done in his Letter, the wch Bro. Sall. declared his willingness to doe."¹¹

It would appear however that the matter was not straightened out, and that the Doctor had to go. Though no reason has come down to us, it is not difficult, having regard to the views and prejudices of the time, to find a serious objection against the Doctor and his public conduct. What right (it would be said) has Dr. Chamberlen to put forward inventions which are designed for the general good, and then to seek protection for them in the interest of his own pocket, indeed, for "his heirs and assigns for ever," as in the case of the "new art of navigation"? Here assuredly, was a ground of objection, when we consider the sentiment of the time. We are not, it is true, told that exclusion took place on this ground, but we may well believe that it was so, for just about the same time Matthew Caffin excommunicated one Richard Haines from the General Baptist Church at Horsham, on the simple ground that he was

¹⁰ Calendar of State Papers : Domestic Series.—Charles II., November 7, 1667.

¹¹ Mill Yard Church Book, p. 11. Bro. Saller [or Sellers] was pastor during several years, from 1670 onward.

a patentee, therefore "covetous" and a cause of "scandal" both to the Church and the world.¹²

Mrs. Chamberlen also Excluded.

The Doctor being excluded from the church, his wife absented herself from the meetings, and did so in a scornful manner. She kept at a distance, and gave no account of herself, excepting such as the circumstances suggested—sympathy with her husband, in whose skill as a physician and high standing in the world of thought and action she gloried. Such behaviour was not overlooked at Mill Yard; for in those days, particularly among Baptists, church membership was severely individual. Hence in due time "Mrs. Ann Chamberlin" was "withdrawn from" by the church. The record is given in the Church Book, on two pages, numbered xvi and xvii at the end. It is in the form of a memorandum, not exactly a Minute; and apparently in the same hand-writing as that of the Minute dealing with the Doctor in 1675. We may assume that the memorandum refers to an event of that year. It reads:

The matters & grounds for wch Mrs. Ann Chamberlin was wth Drawne frome by ye church :

i her Disorderly Leaveing the church & that against her owne Judgment & Contience.

2ly Secondly for her Justifieing her husband although Cast out for maneffest Sines—

3ly Thirdly in Condeming the church in Dealing wth him Contrary to the word of god.

4thly Fourthly for maneffest pride & vaine Glory, Glorying in her husbands learning, Agravatted by this Circumstance Shee saying she Could have a thousand such as wee are in Contempt.

5ly. for Despising the Church, Recconing her place in it to be no more than a wooden Stoole.

6ly. for her absenting her selfe from the Church & worship of god in it upon noe other pretence but her husbands Compulsion of her.

7ly in false accuseing ye Church yt they neglected Their Duty in ye [? word omitted] of her soule & further in Denieng matters witnessed against her.

¹² See particulars in "Minutes of General Assembly," edited by Dr. Whitley, for Baptist Historical Society. Vol. II., p. 12ff.

8ly her great Contempt of ye Churches messengers by scurulus Language in Calling Bro. Lawrance Shallow pate & that he spooke faningly be Cause hee did not use harsh words & afterwards Gloried in it to Mrs. Sarah.

This wife follows husband—and whither? Other departing members had been received into the sister church in Bell Lane, and there are grounds for concluding that the Doctor and Mrs. Chamberlen joined that body, then under the pastorate of Richard Parnham and John Belcher. Doubtless the “manifest sins” of the Doctor and the “vainglory” of the wife came under an entirely different construction in the new fellowship. It seems likely that the Doctor ended his days in this communion; for his will, made in 1681, two years before his death, was witnessed by Belcher and Parnham, the pastors.

At the end of the century Bell Lane church entered upon a process of disintegration, many of its members joining that which met in Pinners Hall. Mrs. Chamberlen, however, had a wish to go back to Mill Yard; and there she was given a welcome. Hence the Minute, dated Sept. 6, 1702:

Bro Soursbey [the pastor] acquainted the Church with Sister Chamberlains desire of sitting down with this Church, the Church being Broke with whome she Walked. A Letter also being Read signifeing her orderly Walk, which was subscribed by Bro. Brunt, Bro. Garvas, and Bro. Laborour.¹³

Time had wrought its changes. After upwards of a quarter of a century the circumstances of exclusion had been forgotten, and with happy results.

Conclusion.

In harmony with his travelling propensities the Doctor had a home-life that was somewhat “distributed.” In the palmy days of his practice as “the woman’s Doctor,” he acquired the Hall at Woodham Mortimer, in 1638; but he had a life in Town as well as in the country. Hence, in 1662 we find him at “my Cottage over against the Low Conduit by the Church in Coleman Street”; and in 1665 at “his dwelling on Garlick Hill, the lowest end of Bowe Lane, between the Cradle and Sugarloaf Court.”¹⁴ When in East Essex, he was not far from Colchester, where for some years following 1659, his friend Thomas Tillam exercised the pastorate, and whence he sent

¹³ Mill Yard Church Book, p. 131.

¹⁴ “The Chamberlens and the Midwifery Forceps,” by Aveling (1882) pp. 108–110.

forth controversial books which provoked replies from various quarters.

In his religious associations the Doctor would, no doubt, first command special consideration by reason of his eminence in the profession to which he belonged; but when, on some point of doctrine or practice, a "break" was reached, then he would not be quite an easy man to deal with. We have found him in at the death of one church and summarily excluded from another. Nevertheless, as the tombstone shows, he was unmoved in heart by these distracting experiences, being to the end "a Christian keeping ye Commandments of God & faith of Iesus." Though, moreover, he was the cause of much pain to others, yet a goodly measure of sorrow was given into his own cup, as would seem to be implied in his epitaph, in which he welcomed death as

The end of sorrow, labour and of care,
The end of trouble, sickness and of feare.

J. W. THIRTLE.¹⁵

¹⁵ In preparing this supplementary paper, I have been placed under great obligation, on points of detail, by Mr. Charles Henry Greene, of Battle Creek, Mich., U.S.A., a gentleman who has a marvellous acquaintance with the history of the Seventh Day Baptist body, and is uniformly courteous in communicating the results of his reading and research. I also acknowledge material indebtedness to Dr. Whitley for liberty granted me of going through his accumulation of information on the subject, also for timely criticism and suggestion on important points.

Notes.

William Mitchel and Rossendale.

Thanks to the perseverance of Principal Blomfield, we now have the text of a pamphlet which exercised a most important influence on a large community of evangelicals in the hills which unite Yorkshire and Lancashire. The clergy of that district in the seventeenth century were ready to swing with every tide; Oliver Heywood of Coley was a rare exception. Many people were of sterner stuff, and when they saw their official leaders conform to every official order, they ceased to follow. From Rossendale on the west, at the head of the Irwell, over to Guiseley and Rawden above Airedale, little groups can be traced at least from 1672. Thirteen years later, William Mitchel of Heptonstall came to the front and linked many together, probably creating new centres also. No clergyman or minister seems ever to have been concerned in the movement. Under the guidance of Mitchel, some kind of circuit organisation was worked out, the centre of gravity of the whole lying at Goodshaw Chapel in Rossendale. Here the people defiantly used the Chapel of Ease which their fathers had built for themselves; when fined and expelled, they clung to the hamlet and erected a gaunt meeting-house within a stone's throw. Mitchel left his native county and came to live hard by, as recent discoveries prove. Then arose the question of believers' baptism, and the young man who brought it to their attention, a cousin of Mitchel, David Crosley, complicated the situation by a haughty claim to superintend, based on an ordination as "minister" by a Midland Baptist church. The ferment resulted in young Crosley leaving the neighbourhood, but the new doctrine spreading. Mitchel had excellent colleagues in Rossendale, one at least senior to himself even in suffering. He therefore went east to Bradford where he ended his days. This pamphlet, Jachin and Boaz, lays down principles of faith and order that moulded the churches of the district. It deserves to be carefully studied for originality; section 16, contemplating Baptist ministers occupying parish churches and preaching to a miscellaneous assembly, is manifestly based on the Congregational confession of 1658 drawn up at the Savoy, and is ludicrously inappropriate to forty years later. But the interest of the pamphlet is deep, especially for the scores of churches based upon the labours of Mitchel.

James Jones, Particular Baptist in Southwark, 1672-1683.

Three facts have been known as to this pastor. On 30 September 1672 a licence was issued to him to be a Baptist Teacher in the Borough. On 18 January 1675 he was one of thirteen London ministers sending a joint reply to Gifford of Bristol as to baptism and the prayers of unconverted men; part of this letter was printed by Rippon, IV., 1004. An undated memorandum prefixed to the Watford church book includes the statement that the Baptists there gave their names to the Church of Christ meeting at Horsley Down of the same faith, Brother Jones being pastor, and that they stood in that connection till a breach happened in that church which broke them to pieces. To these facts, Mr. Horace Warde of Richmond now adds the news that on 9 January 34 Car. II. (i.e. 1682-3), two bills were found against him at the Dorking Quarter Sessions; one for taking part in conventicles, the other for holding them in his house. We gain the welcome information that he was a Coffee-man, and lived in the parish of Saint Olave, Southwark. After the collapse of the Popish Plot agitation, persecution of dissenters was renewed, and at these sessions, 94 others were indicted from St. Olave, St. Saviour, and St. George. We now learn the occupation and parish of James Jones, and any one interested further may explore the parish registers of St. Olave's. He does not appear at the assembly in 1689. It is not surprising that King Charles tried to put down coffee-houses, proclaiming that they were the resort of disaffected persons. Other Baptist coffee-houses are known at this time; in 1677 Edmund Chillington was reported for keeping one in Leadenhall Street, whence false news was dispersed; and there are hints in the State Papers that John Gozold and John Clarke were doing the same. From a different source, the minutes of association alluded to in the Petty France church book, we find that the Watford Baptists heard of Jones on 6 October 1679, when his church was received into the Association due to Edward Harrison, meeting that day in Hemel Hempstead.

Enoch Woodward of (Southwold and) Norwich.

Calamy had vague entries that a Mr. Woodward was ejected from Southwold in Suffolk, and that Enoch Woodward was ejected from St. George's, Norwich. Both entries are incorrect. Mr. Browne, the Congregationalist historian of East Anglia, did something to rectify them, and added much information from the Norwich Congregational records. As to Southwold, the vicar ejected thence was Alexander Kirby, and there is no evidence that Woodward was ever there; if he were, it could only have been in some other capacity, such as a town lecturer. Enoch Woodward first comes to clear light in 1669, being one of three teachers of 300 Independents meeting at the house of John Toft in the parish of St. Clement's, Norwich. On 18 April 1672 he took the king's licence

to preach there, and his career can be traced in the local church book. If there ever was a Woodward at Southwold, it was probably Enoch. Crosby's guess that it was the Harlow Baptist is discordant with Harlow traditions, and ought to be dismissed.

William Woodward of Harlow, Essex.

This early minister is known by three contemporary documents. On 31 December 1677 he bought a piece of ground in Foster Street, and gave it to the Baptist church as a burying place. In 1689 and 1692 he attended the Assembly of Particular Baptists in London. One of his successors, the Rev. T. Finch, gathered up some traditions; that he had been chaplain in the army when that was encamped at Nazing and Parndon commons; that in the persecutions after 1664, he suffered repeatedly, details of times, places, and circumstances being current; that after 1689 he confined his work to Parndon and Harlow; that he died in 1712. It is difficult to check these traditions, though certainly he had been succeeded in 1715 by Isaac Chalkley. If he had been in the army as early as 1647, he must have lived to a very great age. Still all the local information is consistent with the documents. But he has been confounded with two other people.

William Woodward of Havering or Romford, Essex.

Dr. Longstaff has been making enquiries as to an anniversary of the Congregational church at Romford, and has found an entry that a place of worship at Havering was registered by William Woodward in the Bishop's court during 1690. Mr. Bryan Dale naturally suggested comparison with the Harlow Baptist, but on the one hand there is nothing to show that the Harlow man ever worked so far from home, and on the other there is no indication of any but Congregational principles at Havering. The identity of name, and the similarity of the names Nazing Havering, are outweighed by the other considerations.

Elder Wheaton of Swansea, 1730.

Thomas Hollis the Baptist benefactor of Harvard, wrote a letter to "Elder Wheaton of Swanzy" in Wales, from which Cathcart in his Baptist Cyclopaedia, 1881, quotes the following suggestive sentence: "God, that hath shined into our hearts by his gospil, can lead you sleeping Sabbatharians from the Sinai covenant and law of ceremonies into the light of the new covenant and the grace thereof." It would appear therefore that Seventh-day Baptists, who were known in Monmouthshire during 1669, had survived for two generations in this district. Any information about them will be welcomed by Charles H. Greene, 232, North Washington Avenue, Battle Creek, Michigan, U.S.A.