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Transactions

of the

Baptist Historical Society.



Ordination at Southampton, 1691.

THIS letter is a sign of the revived Association work which was earnestly taken up after the Revolution. The four Particular Baptist churches in Hampshire, at Christchurch, Ringwood, Southampton, and Whitchurch, had drawn together into one group. The London churches had linked with others in Middlesex, Essex, and Kent, as set forth in Ivimey, I., 515. But in Hampshire there was left only one ordained elder, and this letter shows that the four churches desired the co-operation of the London Association before ordaining others. It is singular that the returns of 1692 show only one new elder, Richard Kent of Whitchurch.

This letter is printed from the editor's transcript of Miss Cox's copy of John Selby's duplicate of the original.

From London ye 2^d of ye 12th month 1690-1. To ye church of Christ in and about Southampton with ye other three congregations of yt association. We ye Elders and messengers of ye London Association assembled Together this second day of ye 12th month send greeting.

Beloved Brethren

some time since we received a letter from you signifying ye great need you have of two or more Elders to be sent down to you to ordain Elders amongst

you and to set in order what things are wanting now these lines are to Enforme you yt we have taken into our consideration your circumstances and are willing to Answer your desire (viz) to send two or three of our brethern down and that ye charge of their journey shall be discharged out of ye ffund it being as we conceive an extraordinary case yet never the less we have thought it necessary to signifie to you yt you ought to look out from amongst you such persons yt you judge compedently Qualified for yt sacred office and to Elect such person or persons in a soleme maner in a day or dayes of prayer and fasting yt so all things may be done yt are previous in order to yt great work before such Elders come down yt so ye worke may the sooner be dispatched when they come more over we desire you to send us a letter so soon as you have done yt thing in your respective churches and then ye lord willing we intend to do you word of ye exact time of their coming to you this being all we leave you at present to ye blessing & gracious direction off ye lord by his good spirit with our prayers for your growth in grace and establishment in ye gospell we remaine yours in ye bonds of ye gospell of Jesus Christ.

London ye 2^d of ye 12th month 1690-1.

Subscribed by us in ye name
and by ye order of ye whole
assembly.

Richard Adams.
Benjamin Keach.
Wm. Collins.

[John Selby of Southampton, who sent a copy of the original to Whitchurch, endorsed it on feb 18th 1690-1] direct your letter or enquire M^r Izack marlow at ye signe of ye feathers next dore to ye hoope taverne in littill Lumbard Street London.

Persecution at Lynn, 1698.

THE Conventicle Acts of Charles and Elizabeth were not repealed at the accession of William and Mary, but if dissenters chose to take certain oaths, they were exempt from the penalties therein specified. Mr. James Marham of Lynn took up the work begun there by Thomas Grantham, but apparently neglected some technical formality. He was fined at Quarter Sessions and involved in a network of litigation that entangled him from 1691 till 1698, when the Lincolnshire Association of General Baptists, to which he belonged, took up the case. A further request was made to their General Assembly at Whitesuntide, and a printed statement of the facts was drawn up. It was a custom in the Established Church to send out "briefs" for deserving objects, generally with some state backing, when collections were taken up in the parish churches. A similar system had been adopted by many Baptist churches, and there are many notices in church books as to weak points in the system, or as to liberal contributions made. The printed case of James Marham was endorsed with a personal letter from reputable men, and was widely circulated. Benjamin Keach and Richard Adams had both been General Baptist ministers, and though they had become Calvinists, they recognized that this was a case which involved all. It is, however, to be regretted that the contributions were meagre, so that in 1707 it was necessary to inaugurate another general collection to supply Marham's necessities.

The letter is interesting as showing an early use of the title Reverend.

To Mr Rich Kent in Winchester Hampshir

Reverend Bro:

This case here presented to you is such that ye like hath not been heard of since King William came to the Crown. Our Beloved Bro: Marham [now of Boston] being undon in ye defense of our liberty as by Law establish^{et}, had he not defended his cause wee

know not where it might have ended. He is a worthy Baptist Minister, & [sic] because an Anabaptist meeting they prosecuted him, resolving there should be no such people allowed to keep up a meeting in that town [of Lynn]. Wee are all greatly concerned for his deplorable case, he having liv'd well in the world, & a man of good parts, & of a very publick spirit. Pray stir up ye people to act bountifully towards him, & return what money you collect to Mr Benj Dennis, Direct your letter to him to be left at Mrs Jones^s coffee-hous in ffinch lane near the Royal Exchange.

Thus with our unfeigned love to your self, Wee rest your brethren in the sacred bonds of ye gospell.

Benj: Keach.

Rich^d: Adams.

Circular Letter of the Berkshire Association, 1707.

THE Association was formed on 8 October, 1652, and soon included Abingdon, Faringdon, Henley, Longworth, Reading, Wantage; besides Oxford, Pyrton (opposite Wallingford), Tetsworth, Watlington and Wormsley; Haddenham in Bucks; Hemel Hempstead in Herts; Kingston in Surrey. It was staunchly Calvinistic. The meetings were suspended when the Presbyterians regained power in 1659, and although much is known of the separate places in 1669 and 1672, no further corporate action is known till 1678. Then from the church books of Petty France, quoted by Ivimey, we learn that meeting were held for six years at Abingdon, London, Hemel Hempstead, St. Albans, Abingdon, Hemel Hempstead, London. Possibly the removal of Henry Forty from London to Abingdon promoted this revival, and the inclusion of London. The renewed persecution of 1684 caused a second suspension. At the Assembly of 1691 another grouping was adopted: Abingdon, Faringdon, Longworth, Reading, Wantage; with Oxford and Finstock (near Witney); Cirencester and Maizey Hampton. But trouble sprang up, owing partly to the arrival of Mark Key, a General Baptist from Whites Alley, first at Reading. The Calvinists had caused trouble in many General Baptist Churches, now for once it was the opposite. Though in the end Mark Key was won over to Calvinism and returned to London in 1702 to aid Richard Adams (who had had the same experience) at Devonshire Square, yet the Coate church entered in January 1705-6 that brother Fowllett promised to forbear beginning with any about the principle of Universal Redemption, disallowed of by this church. Next year things had so far calmed down that a meeting was called at Abingdon to reorganize. An elaborate code of rules was drawn up, and signed on behalf of Abingdon, Coate, Faringdon, Newbury, Wantage and Witney; Reading came in next year. This letter was then evidently dispatched to each church, and is the earliest

which survives in this district, though the custom of sending such letters was quite half a century old.

The letter was transcribed with much other valuable material from the church records at Coate and Longworth, by Joseph Stennett the third, who went there as pastor in 1743. About 1747 he lent his copy to Thomas Crosby, who copied it anew into Stinton's Repository. About 1860 this in its turn was copied for George Gould, and a few years ago this was copied afresh and lent to the Berkshire Association. Most of the material was published in "Gleanings from Forgotten Fields," by the Rev. Henry R. Salt; this nearly completes the gleanings. Stennett's copy is now part of the Angus collection; Gould's copy has descended to his son, our President. Both are now at Regent's Park. The paging in the latter copy is marked here.

The Association of Church Messengers to ye Baptized Church of Christ meeting at Coate and Longworth wisheth ye abundant Increase of all grace gifts and Comforts through ye knowledge of God and our glorious Saviour Jesus Christ.

Holy and beloved Brethren we being by ye direction of ye several Churches unto which we belong Ingaged in an Association for ye Advancing of ye honour & Interest of our Dear Lord Jesus, and promoting the peace Comfort & Edification of his Mystically members doe easily perswade ourselves that you will favour & Incourage our honest and sincere endeavours by your kindly accepting of and Conscientiously adhering to ye following exhortations which we hope are agreeable to ye word of truth and necessary (as we conceive) in order to the above mentioned ends of our present meeting, for though we cannot suppose you ignorant of the duties exhorted to, or that upon mature consideration you can judge yorselves unconcerned therein, Yet forasmuch as this a day wherein Iniquity doth wofully abound and ye love of many Godly wax cold And while the Bridegroom tarrieth we fear that many of ye wise [page 172] are too much like ye foolish Virgins Indulging their slumber whilst

ye other are sleeping, We have therefore thought ourselves concerned to write unto you to advise you to take heed to yorselves that ye may stand fast & pserve in ye faith & carefully avoid those snares and seductions of which you are in danger in this evill day. And we are desirous to stir up your pure minds by putting you in Remembrance that it greatly concerns you faithfully & zealously to improve ye present means and Liberty which our Bountiful Father hath been pleased to afford us that you may accomplish the work of your God whilst it is day before ye night come upon you when there is no working, And for this purpose it is highly requisite that your labour to maintain the savour of Religion upon yor own spirits and that you press after an experimentall acquaintance with ye power of those truths which you have Recd and do profess. And it will become you to manifest your zeal for the Kingly authority of our Lord Jesus by your care and endeavour to preserve the order of his house and ye purity of his Worship according to ye rules prescribed in his holy word and by your diligence in exercising yourselves in all the publick and private duties of Religion which he hath commanded his people to perform, but beware of formality that desert in Religion on ye account of which the most specious performances are an abomination to the Lord. But let the glory of God and the enjoyment of communion with himself be sincerely pursued as the ends of all your devotion.

And we further exhort you to take care that ye Beauty of holyness may adorn your Conversation with men, that you may be the salt of ye earth and ye Light of the world, that your words & actions may hold forth the Word of Life, that you may not cast a stumbling block before ye feet of any, but that by your good Conversations you may Induce them to glorifie God in the day of their [page 173] visitation, And we also entreate you that you degrade not your holy profession

nor expose the souls of your Families by neglecting to keep up ye worship of God in your houses, but that you will exercise a religious discipline in them.

We desire that you would be unweariedly dilligent to Train up your Children and others under your Charge in ye Nurture and admonition of the Lord that so by the blessing of God on your faithful endeavours you may propagate the pure Religion in ye succeeding generations that instead of the Fathers there may be ye Children whom God will bless. and we beseech you in ye Bowels of Christ that you put on Charity and exercise ye same continually one towards another, bear ye one anothers burdens and forbear each other in Love, endeavouring as much as in you lieth to keep ye Unity of the Spirit in ye Bond of peace, let a due respect to ye honour of your profession and ye welfare of your fellow Christians induce you to a faithful care for each other as becometh members of ye same body, let an holy emulation prompt you to endeavour to excell in vertue. And let each one strive to be ye most usefull Member in ye Body of Christ. And for ye more Commodious and Effectual Discharge of your duties of Brotherly kindness we conceive it will be necessary that you visit each other as oft as conveniently you can, that so being acquainted with each others circumstances you may in Love administer as the case may require. And that these your visitations may be for ye better and not for ye worse you have need to take heed that your opportunities be not mispent in vain and unprofitable Discourses but let your speech be seasoned with grace and your words such as may be good for ye use of edifying, and as 'tis ye duty of each member to visit the rest so we judge that the Church (which consists of all the members) is more especially concerned in this matter, and [page 174] therefore ought frequently to enquire in ye Circumstances of every Individual, and if it be too great a task for your

Minister to visit all the members we conceive it will be requisite that some meet persons be appointed to assist him therein. Moreover we earnestly beseech you to know them who labour among you in ye service of ye Ministry and to love and esteem them for their works sake; Consider the importance and difficulty of their service, and as you tender ye glory of God and ye good of souls help them continually by your prayers. And we desire you will be careful that you may not grieve their spirits nor discourage them in their work by your unprofitableness under their Ministry but let your Fruitfulness appear unto them and to all men that they may be Comforted and Your heavenly Father Glorified. learn to prize and pity the souls of others & Labour to contribute to the success of the Ministry on them by your Conscientious performance of the Duties above mentioned. Also we Reco^mend to your practise that Indispensible duty of praying for those Churches with which you are engaged In this Association and for ye whole Militant Church of Christ and ye success of ye Gospel all the world over. Oh pray for ye pouring down of that promised spirit by whom alone we may expect the Reviving of the lost power of Religion in ye hearts & lives of ye professors thereof, and ye accomplishment of that work of Conversion on sinners which hath been of late so much at a stand, and further to excite and direct you in this work wee hereby transfer unto you the accounts which have been brought unto us of the state of those Churches which have been represented by their Messengers in this Association. Through the great goodness of our God most of ye members are kept stedfast in that faith of which they have made a profession and seem well satisfied to walk in those ways of [page 175] God unto which they have devoted themselves. and we Rejoice to hear the same of you.

Mursell's Preparation for College.

JAMES MURSELL was born at Lymington on 7 September, 1799, where his father, William, earned his living as an ironmonger, and was also pastor of the second Baptist Church, till he resigned in 1809 that the two churches might be united under William Giles. William Mursell opened preaching stations at Boldre, Battramsley, Beaulieu, Downton and Sway, and his son James was presently told off to superintend the work at the last place, where a chapel was erected by the people. These labours were so successful that the father applied to Dr. Ryland to find if he could be trained at Bristol. This letter is the reply, and shows that even then it was often needful for time to be spent in study before entrance: a lack of secondary education has always been a weak point with Baptists. The books recommended were duly obtained, and James went to study under William Gray, and while preaching in the "villiages" around, bring his spelling and grammar up to such a pitch that Dr. Ryland would be satisfied. The books have been given by his son Arthur to the Harvey Lane Church in Leicester, where James Phillippo was pastor from 1826 to 1845. Also between two sheets of glass at Harvey Lane is this letter itself, which has been copied by the kindness of Mr. E. J. Cooper, the secretary.

My dear Friend

I rec[eive]d your letter, and w[oul]d gladly give you any advice, or do you any service in my power, We have at this time 5 or 6 Applications for admission into the Academy, from young men who are well recommended, but what we can do for them I know not; as we are about immediately to sell out a part of our funded property, to pay off the remaining debt on our building.

One young man was recommended by the Ch[urch] at Wootton und Edge, whose Father was willing to pay, for him for a time. He came over, for about a week, and I was well pleased with the hopeful evid[en]ce of his piety, but finding him extremely deficient in the knowledge of his own language, to such a degree so that his spelling was intolerably bad, and that he had little or no Inclination to apply to the study of other languages, I recommended him to spend a year or two with Mr Gray of Chipping Norton, who might instruct him in English Grammar, put him on a Course of Theological reading, employ him occasionally in the villiages, and look over the sketches of his sermons and correct them. He wished me to write Mr Gray for him, which I have done accordingly, & I suppose he will go thither.

I think learning is in some respects like riches; it may be a great advantage, or it may, thro' the evil propensities of our fallen nature, become a snare. To be sure many professors, who are afraid of Ministers running the hazard connected with the former acquisition, are not much afraid of the latter for themselves. But as we could not do well without some rich men in our churches, so not without some learned ministers. And while I have known many excell[en]t ministers, who have had but little advantage from their Education, so I have generally found those who c^d do best with^t it, most sensible of the disadvantages connected with the want of it; while I have known some of a very different order, who seemed quite as proud of their being unlearned, as ever I knew any one to be of being learned.

The increase of Educat[io]n among our hearers, also rend^{rs} it more needful than in former times, that our Ministers sh^d have a good degree of learning: lest if the young people who rise up in their Congregations sh[oul]d find the Min[i]st[er] ignorant of other subjects, with which they have obtained an acquaintance, they

sh[oul]d under value the knowledge they may really possess, of divinity.—

I cannot pretend positively to judge for another, w[i]th whom I have so little acquaint[an]ce, but I pray God to direct your mind, in the pres[en]t Crisis, and hope that earnest prayer and diligent study of the S[cri]pture[s] will fit you for considerable usefulness in the Church, th^o you sh[oul]d decline acquiring the knowledge of the Languages in which they were originally written. I think you w[oul]d find the larger edition of M^r Scotts Essays the best Body of Divinity of its size in our language; and if you could get his family Bible, it w[oul]d be more suited to answer the most important ends of the S[cri]pture[s] than any Expositor I know. There is in it such a constant connection between evangelical Doctrine & its practical Tendency, as makes it highly valuable in my estimation. Your good Father merely wrote to me to enquire if we had room, I was obliged to tell him that tho we had plenty of room, yet we had a sad scarcity of money; but that if you came we must have a regular recommendation from the Church to which you belong. I can only pray God to direct and bless you, and w[ith] kind respects to your Father &c

I remain

Yours cordially

John Ryland.

April 14th 1820.

M^r James Mursell

Lymington

Hampshire.

The Contents of Stinton's Repository.

FROM Stinton's Repository of Divers Historical Matters relating to English Baptists, we have already given the four most important papers, furnished with a few notes for the first time. Before we part company with the collection it may be well to present the exact title of the whole, and of the thirty documents it contains, with notes as to the use already made of them by subsequent historians, especially Thomas Crosby, and with attention to the accuracy of transcription by Stinton, Gould and Keymer.

The original Repository has been mislaid for about half-a-century, and we depend on a transcript made by Mr. William Keymer, master at the Grey Friars Priory School in Norwich, for the Rev. George Gould. The first page was written by Mr. Gould himself, and he underlined a few peculiarities of spelling, evidently to impress on the copyist that such minute points must be carefully reproduced. The neatness of Mr. Keymer's work is obvious, the care he spent on the work was observed by the Rev. Principal Gould, the general accuracy of his transcription has been verified by comparison of the latter part with the original, still in Principal Gould's possession; and also by comparison with the printed books copied by Stinton whose copy was again copied by Keymer. In this latter case, we also get testimony to the accuracy of Stinton's copying, a matter of some importance when we have had to deal with the manuscripts that lay before him. On the principle that calling attention to something as an exception, proves that the rule is the other way, bad readings will be commented on when met. The spelling and style of the titles afford material for estimating Stinton's literary abilities, and for recognizing that he often copied verbatim, but not literatim.

A REPOSITORY of Divers Historical Matters relating to the English Antipædobaptists. Collected from Original Papers or Faithfull Extracts.

ANNO 1712.

I began to make this Collection in Jan: 1710-11.

The letter "e" in "Antipedobaptists" is underlined by the Rev. George Gould. Stinton in his Journal, both the original in the Angus Library and the transcript in the Doctor Williams Library, spelt æ, as also did Crosby habitually, and as did Mr. Gould himself, witness page xv of his book "Open Communion and the Baptists of Norwich." This is not what we should have expected from Stinton, and the peculiarity is marked by the transcriber. It will be observed again at number four, but not at numbers seventeen and twenty. As for the word itself, apart from its spelling, it was popularized, but not invented, by Wall, who published his History of Infant Baptism, in 1705. Stinton accepted it; Crosby objected; I. xviii, viii.

Numb: 1

The Records of An Antient Congregation of Dissenters from w^{ch} many of y^e Independant & Baptist Churches in London took their first rise: ex MSS of M^r H. Jessey, w^{ch} I rec^d of M^r Rich^d Adams.

Two points of reading again deserve passing notice, the "a" underlined by Mr. Gould, which in 1710 was a frequent spelling; and "Mr. H. Jessey," which has been misread by one student, but is undoubtedly the reading here, and has been specially verified.

This document has been used by many historians. Neal quotes from it under the date 1616, as from "MS. penes me" which tallies exactly with Crosby's story that he lent Stinton's materials to Neal, who made some slight use of them. Neal also spells "Independant." Crosby used these records when they reached the point dealing with baptism. In 1839 Hanbury regretted that he could not find them, but he divined that they formed part of Crosby's loan to Neal: Historical Memorials, I, 292-3. Waddington and Stoughton seem not to have known them, and except as through Neal and Crosby they remained unused till in recent years they were produced by Principal Gould, and

were keenly criticised by several Americans, who have conferred on them the obvious title "The Jessey Records."

In 1905 they were carefully studied by the Rev. J. H. Shakespeare, M.A., who was the first to point out their great value for showing the evolution of those times; and next year the bare text was printed without note or comment by the Congregational Historical Society. Our edition has added notes as to some of the events and people concerned, drawn from contemporary sources.

Numb: 2

An old MSS, giveing some Accott of those Baptists who first formed themselves into distinct Congregations, or Churches in London. found among certain Paper given me by Mr Adams

The illiteracy of the compiler is abundantly evident in this title. The form "giveing" is standard with him. The name Baptist appears interchangeable with Antipædobaptist. This document is not a heap of records, like number one, but is a manuscript complete in itself, though evidently based to some extent on these records. Crosby paraphrased it in his first volume at page 148, and there attributed it without hesitation to William Kiffin: as Kiffin lived till 1701, he may have had Kiffin's own authority for that statement; but at page 101 he only claimed that it was "said to be by Mr. William Kiffin." In his third volume, criticising Neal, he referred to it again at page 41. From his description, it is often known as "The Kiffin Manuscript," though we incline rather to attribute it, like number one, to Henry Jessey.

Numb: 3

The Confession of Faith of Those Churches wch are comonly (though falsly) called Anabaptists. Subscribed by them in ye behalfe of Seven Congregations or Churches of Christ in London.

This title is evidently based upon the title page of the first edition, 1644, where also we read "(though falsly)." But the second sentence is a remarkable conflation of the closing words

in the prefaces of the first and second editions:— (1) "Subscribed in the names of seven churches in London," (2) "Subscribed by us in the behalf of seven congregations or churches of Christ in London. As also by a French congregation of the same judgment." On the whole it recalls rather the second edition, with the word "us" changed to "them," and yet giving an incomplete sense. The names in this Repository close the second document just before this title, and are apparently taken from the first edition, except that the name of Samuel Richardson is omitted. The text of the confession is not copied at all in this Repository.

Crosby at page 170 of his first volume refers to the Confession, introducing on his own account the error that several editions were published in 1644, after saying that it was first published in 1643. The fact is that it was issued in October 1644, and the second edition on 28 January, 1645-6. It was the second edition which Crosby put in his Appendix at page 7.

Numb: 4

An Account of divers Conferances, held in ye Congregation of w^{ch} Mr Henry Jessey was Pastor, about Infant-baptism, by w^{ch} Mr H. Jessey & ye greatest part of that Congregation ware proselited to y^e Opinion & Practice of y^e Antipedobabtists being an old M.S.S. w^{ch} I rec^d of Mr Adams, supposed to be written by Mr Jessey, or transcribed from his Jurnal.

This document was used by Crosby as the foundation of his account at page 310, and has been studied by Dr. Lofton and Mr. Shakespeare. It belongs to the same group as numbers one and two, and has therefore been edited in the same way. The story disclosed in the three documents was woven together by the present writer in 1905, and published in the Baptist Review and Expositor. He ventured to entitle this document "The Knowles Debate."

Numb: 5

The Oath taken by Midwives when they were allowed in case of Necessity to Administer Baptism

This is quoted from Strype's Annals, page 501, under the year 1567, being an extract from Archbishop Parker's Registers. The thirteen lines introducing it may well be Stinton's own verbiage, with spellings such as—fitt, oblidged 'em, Accordily, and other errors. And fourteen more lines at the close based on an unnamed History of England, Volume II, page 117, dealing with 1603, have more Stintonian orthography—differance, Puritants, conferance, Hamton, circumstantialls, stifly, himselfe, farr, Lawfull, ruberick.

Crosby made no use of this, and it seems to be of no importance, except for the History's reminder that James on his bare authority limited baptism to be by ministers, whereas the Prayer-Books of Edward and Elizabeth permitted any one to christen.

Numb: 6

The Abjuration taken by 4 Dutch Anabaptists in y^e Reign of Q. Elizabeth.

Wall and this MS. and Crosby all spell here "Antipædo-baptists" in the text. The two quotations from Wall and D'Assigny, are reproduced by Crosby at page 68, where he mentions them without referring to his immediate source, whereas it is evident on comparison that he followed Stinton implicitly, and had not even referred to Wall. Stinton was astonished at one clause in the abjuration, and put in the margin "sic origine," which does more credit to his love of accuracy than to his Latin.

Numb: 7

A Copie rightly related of An Anabaptists Letter written to his sometimes Accounted Christian Brethren showing y^e Cause of his Seperation from y^e Church of England, indited by a Principle Elder in & of that Seperation

[A note at the side adds]

from a Treatise intituled Anabaptismes Myserie of Iniquity unmasked, by J. P. Anno 1623

The source acknowledged is a book by the famous Doctor John Preston of Cambridge, which testifies to the progress of the General Baptists. Crosby prints the letter at page 133, refers to

it again at page 275. The letter is signed H.H., and dated from London in 1622: it can hardly be assigned to Henry Haggar, known at Stafford in 1653. It refers to Mrs. Fountaine, who may be compared with Mr. Fountain, invoked to help in the debate provoked by Hanserd Knowles in Jessey's church.

Numb: 8

Two Orders of ye Parliament of ye CoṃonWealth of England, Scotland & Ireland concerning the Anabaptists.

Tombes^s Reven. p^t 3d dedication

This title contains a grave blunder, irrespective of spelling. The orders in question were made in 1647 and 1648, when the parliament was still the full Long Parliament, which represented England alone, not Scotland and Ireland. Not till 1649 was the title "Commonwealth" adopted, not till 1653 did one Parliament represent all three divisions. The third part of Tombes' Review was published in 1657, so that the mistake can be understood. Crosby did not reproduce it, and for once he went further, getting and publishing the full original second order: see page 196 onwards.

Numb: 9

The Copy of A Letter written by ye Rev^d Dr Barlow afterwards Lord Bishop of Lincoln to M^r Jn^o Tombs. Anno. 1656.

[Credited at the side to]

Tombes^s Reven. Prefac: 3 Vol

Crosby quoted one sentence from this in the preface to his third volume, page xiii.

Numb: 10

An Account of ye Sufferings of m^r Laurence Clarkson for Anabaptism, in ye Year 1645, & his recantation of ye Same.

taken out of M^r Edwards^s Gangræna, pg 72.

This excited Crosby's ire, and while he did not quote this, he rebutted it in his preface, I, xvi.

Numb: 11

A Collection of ye Opinions of ye Old Lollards, New Reformers & Anabaptists, complained of By ye Convocation in the Reign of Henry ye 8th wth ye Articles of Religion agreed upon & published by ye Kings Authority in opposition to ye Same.

Ex, Fullers Church History, Lib 5. Sec. 3^d pg 208

Crosby did not quote the 67 opinions which Stinton reproduces, but followed him at page 34 even in the selection as to baptism—apparently having not referred to either Fuller or Burnet, being absolutely dependent on this manuscript.

Numb: 12

Dr Burnets Account of ye Anabaptists y^t lived in ye Reign of Edward the Sixth, & of ye Punishments y^t ware then Inflicted upon some of them, particularly of ye Burning of Joan of Kent, an Englishwoman, & George Van Parre, a Dutchman.

His. Refor: Vol 2^d part 2^d pg 110, 111, 112, 113.

It is hardly quite fair of Crosby to say on page 46, "I shall give that account of them and their sufferings which I find in Bishop Burnet.", though he certainly omitted much of Stinton's excerpts, which cover twelve foolscap pages. On the other hand, there is a marginal note here "Anno 1599 3d Edwd 6th" which is an obvious slip for 1549; while Crosby who did put 1549 on page 46, went back to 1547 on the next.

Numb: 13

Mr John Fox's Letter to Q: Elizabeth in Faviour of two Dutch Anabaptists condemned to be burnt in Smithfield.

Ex Fullers Church Hist: Cent 16. pg. 104.

On page 69, Crosby passed direct from reproducing number six of this collection to reproducing this, except that while Stinton copied both Latin and English, Crosby gave only the translation. Even the comment on page 74 is lifted bodily from Stinton.

Numb: 14

The Address of ye 'Anabaptists to King Charles II^d before his Restoration wth their Propositions annexed to it, & the Letter sent along with it to his Majesty then at Bruges in ye Year 1658.

Ex Lord Clarendons His. Rebellion. Vol 3. p 625.
Fo. Edit: 1719. Vo. 3. p. 359.

This address is Crosby's fifth appendix to his first volume, with the reference to the folio edition of Clarendon, specified as 1719. In the text at page 250 Crosby referred to it, with other extracts from Clarendon, vol. III, page 489. Stinton's extracts occupy seventeen foolscap pages. The ten men who signed the address was quite without weight in Baptist circles, and not many are known at all: John Wildman, an ex-major, as reported on 11 December 1660 to the government as doing what he liked at the Newbury Post Office; John Sturghion on 29 March 1661 published A Plea for Tolleration of Opinions and Perswasions in Matters of Religion, differing from the Church of England; John Armiger was a member of Knowles' church writing to Hexham in 1653; John Hedworth may be the M.P. for Durham about the same date; Ralph Jennings may be connected with the William and Theodore Jennings who signed with Armiger.

Numb: 15

Two Apologys of ye People called 'Anabaptists, published presently after ye Insurrection of Venner & his Accomplacies. wherein they protest both against ye Principles & Practices of that Rebellious Party. Anno 1660

ex Granthams Chris: Prin. Lib. 2. pg 7

Stinton gives only the reference, not the extract. The reference moreover has two blunders, and should read:—Chris-

tianismus Primitivus, Liber 3, page 7. Crosby may have procured the originals, specimens of which may be seen at Manchester Baptist College and other libraries, but as he exactly reproduces Grantham with all the side-notes, it is more likely he followed up Stinton's reference. He has however the curious remark that he found a short-hand note at the end of these printed apologies: the particular copy which Crosby had, is not accessible to this editor, but it seems to have been known to a former owner of his copy of Crosby, who has left a marginal note on it.

Numb: 16.

Mr Fuller's account of y^e Begining of y^e Anabaptists in England: wth a discovery of his Mistake therein.

from his Church His: Book 5. pg 229

These three pages provide Crosby with his pages 39-41, where he alters the reference to book four. We might have hoped that he would have digested the material better, but he rather disarms the critic by his modesty at pages 1 and xvii.

Numb: 17

M^r Hutchinsons Account of y^e Revival of Anti-pædobaptism towards y^e latter end of the Reign of King Charles y^e First.

This was cited by Crosby at page 100, when he very naturally expanded and corrected it by the first-hand account in earlier documents of this collection. But he never explained that the author was Edward Hutchinson, not the colonel John Hutchinson who had been far more prominent at the same time. He was faithful to the maxim "Not beyond what is written."

Numb: 18.

An Account of y^e Methods taken by y^e Baptists to obtain a proper Administrator of Baptism by Immersion, when that practice had been so long disused, y^t there was no one who had been so

baptized to be found. with y^e Opinion of Henry Lawrence, Lord President, on y^e Case.

When Crosby wrote the section beginning at page 96, he evidently had Bampfield's statement in mind; but very probably he neglected it as inferior in authority to documents one, two and four. At page 105 he quotes Laurence as summarising and deciding the merits of the case.

Numb: 19.

A brief Account of the Sufferings of y^e People called Anabaptis, in & about London, in y^e two first Years after y^e Restoration of King Charles II^d Anno 1661. 1662.

These seven pages provided material for Crosby's second volume, at pages 91, 161, 172; though he again made no reference to Stinton, but only to ultimate authorities.

Numb: 20

Several Antipædobaptists taken up for Preaching against y^e Act of Uniformity made y^e 35. Eliz, & against y^e Kings Supremacy in Ecclesiastical Matters.

Ex Fullers Au: Hist: Book 11. page 172

This is on page 161 of Crosby, where it serves as a text to be corrected by the authentic information in document 23. The title here seems to be Stinton's own composition as usual, and is not followed by Crosby; nor indeed is it quite accurate.

Numb: 21.

The Tryall of Mr Benja: Keach who was prosecuted for Wrioting against Infant Baptism &c, with an Account of y^e Punishment inflicted on him for y^e same. Anno 1664.

Taken from Manuscript found among Mr Keachs Papers after his Death, which as he

informed me when alive was sent him from one in y^t Country who was present both at his tryall & Punishment, & took what passed in Wrighting.

The title here is evidently Stinton's, for the "Benja:" and "Account" are most characteristic. Crosby filled twenty pages with this information, from II. 187. But it is delicious to read in the MS. the following dialogue, with Stinton's side-note, both varied by Crosby:—

Judg: What trade are you of?

Keach: A Taylor*

Judg: Are you of another Trade?

B.K. No my Lord

Judg. Yes you are; did you not write this book (holding one of ye Primers in his hand.

*Note yt in these times of Persecution many dissenting Ministers ware obliged to follow Trades, both to support themselves & Families, & to conceal themselves ye latter from their Einimies.

For this note of Stinton's misrepresents the case. It was the glory of the Baptists, and especially of the General Baptists, to whom Keach then belonged, that the priesthood of all believers was a very real thing. They believed that any man might be called of God to preach, and churches often had several such "Ministers" besides the Elder. It was the rare exception for them, and even for the Elder, to be set free from their occupations and to be supported by their fellow members. The Baptist theory and practice in 1664 was sharply distinct from that of the Presbyterians: of them alone is Stinton's note somewhat true. But the note is valuable evidence as to the feelings entertained about 1711 by a leading Particular Baptist minister. It is remarkable that the present day ultra-Calvinistic ministers have largely reverted to the early practice, and frequently earn their living without being a charge on their brethren.

Numb: 22.

An Address of y^e Baptist Ministers in & about the City of London, presented to his Majesty King William 3rd upon y^e French Kings proclaiming y^e Pretended Prince of Wales, King of England, &c. from y^e London Gazette of Decem^r 29th 1701.

With the alteration of a date, Crosby incorporated this at III. 356. Stinton copied from the Gazette "Stanet," and put a side-note that it should have been Stennett. This testifies to the accuracy he aimed at in transcription.

Numb: 23.

An Account of A Church that usually met in Southwark near St Mary Overys Church, consisting partly of Pædobaptists, & partly of Antipædobaptists, from their first Constitution in y^e Reign of K. James I, to their Dissolution in 1705.
taken out of their Church Book, &c.

This is one of the documents used by Neal, which Crosby proved he had garbled. Twice over did the good deacon deal with Neal and his iniquities in this matter; at I. 162, and at III. 39. Yet Neal has been followed by Congregational historians without number, to the great confusion of their history. The document is of interest both textually and historically, and has been edited with notes. It covers over eleven pages foolscap.

Numb: 24.

An Accott of 12 Anabaptists who were Sentanced to dye at Ailesbury for their Nonconformity in 1669

This is given almost verbatim by Crosby at II. 180, with the acknowledgment "Manuscript penes me," and with the alteration of 1669 to 1664. As Clarendon, referred to in the document as "chancellor Hide," fled from England in 1667, Crosby seems right; and as the proceedings were taken under the Conventicle Act of Elizabeth, we may infer that the Conventicle Act of Charles was not yet passed, a second indication that 1664 is the date, though 1669 is repeated in this margin. Therefore either Stinton or Keymer made a slip. When Stinton closes by remarking—what Crosby omits—"This relation I received from Mrs. Bowles, daughter to Mary Jackman ye Widd yt was condemn'd according to ye best of her Remembrance, Apr: 10. 1715," then we see that Mrs. Bowles had had fifty years in which to confuse the dates. We also see that the date in the title, 1712, refers only to the

beginning of Stinton's copying his manuscripts, and that his labours continued.

Numb: 25.

A Letter from ye Baptist's Church at Waterford, in Ireland, to some of ye Same Perswasion at Dublin to disswade them from haveing Cōmunion wth Persons not regularly Baptized.

To this Crosby refers at III. 44, where it serves as a text whence to preach at Neal.

Numb: 26.

A Letter from Pensilvania giveing an Account of ye State & Number of ye Baptized Churches in that Province in the year 1715
Philad: Aug. 12. 1714

There is an obvious blunder here, for a letter of 1714 could hardly give an account of the state of things in 1715. Crosby at page 122 accepts the 1714 date, which shows both his uncritical spirit at first, and that the error was made before his day; but in Volume IV. at page 160 he assigns it to 1716, and goes on to quote as a reply a letter dated January 4, 1716—that is to say 1716-7—which professes to reply to one of the 20th of July 1715. At page 193 the Philadelphia reply to this is dated Sept. 13, 1717. Evidently if we read originally Aug. 12, 1716, all fall into perfect sequence. This tallies also with Stinton's Journal for 1716. Therefore we have another clear instance of an error in dating, in Stinton's transcript.

Numb: 27.

A Confession of ye Faith of Several Churches of Christ, in ye County of Somerset, & of Some Churches in ye Countyes neer adjacent.

This is a copy of a printed title-page, with texts and imprint. The text is not given. But Crosby evidently inherited the pamphlet, and printed it as his third appendix.

Numb: 28.

Part of a Narrative & Complaint, that by ye help of an Honourable Parliament Man was presented to ye King ye 26 of ye 5th Month, July 1660. wth the Kings Answer thereunto.

This is in Crosby's second volume at page 19, credited to Jessey, and with the signatures omitted. Here it attracted the attention of Adam Taylor, who from Jessey reprinted it entire. But Stinton got no credit.

Numb: 29.

Some Parts of A Confession of Faith published by Certain Persons term'd Anabaptists about 1611.

This extract from John Robinson was put by Crosby as his fourth appendix, with a reference in the text at page 268. The whole Confession was first published by Evans in 1862, *Early English Baptists*, I. 257, being a version from the Dutch. The English edition was published by Barclay in 1877, as an inset at page vii after page 93 of his *Inner History of the Religious Societies of the Commonwealth*.

Numb: 30

Two Sad Instances of the Persecution practiced by the Protestants themselves in the Reign of King Edward ye 6th, against ye Anabaptists met with in Fox's Latin Book of Martyrs, but left out in his English, out of a tender regard, it is supposed, to the Reputation of the Martyrs in Q. Maries Reign; translated by M^r Peirce, in his Answer to Nichols, pg 33. wth M^r Peirces remarks on ye Same.

This was used by Crosby at page 59, even with the same imputation of motive. His whole dealing with the cases of Joan Bocher and George van Parre, from page 46 onwards, is to copy numbers 12 and 30, crediting Burnet, Fox, and Peirce, but not

Stinton; and not trying to give one connected account. He evidently considered that his repeated and ample expressions of indebtedness to his pastor would suffice, and that his readers would prefer to rely on well-known historians.

At page 138 of the Gould manuscript, the Stinton Repository ends. Six pages following contain the titles of several books dealing with Anabaptists, between 1642 and 1700, with a few extracts. Then follows "The Copy of a Letter which I received from Mr. Randal, and was sent to him from a Country Gent." It is dated from Downton, Jan'y 14. 1737-8, fills five pages, and is signed Benjn Miller, not Benja. It was the source of the information in Crosby III. 121. Matthew Randall had been in General Baptist public life from 1710 at Chichester, and as Elder of the Virginia Street church in London from 1724. Benjamin Miller had been in the same circle from 1702, by 1709 had made his way to the front, from 1711 was Messenger, or Bishop in the west country. It is a valuable commentary on Stinton's note as to tradesmen and ministers, that Crosby knew Miller only as a country gentleman. For obviously the "I" of this title is Crosby. As the letter was written in 1738, and the third volume was published in 1740, we get the time about which he drew up the list of books. At page 151 follows a note on "Persecution for Religion judged and Condemned." This book was dealt with in volume I. at page 272, and page 130 also should be compared with this note. As this volume was issued in 1738, apparently all these three documents were in Crosby's hands by that year. At page 157 follow "Records of the Berkshire Association," which continue to page 190. (These records, which deal with some years between 1648-1708, were copied by the present writer and placed at the disposal of the present Berkshire Association; they have been largely used in the Rev. Henry R. Salt's official "Gleanings from Forgotten Fields," published in 1907.) There is no evidence in Crosby's printed history that he knew of these by 1740. This is explained by Mr. Burrage discovering the original of these, in the collection of the Rev. George Gould, bearing the inscription "1747, Jos. Stennett." It may well have been compiled by that Joseph Stennett who was desired by his brethren to write a history, himself from Berkshire, and living till 1713, when it may have passed to his son Joseph, who in 1747 was pastor of Little Wild Street. But far more probably it is due to the eldest son of this second Joseph, a third Joseph, who in 1743 went to Coate, and would be able to find all this information in the church book there. The Gould manuscript closes on page 191 with a note on Turner's Persuasive or Treacle, pub-

lished 1551. The position of this, after something connected with the date 1747, shows that Crosby was not likely to have seen it in time to use in his history. This last page, like the first, is written by the Rev. George Gould himself.

Stinton was not concerned with these addenda to the Repository, valuable as they are. And it is well now to sum up the relation between the Repository and Crosby's printed history. To the first volume Crosby prefixed Stinton's preface complete, apparently covering pages xviii-lxi. At page 33 he draws four pages from document 11; at page 39 he takes up documents 16 and 30 and 12, which keep him supplied to page 62. At pages 68-74, documents 6 and 13 provide material; for ten pages after 96 he leans upon number 18, while numbers 2 and 17 come into view in the same section. An excursion to American affairs is wound up on page 122 with a reference to number 26. Among his own gleanings as to early books, he introduces number 7 from page 133 to 139. At page 148 he uses, not quotes exactly, documents 1 and 2. Page 161 sees documents 20 and 23 brought into use, and at 170 he takes up number 3. Number 8 prompted enquiries which resulted in pages 192-6, where the document itself follows. At page 250 comes in number 14, and number 27 follows four pages later. Number 7 is used again at page 275, then the topic of Henry Jessey brings in a condensation of number 4 at page 310. Documents 3, 27, 29, 14 form appendixes II, III, IV, V, filling eighty pages.

Now Crosby originally intended to publish no more, as his second volume declares in the address to the reader; and it may be seen at once how true is his avowal that he was chiefly indebted for his materials to Stinton. Indeed, even thus the full extent is not evident, for Mr. Burrage has discovered among the Rev. George Gould's treasures yet another book whose biographical contents are drawn upon largely, and has identified it as in the handwritings of Stinton and Crosby. But there was much material not yet used, and the publication in 1738 brought him more. He therefore compiled a preface incorporating his fresh material up to 1660, and went on with the story of another twenty-five years. At page 19 he was ready to draw upon number 28 of the Repository, and at page 35 he printed number 15 which lasted till page 65. Number 19 supplied the material from page 91, and presently number 7 tinges the pages again. At page 180 he takes up numbers 24 and 21, which fill nearly thirty pages. The third volume utilizes number 9 at xiii in the preface. The first chapter, which is on the whole in need of much criticism, is biographical, and draws not largely in the Repository but on other material. At

page 39 however the mention of Canne brings up Neal; documents 23 and 2 are again referred to to confute him, while 25 is presently added. In the fourth volume, still inspired with an earnest desire to rectify Neal, he acknowledges he is at an end of his materials. These consist largely of Stinton's Journal, but the Repository furnished the American correspondence with Stinton, at number 26, while the biographies are collected into one chapter, and the whole closes with yet another plea for the matter dear to both Stinton and Crosby, the blotting out of the distinction between General Baptists and Particulars.

It is evident therefore that Crosby did Stinton no more than justice in saying that most of the materials were collected by him. And it is evident that in the first volume, originally all he proposed to issue, the Repository was the backbone of the whole, while it furnished contributions to the succeeding parts. It follows that in those parts of Crosby thus dependent on Stinton, we may attend only to Crosby's alterations and criticisms, but must pass behind him to Stinton when we would study at first hand. And Stinton in a very fair way, points us on in turn to his own sources.

Arranging the thirty documents in chronological order, the following deal with the sixteenth century, and really are only introductory to any history of the Baptists:—11, 16, 30, 5, 6 and 13, 12. When we reach the seventeenth century, a large mass present themselves:—29, 7, 15, 28, 21, and 24 deal with the General Baptists; 23 and 20 deal with a mixed-communication church at Southwark; while for the main stock of Particular Baptists we may consult 1, 2, 3, 4, 10, 8, 25, 9, 27, 14?, 19 in part, 17 and 18. Numbers 22 and 26 deal with the early eighteenth century.

Many of these are of course extracts from printed works, but 23 is excerpted from the book of an early church which had a typical history, while 1, 2, and 4 are of first-class importance for understanding the evolution of the Particular Baptists. A brief study from this stand-point was published by the present writer in 1906, together with a few notes on the Gould manuscript. Shortly afterwards the Rev. J. H. Shakespeare elucidated the second point on a rather larger scale. But the original documents which lay behind these sketches have now been made accessible for all students, with such helps as will guide them to further discoveries. These four papers will enable us to see the extent of our indebtedness to Stinton, but for whom the genesis of the Particular Baptists would have been a mystery.

Something may now be said as to the textual accuracy of the copying. The actual Repository begun in 1712 is mislaid;

but we have the Keymer transcript which is here reproduced; also numerous extracts made about the same time by the Rev. George Gould in his "Open Communion and the Baptists of Norwich," pages cxxi-cxxx; also a paraphrase by Crosby at I, 101 and 148, and a semi-critical paraphrase at III, 41. The paraphrases are of course of inferior authority, and may hardly be used in mere textual questions. But Gould and Keymer, working about the same time, do not agree in minute points, as may be seen by the opening words of document 4, the Knowles debate. Gould's transcript is reproduced here and Keymer's variations are put in brackets:—

" Hanserd Knollys, our Brother, [no commas] not being satisfied
 "[satisfyed] for baptizing [Baptizing] his child, after it had been
 "[bin] endeavoured by the [ye] Elder, and [&] by one or two
 "more, [;] himselfe referred to the [ye] Church then, [no comma]
 "that they might satisfy[e] him, or he rectify them if amiss
 "herein:[;] which [wch] was well accepted."

This extract is a fair specimen of the constant variations of reading, and it will be seen that we must not believe we can always know the precise punctuation and spelling of Stinton, but we can be sure of his words. Whenever any variation seems to be of any importance, it has been noted; but as a rule it is only the proper names which need scanning closely. In a few cases Keymer has left blanks, apparently because he could not decipher the word; and in one case referring to "Agnes la Cleare" he was subsequently able to fill it in, which suggests that he and Gould had agreed on the reading there.

The Baptist Interest under George I.

AFTER the Toleration won in 1689 and enjoyed through the reign of William III., there was a reaction under Anne, culminating in the Schism Act to come into force 1714. The Queen died just in time, and George I. let the Act lapse. After the suppression of the Jacobite rebellion of 1715, dissenters felt themselves more secure, and lest their liberties should be again filched away, set themselves to realise their voting strength in the boroughs and counties.

There was in fact an unofficial census taken of the dissenting interest, and letters were sent out to prominent men in every county to state concerning the towns and villages their status as boroughs, cities, market towns, &c.; the numbers of hearers in every dissenting congregation, the number of voters for shire or borough, the quality of the congregation, labourers or tradesmen or gentry. The centre was naturally London, and the correspondent there was John Evans, colleague to Dr. Daniel Williams. Both these men came from Wrexham, and they enjoyed special advantages for making such an enquiry, for in that town Presbyterians and Independents and Baptists had for a time worshipped together in one congregation, so that there was unusual breadth in her sons, and they were on good terms with men of each stamp. It is, however, important that nearly all the actual correspondents named were Pædobaptists, and that the information given as to Baptists is far more meagre than as to others. Wrexham again was a border town, and the information as to Wales was fuller than a mere Englishman could have hoped to gather. And in 1715 or even in 1718, when the latest letters came in, there was not yet the cleavage that became manifest in February 1719 at Salter's Hall. So the results of Evans' enquiry deserve to be placed alongside the Assembly returns of 1689, or the bishops' enquiries of 1669.

His results as far as Baptists are concerned can easily be extracted from his manuscript, which is one of the most frequently quoted books at Dr. Williams' Library. Those who are familiar with any county will soon recognise that Evans' correspondents often overlooked small causes, but it is worth while presenting

the whole of their information at a glance, with occasional supplements from other first-hand contemporary evidence added in brackets. General Baptist causes are marked * by this editor. The spelling of place names is conformed to modern usage.

BEDFORD. Two accounts were furnished here, by Chandler and by Jennings. Both alike class the famous Bunyan Meeting as Independent, a nomenclature that the pastors of that place have been decidedly prone to adopt. The churches classed as "Anabaptist," with the size of congregation, and the preachers, are:—

- Biggleswade. 300. Samuel Cole. Mixed, Baptist and Presbyterian.
- Blunham. Perry.
- Carlton in Willy Hundred. 300. Robert Church.
- Charlton, Thorn and Wingfield. 130. Served from Luton.
- Cotton End. 80. Thomas Cooper, Thomas Thompson.
- Cranfield. 100. William Jarvies or Samuel Butler.
- Dunstable. 100. William Brittain, John Cock.
- Eversholt. 120. Matthew Dutton.
- Goldington. 35. Benjamin Scribner, Skinner.
- Keysoe. 300. Lewis Norman.
- *Leighton Buzzard.
- Luton. 400. Nathanael and Thomas Marsham, Samuel Chass, Francis Stone and Robert Hawkins.
- Maulden. Richard Jarvies.
- Market Street. 130. Same preachers as Luton.
- Ridgmont. 100. Samuel Butler. William Davis.
- Sharnbrooke. 70. Samuel Gurry, Harper, Robert Page.
- Southill. 500. Thomas Killingworth.
- Stevington. 400. Simon Harecock.
- *[Sundon].

BERKSHIRE. Twelve Presbyterian, three Independent, thirteen Quaker congregations; and seven Baptist:—

- 'Abingdon. 400. William Fuller.
- Cookham. Fenne.
- Faringdon. 140. Thomas Langley.
- *[Maidenhead].
- Newbury. 120. Jeffreies.
- Reading. Jonathan Davies.
- Twyford. (Not constant.)
- Wantage. William Jones.

BUCKINGHAM. Nine Presbyterian causes; five Baptist.

*[Amersham. Samuel Hobbs, John Young].

*Aylesbury. Clement Hunt.

*Chesham. John Cooke, Forster.

Chesham. Thomas Norris.

Colnbrook. John Biddle.

*[Ford. John Crips].

[Haddenham].

Newport Pagnell. 250. Hannels. [Robert Hannel in 1735 was at Kettering, a General Baptist.]

[Olney].

[Prince's Risborough].

*[Stony Stratford and Castle Thorpe, with Yardley in Northampton. John Britain of Cosgrave.].

*[Weston. Britton and Keach received a member next year from White's Alley.]

*[Winslow].

*[Wycombe. Thomas Tripp].

CAMBRIDGE. Five Presbyterian, eleven Independent, (including the General Baptist church at Melbourn!); four Baptist. [Gamlingay].

*Great Wilbraham [and Melbourn. John Catlyn, John Goring, Edward Elgar].

*[March. Thomas Mears].

Sutton in the Isle of Ely. Independent and Baptist.

*[Whittlesea. Benjamin Grantham and John Catlyn].

Whittlesea and March. 160. Thomas Speechley.

*[Wisbech. John Sherman].

Wisbech. 60. William Rix.

CHESHIRE. Twenty Presbyterian; three Baptist.

[Brassey Green. John Oulton quite so early?]

Hill Cliff near Warrington. Francis Turner.

*Nantwich. Samuel Acton.

Warford near Macclesfield. John Turner.

CORNWALL. Eleven Presbyterian, one Independent; two Baptist.

Looe. Cowlin left in 1694 for Penryn.

Penryn [sprung from Thomas Tregoss of Mylor, 1662].

CUMBERLAND. Ten Presbyterian, two Independent, twenty Quaker, two Baptist.

Egremont. 50 or 30. No settled minister.

Oulton and Great Broughton. 200. [Ware].

DERBY. Twenty-four Presbyterian, two Independent, no Baptist.

*Ashford, known before and after as Baptist, is put down as Presbyterian; minister John Ash.

DEVON. Fifty Presbyterian, eight Independent, seven Baptist.

Bampton. 390. James Murch.

[Cullompton, branch of Upottery].

[Dartmouth. Thomas Newcomen].

Exeter. 300. [Richard] Sampson, senior.

[Honiton].

[Loughwood and Kilmington].

Moreton Hampstead. 450. Thomas Howe.

Plymouth. 315. John Bryan.

South Molton. 100. Daniel Bavestock.

Tiverton. [James] Sampson, junior.

Topsham. Samuel Buttall [who in 1669 belonged to Jessey's church, then came to Broadmead and to Plymouth?].

[Upottery. Thomas Holway].

DORSET. Fourteen Presbyterian, two Independent; four Baptist.

Bere Regis. John Webber.

*Dorchester. Gould. [James Gould in 1719 and 1721 attended the General Baptist Assembly from the Western Association; Ralph Gould in 1711 and 1721. Till 1730 this Association included all Baptists].

Lyme Regis. 217. John Tor.

*[Minterne. William Sprake?]

Weymouth. Thomas Seamore.

DURHAM. Five Presbyterian, two Quaker, no Baptist.

[Hamsterley].

ESSEX. Twenty-three Presbyterian, thirteen Independent; seven Baptist.

*Braintree. 100. Cowles.

*Burnham. [Henry Fields].

*[Colchester. Thomas Agnes].

Colchester. 200. John Rootsey.

*[Dedham].

High Easton, near Hatfield Broad Oak. [William?] Collins.

Nazeing, Harlow and Sooton. 500. Thomas Chalkley.

[Next year accepted a transfer from White's Alley General Baptist Church, which does not expressly say this is "of the same faith and order."]

*Pilgrim's Hatch near Brentwood, and Aveley near Hornchurch. 200. John Paine, Coomes.

*[Saffron Walden].

Terling near Witham. 200. John Ward, then Nathaniel Wiles.

*Upminster. Richard Robinson in 1709.

GLOUCESTER. Fourteen Presbyterian, eight Independent, six unclassified.

Ashton upon Carron. 20. Seventh-Day. John Purser [Compare Natton].

Bourton on the Water. 500. Joshua Head.

Bristol. 1200. Andrew and Emanuel Gifford, Jonathan Owen.

Bristol. 500. [Peter] Ketterell, Caleb Job [or Jope].

Broad Marston near Evesham. 150. Monthly.

Cheltenham. 200. Supplied from Tewkesbury.

Chipping Sodbury. William Clisson.

Cirencester. 150. William Freeman.

Coleford. 50.

Dymock. William Drew.

Kingstanley. 150. Benjamin Britton.

Maizey hampton near Fairford. 50. Thomas Lovel.

Oxenton. 40. Purser [whose house at Ashton was headquarters].

Stow on the Wold and Longborough. 100. Job Greening.

Stroudwater. 400.

Tewkesbury. 150. Joseph Price.

HAMPSHIRE. Fourteen Presbyterian, eleven Independent, eight Quaker.

Blackwater.

Broughton and Wallop. 100. Henry Steell.

Fareham. Seven Families.

Fordingbridge. 118. Thomas Eastman.

Gosport. 40.

*Isle of Wight [Newport]. 55. [George] Clark.

Lymington. [Richard] Chalk.

*[Lyndhurst. George Jackman].

Nately near Basingstoke. 10.

*[Portsmouth. George Kelly and Walter Addis].

Portsmouth. John Howe.

Ringwood. Nathanael Lane.

Romsey. 48.

Southampton. [Richard] Ring.

[Whitchurch. Edward Mumford].

HEREFORD. Eight Presbyterian.
Leominster. 200. Thomas Holder.

HERTFORD. Six Presbyterian, four Independent, four Quaker.

*Barnet. 50.

*Berkhampstead, "Bednam Pond and Coney Street, near."
[John] Cooke.

Caldecote, Buckland and Braughing. 600. Daniel Skingle.
Chorley Wood. Served from Watford. [Entered under Bedford].

Hemel Hempstead, Marlowe near. 320. Thomas Hancock.
Hitchin. 500.

Market Street. [Samuel?] Marsom junior [of Luton].

Saint Alban's, Wheathampstead and Tittenhanger. 200.
James Harding, Hugh Smith.

Theobalds [near Cheshunt]. Joseph Maisters coming monthly from London.

Tring. Richard Sutton.

Ware. Henry Goldring.

Waltham Abbey, founded 1729. John Auther.

Watford. 500. [Anthony] Burgess, [Richard] Carter.

HUNTINGDON. One Presbyterian, three Independent, one Baptist.

*[Fenstanton and Warboys. 63 members. Jonathan Denne. John Cropper].

*[Godmanchester].

Kimbolton. 200. William Custing, Peter Gurry.

[St. Neots. William Rawlins and John Nutter in 1709.]

KENT. Twenty Presbyterian, three Independent; seventeen Baptist.

*Ashford. [George] Ellis, Henry Longley.

*[Biddenden. Nicholas Rich, James Cooper.]

*[Boughton. John Pantry, John Saunders.]

*Canterbury [Blackfriars]. Samuel Ongley, Serles German.
Canterbury, Northgate. Samuel Newman, Linacre.

*Chatham. William Leakey.

[Chatham, Heavyside Lane].

*Cranbrook. [David] Chapman.

*Deal. [Christopher] Fulford, [Stephen] Lacy.

*[Deptford, Church Street. Adam Holden, John Yeomans].
Deptford. John Biddle.

*Dover. John and David Simpson.

- *[Eythorn. John Bush, David Rutter].
- *Folkestone. [William] Kennett.
- *[Frittenden. John Tassall].
Gravesend. Lamb.
- *Hawkhurst. Andrew Robins.
- *Maidstone. Francis Carpenter, [Nicholas Mole].
Maidstone. John Smith.
- *[Marden. George Garrett, William Holenbey].
- *Ramsgate. Richard Godfrey.
- *[Rolvenden. Samuel Chillenden].
Sandhurst. Samuel Potter.
- *Sandwich. [James] Knott. (Linked with Deal.)
- *Sevenoaks. [James, not] John Calverley, Joseph Brown.
- *Smarden. Thomas Gillam.
- *[Speldhurst and Pembury. Thomas Benge, William Ash-down].

LANCASHIRE. Forty-four Presbyterian, one Independent, one Baptist.

- Low Hill, near Liverpool. Peter Davenport.
[Manchester, Coldhouse].
- [Rossendale. Richard Ashworth].
- [Torver. George Braithwaite just gone].
- [Tottlebank open church. Thomas Richardson].

LEICESTER.

- Arnesby. 200. Benjamin Winckles.
- Desford. 50. Thomas Storer.
- *Earl Shilton, with Leicester.
- *Leicester. General and Particular mixed [?], Thomas Davye,
Henry Trail and Zacharias Staughton.
- *Mountsorrel and Wymeswold. 80. William Johnson, Richard Cooper.
- Mowsley, with Arnesby. Benjamin Boyce.
- *Shepshed, with Rempston in Notts. 100. Thomas Matthews,
William Christian.
- *Somerby, near Rutland, with Twyford. John Jeffreies.
- Sutton, near Lutterworth. 150. Benjamin Moore.
- *Tur Langton near Hallaton. 45. John Hollyday.

LINCOLN. Three leaves have been cut out of the Evans manuscript containing the returns for this shire.

- *[Alford, South Marsh. Edward Wood, Edward Makins,
Joseph Dent and J. Hursthouse].
- *[Boston. Ebenezer Hall].
- *[Bourn and Hackenby. Joseph Hooke].

- *[Burgh and Monksthorpe].
- *[Coningsby and Tattershall. Leonard Isaac].
- *[Elsham and Killingholm. Thomas Ulliott].
- *[Epworth and Crowle. J. Grant, J. Woodward, J. Anderson].
- *[Fleet. G. Turrington].
- *[Gosberton. William Roberts].
- *[Kirton in Lindsey].
- *[Lincoln. Benjamin Sharp, John Hill, Samuel Ellis].
- *[Spalding and Long Sutton. Joseph Pickerton, John Hursthouse, Edward Hardy].

LONDON. I. Within the walls; eleven Presbyterian, twelve Independent, five Baptist.

Curriers' Hall, Cripplegate. John Skepp.

Pinner's Hall, Old Broad Street.

[1. Morning. Open membership. Jeremiah Hunt, D.D.]

2. Afternoon. Joseph Maisters.

3. Seventh-Day. Supplied, especially Nathaniel Wiles.

Tallowchandlers' Hall, Dowgate. John Noble.

Turners' Hall, Philpot Lane. Jonathan Owen.

II. Within the liberties, though without the walls; five Presbyterian, six Independent, five Baptist.

Devonshire Square. Richard Adams, Mark Key.

*Dunning's Alley, Bishopsgate Street. John Taylor [according to John Evans; but he was signing the Assembly book year by year as Elder of Park church, this having no elder].

*Glass-house-yard, Aldersgate Street. Thomas Kirby.

Paul's Alley, Redcross Street. Richard Allen.

*White's Alley, Little Moorfields. Abraham Mulliner.

III. Within the bills of mortality, but outside the liberties; fourteen Presbyterian, five Independent, ten Baptist in Middlesex.

Angel Alley, Whitechapel. Thomas Ridgway.

Artillery Lane, Spitalfields. Nathanael Hodges.

Broad Street, Wapping. Edward Eliot.

*Hart Street, St. John's Court, Covent Garden. Benjamin Ingram.

*High Hall, Cow Lane, Smithfield. Joseph Jenkins.

Limehouse. David Rees.

Little Wild Street. Thomas Harrison.

*Mill Yard, Goodman's Fields. Seventh-day. John Savage.

Swallow Street, Westminster. Thomas Ely.

*Virginia Street, Ratcliffe Highway. Lewis Douglas.

IV. Southwark.

Back Street, Horsleydown. Benjamin Stinton.
Branch of Back Street.

- *Fair Street, Horsleydown. Nathanael Foxwell.
- Flower de luce Court, Tooley Street. Edward Wallin.
- *Queen Street, Park. [John Taylor].
- White Street, near St. George's. Richard Parkes.

MIDDLESEX. beyond the bills of mortality. Eight Presbyterian, two Independent, one Baptist.

- *Brentford. John Darvel.

NORFOLK. Five Presbyterian, nine Independent, three Baptist.

[Ingham. James Brewster].

- *[Lynn?]

Norwich. William Baker, Henry Austin.

- *Norwich. John Reeves.

[Pulham St. Mary, united with Norwich 1714]

- *[Smallburgh. Richard Culley just about to secede and found
Worstead Particular Baptist Church].

- *Yarmouth. John Bending.

NORTHAMPTON. Six Presbyterian, twelve Independent, twenty Baptist, Mr. Jennings of Kibworth being the informant.

Ascote. Mixt as to Baptism. John Payne.

Brafield on the Green. 60. Robert Page.

- *Braunston, East Haddon and Buckby. General. 70. John
Painter of Moulton.

- *Byfield and Chipping Warden, Wood End Weston [-by-
Weedon] and Bradden, with Banbury and Horley in Oxon
make one church. Nathanael Kinch of Horley, John
Britain and Philip Cherry.

Clipston. Austin Taylor, George Brinklow.

Dallington St. James. 400. John Collis.

Floore. 80. John Foster.

- *Isham Haringworth. 70. Painter, Garret, &c.

Kettering. 60. Thomas Wallis.

Naseby. 30. Ralph Wright.

- *Northampton. 50. Thomas Garret.

Northampton. 300. John Moore.

Peterborough and Eye. 40.

Ringstead. 160. Curtis.

Road, Particular. 200. Joseph Palmer.

- *Scaldwell, Brixworth and Spratton. 80. Painter, Garret, &c.

Slapton. Mixt as to Baptism. Simon Harcourt, Austin
Taylor.

Walgrave. William Barker.

[Weedon Beck. Rudd].

*Welton, Staverton and Braunston. 100. [John Shenston 1723].

Wollaston and Rushden. Particular. 200. John Woolaston.

*Yardley [Gobion] with Stony Stratford and [Castle] Thorpe in Bucks. 240. John Britain of Cosgrave.

NORTHUMBERLAND. Sixteen Presbyterian, three Independent, one Baptist.

Newcastle, one church, Thomas Barnes Independent, and a Baptist Minister.

NOTTINGHAM. Nine Presbyterian, three Independent, one Baptist.

*[Collingham].

*Nottingham. George Eaton.

*[Rempstone, with Shepstead in Leicester. 100. Thomas Matthews, William Christian].

OXFORD. Eight Presbyterian, one Independent, six Baptist.

*[Banbury. See Byfield, Northampton].

Burford. 200. Asher Humphreys.

Coate. Joseph Collet.

Hook Norton. Daniel Wilmer.

*Horley. 100. Nathanael Kinch.

Oxford. A lecture from Fuller of Abingdon and Collet of Coate.

Witney. Thomas Barefoot.

RUTLAND. Two Presbyterian, one Baptist.

Oakham, Uppingham, Braunston, and Empingham. 80. Thomas Bull and John Gibbons.

SALOP. Twelve Presbyterian, one Independent; two Baptist. Bridgnorth. 40. John Sing.

*Salop. 50. Robert Watkins. [Received a member from White's Alley in 1708, "of the same faith and order."]

SOMERSET. Thirty-nine Presbyterian, two Independent, eight unspecified.

?Axbridge. 200.

Bridgewater. 200. [Eliot had recently left for Wapping].

Chard. 72. Thomas Meacham.

Frome. 300. Sharp.

Frome. 400. Hendy.

Ilminster. 54. Bragg.

*[Milborne Port. Thomas Bosher?]
 Minehead. 46. Lancelot Spurrier.
 Stogumber. 54.

*Taunton. 830. Thomas Winnell.
 [Wellington, branch of Taunton. John Cuff].
 Wrantage. 50. William Tisé.
 *[Wrington? die out with Amory?].

STAFFORD. Fourteen Presbyterian, one Baptist.

*[Colton and Lichfield in 1708 asked help from White's Alley, and was refused as a disorderly church].

Delves [Darleston?] near Walsall and Wednesbury. Benjamin Hands [ordained Thompson at Shrewsbury 1720].

SUFFOLK. Twenty-two Presbyterian, seventeen Independent; no Baptist.

[Woodbridge. Seventh-Day. Rutland preached at Colchester 1711].

SURREY outside Southwark. Nine Presbyterian, eight Independent; five Baptist.

*Croydon. Amos Harrison.

*Farnham. William Jackson [just succeeded by Richard Webb].

Frimley. John Seley.

Guildford. Petto.

Richmond. Thomas Flood.

SUSSEX. Fifteen Presbyterian, five Independents; eight Baptists.

*Chichester. General. 164. William Smith [and Matthew Randall].

Chichester. Particular. 69. Isaac Hanns.

*[Ditchling. Nathanael Webb, Thomas Coule].

*Horsham. 350. [Matthew Caffin junior, Thomas Souton].

*Lewes. [Henry Wood].

*Lingfield [really in Surrey].

*Steyping. 50. John Jefferys.

*[Turners Hill. Richard Plaver].

Wadhurst. 60.

*Warbleton. 120. [Henry Miller, George Shepherd, Robert Mercer].

WARWICK. Twelve Presbyterian, three Independent; five Baptist.

Alcester. 150. John Bedham, [Beddome].

*Coventry. 200. Samuel Essex.

Coventry. [John Brine, or] Bryan [soon of Cripplegate].

The Baptist Interest under George I.

Henley in Arden. 150. Bernard Fosket.

Warwick. 200. Benwick. [Philip James was at the Particular church, but this year White's Alley dismisses a member to a church here].

WILTS. Fourteen Presbyterian, three Independent, eight not classed; eight Baptist.

Bradford on Avon. 350. Brouse.

[Calne].

Devizes. 300. John Filkes.

*[Downton. Benjamin Miller].

[Earl Stoke. Edward Froude just dead].

Melksham. 300. James Earle.

*Salisbury. 200. Abraham Flood.

Salisbury. John Lane.

[Southwick and] Bradley. 300. James Taunton.

Trowbridge. 600. John Davison.

Westbury, Leigh. 650. William Wilkins.

WORCESTER. Seven Presbyterian, one Independent; eight Baptist.

Bengeworth. 60. Fortnightly.

Bewdley. 100. William Thompson.

Bromsgrove. 150. William Peart.

Inkberrow. 60. [George] Yernold.

*Netherton near Dudley. 300. Richard Clark.

Pershore. 700. Timothy Thomas.

Upton on Severn. 50. William Hankins.

[Upton Seventh-day. Philip Jones?].

Worcester. 400. Isaac Poynting.

YORK. Thirty Presbyterian, twelve Independent, eighteen others.

[Barnoldswick. Daniel Slater resigned in 1713].

[Bridlington. George Braithwaite].

[Gildersome. David Crosley?]

[Rawdon. John Wilson].

*[Sheffield had recently applied to the Lincolnshire Association].

*[York was vaguely referred to in the Assembly in 1697].

ANGLESEA. One Pædobaptist church only.

BRECON. One Presbyterian, two Independent, one other. Olchon, Trosgoed [four miles north-east of Brecknock] &c. 400. Richard Williams.

CARDIGAN. Three Presbyterian, four Independent.

CARMARTHEN. Nine Presbyterian, one Independent; one Baptist.

Felinfoel near Llanelly. Morgan John, John Davies.

CARNARVON. One Pædobaptist church.

DENBIGH. Two Presbyterian.

FLINT. One Pædobaptist church.

GLAMORGAN. One Presbyterian, four Independent; five Baptist.

Argode [? Argoed in Monmouth].

Cavenhengode [Cefn Hengoed in Gelligaer]. 700. Morgan Griffith.

Hendraff [Hendre near Bridgend]. 300.

Llanvalon [? Llanfabon near Gelligaer].

Near Config [Kenfig]. Lewis Thomas.

Swansea. Morgan John.

MERIONETH. Two Pædobaptist churches.

MONMOUTH, classed in England, information from Joseph Stennett on 28th January, 1717-8. Seven Independent; seven Baptist.

Aberystroth. 880. William Phillips.

Argoed in the parish of Bedwellty. Morgan Griffith.

Castleton. 60. Timothy Lewis.

“Cromindee. Rice Davies.”

Llanwenarth near Abergavenny. 420. Joshua James.

Mynyddislwyn. 120. John Harry.

Usk and Llangunie [Llangeview or Llangwm?]. 200.

Nathanael Morgan.

MONTGOMERY. Four Pædobaptist churches.

PEMBROKE. One Presbyterian, two Independent; three Baptist.

Deu??

Kilvowie [Thomas spells Cilfowyr].

Rhydwlilm. John Jenkins.

and Llanglydwen. Thomas Matthias.

and Clynderwen[?]. Philip John and David James. 900.

[These three places are really in Carmarthen. The entry appears to read, “Rhydwlilm and Llanglotton and Clombrawn.” The second name is given by Joshua Thomas as Llangloffan.]

RADNOR. Four Pædobaptist churches; two Baptist.

The place-names appear to read as follows:—New Radnor, Llanvihangel Pantmelin, Breynelis and Glasgow, Cobin Llanthewi Lanbadarn, Blaneclay in Montgomery and Pentre in Brecon.

Joshua Thomas writing in 1790, under the date 1717 speaks of three meeting places; Cwm in Radnor, Garth in Montgomery, Pentre in Brecknock. Hence the modern names may be:—

New Radnor, Llanfihangel Nant Melan, Bronllys and Glascwm. 400. Thomas Lewis.

Cwmelan or Cwmbreeth, Llandewi Ystradenny, Llanbadarn Fynydd, Blaenglesyrch, and Pentrefelin. 600. Nathan Davies, Caleb Evans, John Evans.

The figures given by Evans for England, excluding Monmouth seem to sum up as 837 Pædobaptist churches and 244 Baptist, though it would not be easy to count accurately in some cases. As a Pædobaptist himself, and all his associations being with Pædobaptists, who were usually his correspondents, the information there is likely to be complete. And for Baptists in London, where he resided, it stands excellently in comparison with the contemporary diary of Benjamin Stinton. But elsewhere Evans had no special means of getting Baptist information, and it has been easy to add many more items, though none have been added except from direct contemporary information. Summing up what is thus presented, and neglecting a few doubtful cases, there are at least 310 Baptist churches, of which some had four or five centres with three or four ministers. Of these about 111 were General Baptist, but here it is impossible to say precisely when the transition, which sometimes occurred, was really accomplished.

Stating results in round numbers only, there were at this time, in England and Wales, about 9,000 parishes. Outside the State Church there were Roman Catholic recusants, Jacobite Non-jurors, and Protestant Nonconformists. Of these latter, there were in England and Wales about 880 Calvinistic Pædobaptist congregations, 220 Calvinistic Baptist, and 110 Arminian Baptist. Thus in 82 parishes, there might be expected eight Presbyterian or Independent churches, one General Baptist church, and two Particular Baptist churches.

The returns of people, not of churches, furnished to the bishops in 1676, about forty years earlier, sum up that the

population over sixteen years of age numbered 2,477,254 conformists, 13,856 recusants, and 108,476 Nonconformists. This led them to believe that they were to the Nonconformists as 23 to 1. That result was not plausible; the enquiries of Evans seem quite as trustworthy for figures, which however he rarely obtained for Baptists, and far more trustworthy for the number of congregations.

The value, however, of this return will not be in these figures, but in the definite picture given of the state of the two Baptist denominations at a given period, their distribution, their ministers. Companion pictures are already available; earlier in the Assemblies of 1692, both General and Particular, in the licenses of 1672 studied already in these pages, later in Rippon's enquiries of 1790-1798. Similar pictures ought to follow, for the earliest period 1650-55, and for 1773; materials for both these exist in abundance.

A Sabbatarian Pioneer—Dr. Peter Chamberlen.

II.—CRITICAL APPRECIATION.

Our observations on the story thus outlined must be few; but in any case they will be controlled by some acquaintance with the history of the times in which Dr. Chamberlen lived. It is, of course, impossible to do justice to a public man living in the seventeenth century if at the outset we bring his conduct to the ethical standards of the twentieth century.

The Midwifery Forceps.

In the first place, as to the midwifery forceps. A writer in the "Dictionary of National Biography" censures the Doctor for having used secret processes in his work as a physician, and thus indulges in a criticism that is essentially unfair. On this point, Dr. Aveling speaks with judgment:—

At that time the possession of a nostrum was not looked upon as degrading or derogatory to its owner; and the custom of not publishing secret modes of practice was very common. Only a little more than a hundred years since, Smellie writes, "I have heard a gentleman of eminence in one of the branches of medicine affirm that he never knew one person of our profession who did not pretend to be in possession of some secret or another." When the forceps was invented, the age delighted in mystery. . . . All that can be fairly said against the Chamberlens is, that they were no better than their neighbours; and that they failed to recognise the obligation imposed upon all members of our noble profession of publishing freely and immediately any new method of alleviating human suffering, which, by their industry or genius, they may have been able to discover.

Precisely so; living in the seventeenth century, Dr. Peter was of the Puritan period, and shared its limitations on the one hand, its strength of purpose on the other. In some respects he was

ahead of his time—in political, social, and religious proposals; but in other respects he was not one whit above his more ordinary contemporaries.

It is evident that the Chamberlen family endeavoured all along to improve the instruments to which they owed so much of their professional fame. As to the subject of our sketch, he did not pretend to be the inventor of the forceps, but claimed to be an expert practitioner of midwifery. On the entire evidence, Dr. Aveling has arrived at the conclusion that Peter the Elder was the inventor, and that from him the instruments passed from hand to hand in the family. That particular Peter, born in France, came to England with his father, as we have seen, like other Huguenot refugees. In the words of Dr. Aveling, he “rewarded our country for its shelter, by bestowing upon us the priceless and beneficent bounty of his skill and genius.”

In this connection it may be added, that our Peter, the Sabbatarian champion, brought up his sons Hugh and Paul in his own profession, and that they both achieved a material prosperity, though not being heard of in the world of religious disputation or conviction.

Immunity from Persecution.

Though from time to time subjected to annoyance, and molested in various ways, Dr. Chamberlen was not persecuted in the sense experienced by many of his neighbours and friends in the Nonconformist pastorate. One reason for this may assuredly be found in the fact that he was a man of social distinction and influence. Another such case, in the same period, at once occurs to mind: William Kiffin (1616-1701) a wealthy London merchant, was pastor of the church in Devonshire Square. Both came from the Independent body into that of the Baptists; and it would appear that there was an assistant pastor (possibly more than one) in each case. As is well known, King Charles II. showed a certain friendship with Kiffin. Why should not the immunity from persecution enjoyed by Chamberlen be put down to a similar tolerating purpose on the part of the King? If the wealth of Kiffin secured him from trouble such as others had to endure, though not from molestation, why may not the social position and influence of Chamberlen have secured him from the greater hardships that were visited upon many Nonconformists in his day?

Though not a quiet man—he spoke and wrote his mind without fear—Dr. Chamberlen was nevertheless let alone while others, again and again, had to hide and flee. His neighbours

Henry Jessey and Hanserd Knollys were in continual danger of losing life and liberty: moreover, they suffered bonds and imprisonment, while Dr. Peter's brother in Sabbatarian faith and testimony, Francis Bampfield, also had a like experience. How came it to pass, in such circumstances, that Peter retained his freedom? Though finding some measure of explanation in his social position and wealth, yet there were other contributory reasons for his being so much let alone. Assuredly one was that his surgical skill made him a person to be considered. As Charles IX. of France, by a selfish partiality, spared his Protestant physician, the celebrated Ambroise Paré from the fate of the thousands of Huguenots on the occasion of the St. Bartholomew Massacre, so was it, again and again, in the times of the Stuarts in England. Accordingly, the militant Puritanism of Dr. Peter Chamberlen was winked at by those in authority in the days of Charles II. The Court that had refused the Doctor to the Russian Czar, retained him in its own interests, in spite of peculiarities which, however annoying, did not disqualify him from the exercise of his surgical skill.

Physician and Astrologer.

We must likewise consider what sort of a physician this man was. Beyond question he was a "Philomath," one who combined astrology with medicine.¹⁴ He took his degree at Padua, where Judiciary Astrology was a prominent subject of study; he passed much time in the Low Countries, where it was also taught as advanced science; in a word, he flourished in a time when, as we know, all the sciences, all religion, and all politics, were permeated with astrological theories.¹⁵ Those were the days of the almanac-makers, whose productions were spelled over in the taverns and quoted in the Senate; whose predictions, moreover, nerved the arm of the soldier and rounded the periods of the orator. It has, in fact, been said, and with substantial truth, in regard to certain continental kings, that "they engaged astrologers to fight their battles"; and even in England, William Lilly, a contemporary of Dr. Peter, was examined before a Committee of the House of Commons as to the cause of the great fire of London, and examined as an astrologer.

¹⁴ In view of this, one is able to appreciate the feeling of his enemy when he adopted the pseudonym of "Philoletes," as already mentioned in the text (p. 24).

¹⁵ "Encyclopaedia Britannica," s.v. Astrology.

In the days of which we write, "no physician was considered accomplished in his art who knew nothing of astrology.¹⁶ That Dr. Chamberlen was accomplished, is not a point for discussion, for his high standing was universally allowed; and it was because he was so completely qualified, as the age understood it, that the King refused him to the Czar. It is worthy of note in this connection that, in his pamphlet "The Sober Man's Vindication," when speaking of the Plague, the Doctor says, in parenthesis, that it was "menaced by astrologers." Herein he speaks as one in sympathy with them, not in a spirit of cavilling or criticism. In fact, at that time, and later also, the potion was administered, the leech was applied, and all else was done, with the horoscope of the patient continually in view. Hence, if we would appreciate the circumstances, we must consider Dr. Chamberlen as one who, through "reading the nativities" of his patients, was reputed to be able to act at the times most favourable to happy issues and successful results. Therefore, with their own interests ever in view, kings and rulers who believed such powers to be at a man's command, might well show indulgence in regard to matters which to them meant little more than prejudice and superstition.¹⁷

We have already seen that in the seventeenth century the Bishops granted licences to midwives. It is likewise important to remember that they issued licences for the practice of physic; and, as showing the extent to which astrology was recognised as a "hand-maid" or associate of medicine, it is interesting to note that, in 1670, the Archbishop of Canterbury (Sheldon), by request of Elias Ashmole, who was an acknowledged devotee of astrology, granted a licence to practise physic to William Lilly (just mentioned), who for upwards of twenty-five years had been notorious as an astrologer and almanac-maker, and in the meantime had been the subject of gossip, among high and low alike, as compiler of the "nativities" of celebrities in Church and State.

Thus we conclude that, during the reign of Charles II., when he was most active in his dissenting propaganda, Dr. Peter

¹⁶ Dr. Aveling—"The Chamberlens and the Midwifery Forceps." Preface.

¹⁷ As is well known, Charles I. consulted the astrologers, and timed his political action upon the advice which he received from them. Cromwell, moreover, had faith in lucky days; Laud believed in omens and recorded his dreams. In those days, astrology shared with alchemy and magic the favour of the common people and the patronage of the great.

Chamberlen owed his continued liberty, not only to his social position and intellectual attainments, but also to the consideration that was accorded to those who combined the practice of medicine with the pursuit of Judiciary Astrology. Thus it was that Dr. Peter realized an immunity from persecution such as was not enjoyed by his neighbours in Nonconformist circles, even though they made far less noise and commotion.

Sabbatarian Pioneer.

Coming of an inventive family, the Doctor had the parts of a scholar and the instincts of a man of genius. Above all, he was a man of progressive ideas, in some respects two hundred years ahead of his time. When, however, as in his pamphlet addressed to the Jews, he claims to be "the first" to keep the Sabbath in the sense contended for by the Seventh-Day Baptists, he must speak from limited knowledge or with a merely local intention; for it appears that there were in other places Sabbath-keepers of whom apparently Dr. Peter knew nothing. For instance, Theophilus Brabourne, a Puritan minister in Norfolk,¹⁸ wrote a book on the subject in 1628; and other Christian people had declared for a Jewish rigidity in the observance of the first day of the week, Sunday, among them Dr. Nicholas Bound, a Suffolk clergyman,¹⁹ who in 1595, wrote to that effect. Though in these circumstances, we cannot declare Dr. Peter to have been the first Sabbatarian, yet we may certainly set him down as among the pioneers. The briefest outline of the development of the community in modern history may be given in the words of "a leading member of the denomination":—

The Reformation introduced a new era. In the sixteenth century Baptists who kept the seventh day were quite common in Germany. In the beginning of the seventeenth century they made their appearance in England, but did not begin to organize churches until 1650. Within fifty years from the latter date, there were eleven Sabbatarian churches in England, and scattered Sabbath-keepers in many parts of the Kingdom.²⁰

In addition to this, we have the claim of the present-day

¹⁸ Or Bradbourn: See Brook's "Lives of the Puritans," vol. 2, p. 362 ff.

¹⁹ Or Bownde: Op. cit., vol. 2, p. 171 ff.

²⁰ Cathcart's "Baptist Encyclopaedia," Revised Edition, Philadelphia, 1883. s. v. "Seventh-Day Baptists."

leaders of the denomination—a claim which it is no part of our immediate purpose to investigate—that as early as the year 1618, John Trask was writing and speaking on the subject, that, at length, he was placed in the pillory, whipped to gaol, and (with his wife) suffered years of imprisonment, for being a Sabbatarian; and it is also held that the present Mill Yard Church grew out of Trask's labours.²¹

Dr. Chamberlen is described on his tombstone as "A Christian keeping the Commandments of God and Faith of Jesus." It is evident that this formula has a confessional value. "The Commandments of God" clearly refers to the Old Testament institutions for which the denomination claimed to show an uncompromising respect; and "the Faith of Jesus" was regarded as referring to the New Testament ordinance of Baptism. It appears that "from time immemorial" the motto of Mill Yard Church—a church which, as we have seen, claims Dr. Chamberlen for one of its early pastors—has been: "Here are they that keep the Commandments of God and the Faith of Jesus"—Rev. xiv. 12. In the mottoes of other churches of the community there is a combination of "Commandments" and "Testimonies" to a like effect. Accordingly, in England, when Seventh-Day Baptists write to one another, they conclude their letters—"In the Commandments of God and the Faith of Jesus, Yours fraternally," etc. Hence Dr. Peter's son Hope, when putting up the tombstone, was careful to express in fitting terms the denominational relations which his father cherished so warmly.

Glimpses of the Inner Life.

What with professional duties and aims of a socio-political order, Dr. Peter was a man with a full career. When we add to such demands, the controversial interests which he espoused, combined with church life and pastoral obligations, we are compelled to imagine one who "scorned delights and lived laborious days." He was conscientious in the extreme: not hindered by inconvenience, not daunted by opposition. He was not the man to fight shy of causes that were despised, nor did he hesitate to adopt an attitude which might bring disadvantage and difficulty. In his own words, he had a life "according to the world" in his profession, but he also had a life "according to grace" in that he was "a servant of the Word of God." He reminds us of

²¹ The Records of the Jacob-Lathorp-Jessey Church (1616-1641) have an important bearing upon this point. See "Transactions," vol. I. p. 222, footnote.

Daniel, or one of the other children of Judah, serving Jehovah while at the court of Babylon; he followed in the steps of those New Testament "saints that were of Cæsar's household."

In the turmoil of his life, with many interests and movements, we look, and almost in vain, for a quiet and restful note. We find it notwithstanding, in the warm testimony of Thomas Tillam, borne when our subject was in the full vigour of manhood. Writing from Coleman Street, these are Tillam's words:—

Having found many congregations in the practice of the ordinances I wanted, I was, by a blessed hand, guided to my most heavenly brother, Dr. Chamberlen, one of the most humble, mortified souls (for a man of parts) that ever I yet met with, in whose sweet society I enjoyed the blessing of my God, by the laying on of their hands. And after a love-feast, having washed one another's feet, we did joyfully break bread, and concluded with a hymn: in all which the singular majesty of Christ shined forth, to the mighty conviction of some choice spectators.²²

This testimony gives us a glimpse of the Doctor in the freedom of the society which he most loved, and enables us to see him at perfect ease among the people of his choice. Again we find the restful note, with some evidence of the profound comfort which entered into his toilsome life, in the lines of the epitaph which the weary old man wrote for his tombstone, and which appear on the south side of the vault, to the following effect:—

Death my last sleep, to ease my careful head,
 The grave my hardest, but my easiest bed,
 The end of sorrow, labour and of care,
 The end of trouble, sickness, and of fear.
 Here I shall sin no more, no more shall weep,
 Here's only to be found a quiet sleep.
 Death's but one night, my life hath many seen,
 My life brought death, death brings me life again.

Hence spring my joys and comforts evermore,
 I cannot feel but what Christ felt before.
 We now believe, and hear, and talk by guess,
 Then I shall see, and what I see possess.
 And when I wake, wrapt in eternal light
 Of God and Christ, I know no more of night.²³

²² For references, see footnote No. 9, above.

²³ See the complete inscription in frontispiece.

These lines are a window through which we can look into the man's life as it actually was, occupied with Christian love and service. We may perhaps detect, in the epitaph as a whole, some peculiar "views" and opinions; but it is more to the point to regard the lines as an interpretation of the warm spiritual feelings and lively hopes of their author. If, further, we desiderate a simple statement of Dr. Peter's denominational standing and profession—bold and consistent during a long period of years—then we find that also on the tombstone in the words of his dutiful son Hope, as given on the north side:—

"As for his religion, he was a Christian, keeping the Commandments of God and Faith of Jesus, being baptized about the year 1648, and keeping the seventh day for the Sabbath above thirty-two years."

WORKS CONSULTED, etc.:—"The Chamberlens and the Midwifery Forceps" by J. H. Aveling, M.D.; the general facts of which have been accepted without question; "Dictionary of National Biography"; Hanserd Knollys Library, vols. on "Confessions" and "Fenstanton and Hexham Records"; David Douglas's "History of Baptist Churches in the North of England"; Walter Wilson's "Dissenting Churches and Meeting-houses in London"; Brook's "Lives of the Puritans"; Calamy's "Nonconformist's Memorial"; Dr. Cathcart's "Baptist Encyclopaedia"; Pike's "Ancient Meeting Houses"; seventeenth century pamphlets in the British Museum and Dr. Williams's Library; copies of "The Sabbath Observer" magazine for 1907; communications from Rev. Dr. Whitley, Editor of "Transactions" of B.H.S.; Rev. Dr. Boothe Colwell Davis, President of Alfred University, New York; Professor Corliss Fitz Randolph, Ph.D., of Newark, New Jersey; and from Lieut.-Col. T. W. Richardson, of Wood Green N., present pastor of Mill Yard Seventh-Day Baptist Church. On the subject of astrology and related practices—Articles in the Encyclopædias and other Works of Reference. The statements on the tombstone have been accepted without question, with the exception of the astronomical sign preceding the date of birth, on which see frontispiece reproduction, with Note there. Photographs by H. M. Appleyard, of Woodham Mortimer, permission to take pictures of the tombstone being kindly given by the Rev. W. H. Poland, rector of the parish.

J. W. THIRTLE.

Thomas Newcomen : Inventor and Baptist Minister, 1663 - 1729.

INVENTION or discovery in the mechanical world is not commonly associated with the Baptist denomination. Baptists are not generally supposed to have greatly contributed inventions or discoveries which have revolutionised the conditions of modern life. It may, therefore, be interesting to record or recall the fact that Thomas Newcomen, of Dartmouth, the acknowledged inventor or adapter of the steam engine, for twenty years sustained the office of Baptist minister in that Devonshire town.

Newcomen appears to have been a native of Dartmouth, and is said to have been born in the year 1663. After serving his apprenticeship with an ironmonger at Exeter, he returned to Dartmouth, where he carried on a similar business in Lower Street. His house, in the loft of which for three years he carried on experiments which would have discouraged an ordinary man, but which culminated in a working model of his engine, has disappeared at the hands of municipal improvers. The ancient carved woodwork of its front has, however, been incorporated in a new house in Ridge Hill, known as "Newcomen Lodge." This Baptist ironmonger was a reader of works on Natural Philosophy, with a mind eager to turn discoveries to practical account. Particularly his attention was directed to the cylinder and piston worked by steam, the invention of a Frenchman named Denis Papin, in 1690, but laid aside as being of little practical value. Newcomen, however, became convinced that there was more in it than had hitherto been noticed. Accordingly he set to work to bring it to greater perfection, and to apply it to the pumping of water from mines. At this he laboured in conjunction with a John Cawley, a glazier of Dartmouth. A Captain Savery, however, also a Devonshire man, was working at the same time on Papin's invention, and afterwards became associated with Newcomen in the erection of an engine near Dudley Castle in 1712.

The novelty of Newcomen's engine over Papin's and Savery's was the mode of condensing the steam in the cylinder, which was effected by directing a stream of cold water into the cylinder at every rise of the piston. This, however, unfortunately for Newcomen, was considered to be covered by the patent secured by Savery, to whom Newcomen was forced to pay a royalty. But Newcomen is regarded by engineers as the inventor of the "Atmospheric" engine, as it was called, with its arrangement of the overhead rocking beam and pump.

It was in the year 1705 that Newcomen perfected his engine, and from that date till 1729 he appears to have been busy erecting engines at the collieries of England. At the former date one was erected at Griff, near Coventry; in 1711 another appeared at Wolverhampton, and in the following year the one near Dudley Castle was fitted up. By the year 1725 his engines were in common use. Smeaton, in 1767, found no less than fifty-seven of them at work in the neighbourhood of Newcastle-on-Tyne, having cylinders ranging in size from twenty-eight to seventy five inches in diameter. Newcomen is said to have sold and risked all in order to benefit mankind by his invention.

The evolution of the steam engine is mostly ascribed to James Watt, some sixty years later, but Watt was dependent upon Newcomen. It was while repairing a model of Newcomen's engine at Glasgow University that he conceived the improvements that made him so famous as an engineer. "My attention (he wrote) was first directed to the subject of steam in the year 1759. In the year 1763, having occasion to repair a model of Newcomen's engine belonging to the Natural Philosophy Class of Glasgow University, my mind was again directed to it." But for more than half a century before Watt made the improvements which issued in a rotary engine with driving power, Newcomen's pumping engines held the field. It may be interesting to readers of these lines to learn that in addition to the model on which Watt worked, which is still at Glasgow University, there is another, which is said to be the original, in the Museum of King's College, London; and what is perhaps more interesting, a *working* model at South Kensington Museum, which may be seen any day, also an old print of the Dudley Castle engine.

Very little of Newcomen's private life is known. His family appear to have left Dartmouth early in the eighteenth century. He is, however, said to have married late in life a lady nineteen years his junior, named Waymouth, the daughter of a farmer of Malborough, near Kingsbridge, Devon. The issue of this marriage was two sons and one daughter, the second son, Elias,

joining his father in his engineering work. His daughter married a Mr. Wolcott, uncle of the celebrated "Peter Pindar," who is said to have painted Newcomen's portrait, which is believed to be lost. Newcomen, however, was a trustee under a Bromsgrove deacon's will in 1719 of some Baptist property in that Worcestershire town, and it is the appearance of his name in this will which led the writer to make the investigations above recorded, whilst his son, Elias, was one of the witnesses to the will. This Worcestershire deacon also had an interest in Newcomen's engines, for he mentions in his will, "the fund established on the fire engine and my share thereof." Newcomen was in London in 1729 on business relating to a patent for his engine, and while there contracted a fever, and died at the house of a friend. His remains were laid to rest in the famous Nonconformist burying-place—Bunhill Fields.

The chief point of interest, however, is that this inventor, whose work contributed so greatly to the machinery associated with the commercial prosperity of the nation, was a Baptist. Probably he came of a good Baptist stock, as the following may refer to his father and mother:—"November 2, 1663, Charles Newcomen and his wife, and Bathsheba Newcomen, and Robert Steed and his wife, each fined 12 pence as absentees from the Parish Church." He was not only a Baptist, but a busy man who linked the cares of the ministry with his laborious toils. This is established by the record of the Dartmouth Church:—"The very ingenious Mr. Thomas Newcomen (the projector of the engine for raising water by fire) was called out to ye ministry, which he sustained about twenty years." That the Baptist ministry, distinguished as it is in many ways, should be associated with a great discovery in the mechanical world is probably unique.

JAMES FORD.

Baptists in Recent Publications.

Historical study has suffered severe loss in the death of the Rev. Bryan Dale, late Secretary of the Yorkshire Congregational Union. His literary executors have issued a volume on Yorkshire Puritanism and Early Nonconformity, consisting of 219 biographies of ministers who suffered about 1660-1672, and were connected with that county. By the kindness of the Rev. John Haslam, D.D., F.R.Hist.S., a few items of information as to Baptists are extracted.

William Kaye, of a good family at Topcliffe, obtained possession of the rectory of Stokesley, when Thomas Pennyman was sequestered during the civil war. In July 1653 he became a Baptist by the instrumentality of the Hexham church, as has long been known to us; but whereas Crosby led us to think he thereupon left the rectory, this proves not to be the case. In 1657 he was scheduled as one of the Visitors for the proposed University of Durham, and the register of Stokesley has many entries of the birth and death of his children till 1660, when we read, "Charles II. was restored to the kingdom and in the same year Thomas Pennyman was restored to the rectory of Stokesley." The only further news may be contained in the entry, "1690, July 4. William Kaye of Stokesley buried." These entries necessitate corrections in Vol. I., pages 32 and 40.

At Bridlington, Nonconformist services were conducted by the ejected perpetual curate, William Luck, and the cause he founded still exists. Among his earliest hearers was Robert Prudom, who became a Baptist, and on 18th September, 1698, was ordained pastor of a new church in the presence of the pastors of Muggleswick and Pontefract.

Jeremiah Marsden preached at Wirrall, Blackburn, Heapey, Allerton, Thornton, Halifax, Whalley, High Shuttleworth; he was approved by the Tryers on the recommendation of Tombes, and went to Ireland, Kendal and Carlow; all this between 1649 and 1659. Then he succeeded John Canne as preacher to the garrison in Hull under Colonel Robert Overton, and actually stayed fifteen months: this is almost the first time that he came into contact with Baptists. Yet he felt no qualms about accepting an invitation in 1661 to take the living at West Ardesley, where he preached till Bartholomew's Day in 1662. Being accused—apparently with perfect justice—of fomenting the Farnley Wood plot, he fled to London and assumed the name of Ralphson; then retired

to Henley, where for the first time he was imprisoned in 1675. He was invited to succeed Hardcastle at Broadmead, and Carmichael at Lothbury, but could not settle down, preaching occasionally at Founders' Hall and Dyers' Hall. In the reaction after the Popish plot he was imprisoned in Newgate with Bampfield and Delaune; and the latter tells us that he died there about February, 1684.

Jonathan Grant, vicar of Ashley near Kidderminster, had a Baptist wife: the debate between Baxter and Tombes at Bewdley, led her to give up her views.

In the account of Samuel Eaton, facts are blended about two men who were carefully distinguished at the time. One was born in Cheshire and except for 1637-1640 in New England, spent all his public life in that county, dying in 1665. The other Samuel Eaton was a button maker of St. Giles without Cripplegate in London, known as in trouble with the High Commission 1632-1639, when he was buried in Bunhill Fields. The Cheshire rector became a leader of Congregationalism in the north: the Londoner was "baptized" on profession of his faith by John Spilsbury, and became an ardent Anabaptist. See Volume I., pages 214, 219, 220, 252.

Regent's Park College. A Centenary Memorial.

An excellent little book of 108 pages has been issued by the principal of the college, president of this society, to commemorate the completion of a hundred years' work. He modestly says that the students are more important in the history of a college than its managers or tutors, but lest he should be drawn on into writing a large book, he contents himself with careful lists of all; presidents, professors and tutors, lecturers, treasurers, secretaries, alumni, lay students. To look over the lists, for one who has had no official connection with the college, is to realise faintly what it has been for the denomination, when personal links can be recognised with at least one man in every column. From such a theme Principal Gould warns us off.

There is a preliminary chapter dealing with earlier London Baptist attempts at education, as to which we may attend more closely. Then come sketches of William Taylor, Joseph Gutteridge, and William Newman, the founders. The story of thirty years follows, the installation in "an ancient keep and gateway of deep-red brick, popularly known as King John's Tower," with more modern buildings adjoining, and the successful start by Newman, followed up by Murch. The next twenty years show how Joseph Angus brought the college into touch with the new University of London, how he rescued it from disaster, and arranged for the work to be transferred to the west. Then comes the admission of lay students, a manful effort to provide higher education under Baptist auspices for the sons of Nonconformists, the return of Dr. Benjamin

Davies. The steady endowment of the college was practically accomplished in this period, though three chairs were only founded in the next. A brief chapter deals with what many know from experience; the founding of the *Senatus Academicus*, co-operation with other colleges, affiliation with the new University. The whole story is worthily told, and closes with the outline of a worthy policy for the future.

Its appearance tempts to look at the early state of education among London Baptists, and the "Academies" of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The notices of the latter, whether by Bogue and Bennett, or in the calendars of the *Senatus Academicus*, are silent about early Baptist work; there is hardly even a chapter heading as on the famous precedent of "Snakes in Iceland," with the text—There are no snakes in Iceland.

Early Baptists were not enamoured of a professional ministry, whereas they were very strong in their insistence that a man be called by God to preach; consequently, the closing of the Universities to Nonconformists hardly attracted their attention. We have shown in our first number that the only ex-clergy connected with Baptist churches in London under Charles II. were Abbot, Bampffield, Denne, Dike, Gosnold, Hardcastle, Harrison, Jessey, Knowles, Maisters, Oates, Wise, and perhaps Palmer. There is some evidence that a few of these and of their country brethren desired to provide for the continuance of an educated ministry, and Principal Gould points out that the Assembly of 1689 was called partly for this object. But he also quotes from the epistle of 1693 to show that this very attempt contributed to the cessation of the London Assemblies, proving that Londoners at least were distinctly averse to such training; though Bristol favoured, and had made a beginning in 1680.

The technical phrase of these days was, Academy. This really meant a private school where a minister took pupils to board in his house, and coached them for the ministry. Some such private ventures became very popular, boarders were sent by brother ministers from their congregations, rich dissenters would send their sons, as the universities were closed to them though they did not aim at the ministry. We should expect that many out of the hundreds of Presbyterians ejected would have opened such private schools, until we recollect that even to be a schoolmaster was difficult under the Act of Uniformity, and was not too easy under the Act of Toleration. The day had not yet arrived when a man who had failed in other walks of like could open Dotheboys Hall without license from a bishop. Of the few Baptist ministers who had been clergy and did open schools, we only know Knowles in London, for John Evans at Wrexham is hardly to be esteemed Baptist. Fourteen Presbyterians up and down the land are known doing the same thing, with five in London.

Under William III. and George I. the conditions were more

favourable from the side of government. The Congregational Fund Board was founded in 1695, and next year appointed a tutor, putting him so distinctly under their patronage that they soon forbade him to take other pupils than those they sent. The precedent was followed in 1702 by the General Baptists in Association resolving "that there be a school of universal learning erected in and about this city in order to bring up persons (who by the grace of God shall be soberly inclined) to the work of the ministry." But it is hard to trace what was done, and by 1732 the Assembly was only encouraging the elders generally to foster the gifts of the younger ministers in their churches. Meanwhile a more organised attempt was initiated in 1717 by the establishment of the Particular Baptist Fund "more especially for the support and maintenance of honourable ministers, and providing for a succession of such." Principal Gould points out that the appeal was addressed exclusively to congregations in and about London. It is interesting to notice that New College and Regent's Park College, closely associated with these two funds, maintain friendly co-operation to-day. Meanwhile, the old Academies were still being added to. At Trowbridge, the Baptist pastor, John Davisson, kept such a school, and when he died in 1721, his successor in the pastorate, Thomas Lucas, succeeded also to the Academy. This attracted the attention of the great Paul's Alley church in London, which had accumulated an excellent library, and in 1737 some of the books were presented to the Academy; a fact which suggests that a semi-public status was being acquired here also. But though a pupil here, William Waldron, succeeded as pastor in 1743, the Academy seems to have flickered out, and he supported himself as a clothier.

The next step was taken about 1752. Caleb Ashworth, son of a Lancashire Baptist minister, was appointed by the Coward Trustees to take charge of the Congregational students hitherto under Philip Doddridge at Northampton, and they were moved to board with him at Daventry. It was provoking to see the talents of the denomination turned to account outside its borders, and several London Baptists founded an Education Society for assisting students, whose attainments and hypercalvinism would be assured under the superintendance of Dr. Stennett and Dr. Gill, with Wallin and Brine. Principal Gould describes the misfortunes of this venture, its connection with Bristol and Rawdon, and its final merging with the Particular Baptist Fund.

Another attempt was made at this time by Dr. John Ward, professor at Gresham College, who put stock in trust during 1745 for educating to the ministry English Baptists, or, failing them, other Nonconformists. This plan was not connected with any special place, although it emanated from London.

Under the influence of the evangelical revival of Whitfield and the Wesleys, there was a general impulse to education, which led first

among the Baptists to the Rhode Island College in America. Then at Bristol, the Baptist ministers co-operated, a sign that the old private-school system was evolving to something more permanent. The Societas Evangelica in 1778 appointed three tutors, and presently took over premises in Hoxton Square where two previous private schools had been conducted. A private academy at Newport Pagnel which had already trained a young Baptist, was put on a more public footing by the famous John Newton of Olney in 1783, and the name of Charles Williams will remind us that it continued to prepare for the Baptist ministry. Then John Sutcliffe at the Baptist Church in Olney took in pupils on the familiar private plan, while John Fawcett at Ewood Hall in Yorkshire did the same.

The General Baptists were next to realise new conditions, and in 1794 the ancient General Assembly opened an annual subscription, which by 1796 was training a student. This provoked the New Connexion to emulation, and on 11th December, 1797, a committee met to organise a General Baptist Academy, which meant as heretofore that boarders were taken in Dan Taylor's private house at Mile End.

Out of Fawcett's boarding school arose in 1804 the Northern Baptist Education Society, backed by men like Robert Hall and John Sutcliffe, who ultimately bequeathed his library. This roused the Londoners again, and Abraham Booth urged a fresh attempt, which resulted in a plan to board out students with an approved minister for two years. Next arose the Welsh and English Baptist Education Society, founded at Abergavenny, close to the ancient church of Llanbadarn fawr.

Thus there were not only numerous Pædobaptist institutions of various kinds at Wrexham, Wymondley, Rotherham, Idle, Axminster, Cheshunt; and Baptist colleges on a society basis with premises of their own at Bristol and Bradford; but there were two General Baptist academies in London itself, while the Calvinistic Baptists here could not be persuaded to go beyond exhibitions—to use a modern phrase—tenable under very lax supervision. And this when Pædobaptists had academies at Homerton, Hoxton and Hackney.

Now William Newman had been assistant at Enfield in the school opened by J. C. Ryland, senior, and had thus been won to Baptist views, as Principal Gould tells with sympathy. When he took charge of the Old Ford church, he opened a day school, and presently established a boarding school at Bromley. Mr. William Taylor saw that the time had come, and the man, so he presented £3,600 to buy premises; by February, 1810, the Education Society of 1804 decided to support the new venture, while the Particular Baptist Fund was brought into close harmony by giving its managers the right to appoint future trustees. London Baptists at last took a natural place in the development of the denomination, and the pages of Principal Gould's booklet show what we owe to them.

Seventh Day Baptists in Europe and America. Historical Papers. 1500 pages in 2 volumes.

The paper on Peter Chamberlen by our Treasurer, Dr. Thirtle, which was read in brief at our April meeting, and whose concluding part is printed in this number, has brought us into touch with the Seventh-Day Baptists of America. They have favoured us with several of their publications. Their Year-book of nearly 300 pages shows that they are organised in six associations, 73 churches containing 6,000 members. Their educational work culminates in a University at Alfred in New York: the theological department alone includes about forty students: there is a strong normal department to prepare teachers for the numerous denominational schools; twelve professors and four tutors form the headquarters staff, and there are endowments of about £70,000 besides the buildings and equipment.

When the centenary was celebrated of establishing a conference in 1802, it was decided to draw up a series of historical papers. There has been such a generous response to the request for information and pictures, that finally two enormous volumes, profusely illustrated, have been issued, which contain all that an enquirer can want in the first instance. We are not competent to appraise the value of the American work; but ninety pages are given in one volume to the Seventh-Day Baptists in the British Isles, with pictures of Mill Yard, Bull-stake Alley, Natton in Gloucestershire, and portraits of leaders like Chamberlen, the Stennetts, W. H. Black and others more recent.

Another section records all publications by Seventh-Day Baptists or bearing on their peculiar tenets; another gives biographical sketches, and these eighty pages again have much of interest, especially in the cross lights thrown by four different authors.

Much critical work may be done on the English sections by those who have the advantage of more general information. It is interesting to note that the greatest number of Seventh-Day Baptist churches supposed to have existed in the British Isles since 1600, amounts to thirty, met in every division of the kingdom. Here is one quaint item: "About the year 1825, there came to Banagher from the north of Ireland a certain Charles Monk, who was a Protestant and a Sabbath-keeper, probably also a preacher. He established a school to fit young men for Trinity College, Dublin. Very soon he gathered about him a little band of Sabbath keepers, who met for regular worship in the chapel of Mr. Monk's Academy. One of the converts was William Buchanan, one of the local lords, who was a man of marked individuality. He, with his wife and family, lived in a large stone castle on one side of the village; and it was source of diversion to the children of the village to gather of a Saturday and watch him drive by in his fine equipage, with gilded harness and liveried servants, on the way to church."

There is quite a list of notable English adherents, including Thomas Bampfield, the speaker of Parliament in 1659, John Belcher, who was a source of terror to Charles' spies, Christopher Pooley, of Norwich, another great evangelist, the famous Stennett family, Nathan Bailey the lexicographer, Professor William Whiston [?], Sir William Tempest, F.R.S., W. H. Black, F.S.A., and many hardly known outside the body.

The volumes are admirably indexed, printed and bound, and are a distinct accession to our nascent library.

The Tombs in Bunhill Fields.

The Transactions of the Congregational Historical Society for September, 1910, contain an article dealing with the burials at the Bonehill in Finsbury from 1549. It explains minutely the steps by which part of this ground became practically a Dissenters' cemetery till further interments were forbidden in 1852, and till this part was dedicated to public use in 1869. Full justice is done to the labours of Dr. Rippon and Mr. J. A. Jones in their transcripts and memoirs, and a reminder is given that the official registers of all burials from 1713 onwards are accessible at Somerset House. Then on the basis of Mr. Jones' "Bunhill Memorials," and the plan by the City Lands Committee, a map is given showing the tombs where rest 260 ministers and 55 laymen.

We miss, with some surprise, any reference to the interment here of Samuel Eaton on 25 August, 1639, as reported in the State papers; this fact, to which we drew attention a year ago, quite dispels the doubt expressed on page 348 whether burials took place here between 1561 and 1662; moreover, the tone of the report suggests that burials did take place here often. Three Baptists mentioned in these lists are not so identified; Francis Smith, the General Baptist of Cornhill and Croydon; Nehemiah Cox, pastor of Petty France, formerly a minister of Bedford; and John Gammon, at whose meeting in Boar's Head Yard, Bunyan preached his last sermon. Cox is given the title M.D., he is sometimes called D.D., we should like to know the authority for styling him Doctor in any faculty; he was a cord-wainer originally. There are three doubtful cases, Professor John Ward of Gresham College, Daniel Defoe as to whose exact denomination we have never seen a clue, and Anthony Palmer, M.A., of Pinners' Hall; though in these lists he is classed as Baptist, every new fact about him seems to class him rather with Pædo-baptists; when he was at Bourton, a Baptist church was there, to which he did not belong, but belonged to another in the same town.

The lists give the names of seventeen Baptists known to be buried here, with nothing to mark their tombs, and of forty-five whose tombs are known. The very earliest recorded here is of Henry Jessey in 1663; before that century ran out, there were laid to rest Vavasor

Powell, Gosnold of Paul's Alley, Dike of Devonshire Square and Bunyan, Nehemiah Cox, William Marnor, Francis Smith and Hanserd Knollys, Mordecai Abbot and John Gammon; while Kiffin hallowed the opening eighteenth century. In this it may suffice to mention Gale, Key, two Stennetts, Gill, MacGowan, Gifford. The nineteenth century saw here Dan Taylor, Joseph Hughes, Joseph Ivimey, and John Rippon.

John Spencer, 1639-1672?

John Spencer's short treatise concerning the lawfulness of every man exercising his gift as God shall call him thereunto, is reprinted in the September issue of the Transactions of the Congregational Historical Society. The editor regrets that so little is known about a man who gave such a fine lead as to lay-preaching.

It is well known that out of his Crutched Fryers church of 1639, there departed Paul Hobson, who in 1644, was both a Captain and head of a Baptist church. The treatise reprinted was replied to in February 1642; and on 30 March, Spencer preached at St. Michael, subsequently printing the sermon: E 135 (29) and E 145 (10) at the British Museum. Yet another answer to him was published on 14 March, 1643-4, "Lay-Preaching Unmasked," E 37 (14). After this he is not certainly identified.

We suggest that he may be the Captain Spencer who was heard on 22 November, 1652, praying at London House for a new Parliament; who in the Clarke papers of 1658, figures as a Baptist, objecting to the accession of Richard Cromwell as Lord Protector; the Captain Spencer who in 1669 was reported to the bishop of Lincoln as having a congregation of 400 Anabaptists at Hertford, with three places openly fitted up; the John Spencer who in 1672 took out a licence to conduct Anabaptist worship at the house of Anthony Spinage in Cheshunt.

Anabaptist, Baptist, Antipædobaptist.

Murray's Oxford Dictionary is very disappointing as to the history of these words. Contributions are invited as to the earliest use of each. "Anabaptist" is quoted there as used first by Sir Thomas More when confuting Tindale in 1532. "Baptist" is quoted there as used first by W. Britten in his book called *The Moderate Baptist*: but on 31 May, 1644, I.E. published a tract, *The Anabaptists Groundwork* found false, on page twenty-three of which he asks Thomas Lamb "and the rest of those Baptists, or Dippers, that will not be called Anabaptists" what rule they have for their manner of dipping? The word "Anti-pædobaptist" is not given at all by Murray. It is used freely by Christopher Blackwood, in his *Apostolical Baptisme*, published 13 January, 1645-6: and at page 55 he explains it, as if it were a word newly coined and needing justification. See page 78 of this issue.