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Records of the Jacob-Lathorp-Jessey Church 1616-1641.

THE first document in Stinton's Repository covers nearly twelve pages foolscap. It has a series of dates down the outer, or right, margin; these enable us to see that the manuscripts of Mr. H. Jessey which were avowedly the sources, had not been digested. First is an introduction as to Mr. Henry Jacob, leading up to his forming a church in 1616, whose story pauses with his successor leaving England in 1634. Then comes an episode arising from the accession of a group from Colchester in 1620, who provoked discussions ending with the dismissal of a group in 1633; to which is added a note as to a similar dismissal in 1638. The main thread is then resumed at 1636 and carried on to 1641. The episode is recurred to, with an account of what happened in 1630. And Stinton closes with the disappointing remark that there followed several sheets with names and dates—which he forebore to copy out! In six cases there are dates on the left margin; we may guess that these were absolutely original, and that those on the right margin were added by Jessey or Adams or Stinton; but we can hardly check that guess. The two series of dates do not conflict with each other.

As to the pedigree of these papers, so poorly arranged. Stinton says he received them from Richard Adams. Adams was a clergyman ejected from Humberstone after the Restoration, who opened a conventicle at his home in Mount Sorrel, and in 1672 was licensed to preach there as a Congregationalist. In 1689 he was Elder of the General Baptist church at Shad Thames, yet attended the Particular Baptist Assembly as Elder, thus traversing the same ground as that covered by Keach twenty years earlier. Keach's church was close by, and we may think that Keach was not passive in these strange proceedings, for we know that a formal complaint was laid against him for similar conduct in 1697. In 1690 Adams succeeded Dike as colleague with Kiffin at the Particular Baptist church in Devonshire Square, the Shad Thames church promptly returning to its former associates. At the P.B.

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Assembly of 1692 Kiffin and Adams represented Devonshire Square, Keach represented Horsleydown. In 1701 Kiffin died and Adams became sole pastor, obtaining a colleague next year in another ex-General Baptist, Mark Key. At the 1704 P.B. Association Adams and Key, Keach and Stinton were all present as officers of their churches. Thenceforward Adams and Stinton were often associated, as in 1715 at the baptism of Jonathan Owen of Deadman's Lane, or when Stinton handed Adams five guineas of Hollis's benefactions, or when the two churches subscribed in 1717 towards the baptistery at Paul's Alley, or united next year in founding the P.B. fund. Even in their deaths they were not divided, both passing to rest in 1719. Therefore Stinton is thoroughly credible when he says he got these papers from Adams.

Stinton says they were manuscripts of Jessey. Was Adams in a position to assure him of this? Jessey died in 1663, Adams at that time was in Leicestershire, and the only point of similarity is that both were University men, ejected from the establishment. But out of the church to which Jessey ministered, had sprung several churches, one of which became the Devonshire Square church of which Adams was chosen pastor. It has indeed been said that Jessey's own section joined this, but the present writer has vainly searched the Devonshire Square books for confirmation. We do know that members frequently went from Jessey's church to that which came under the pastoral care of Adams, the latest case being Nathanael Crabb, between 1674 and 1689. Therefore Adams had ample means for knowing the writing of these manuscripts, and as Jessey died a bachelor, his papers were more likely to be passed on to brethren in the faith than to relations.

Finally, was Jessey in a position to know the facts in these manuscripts? To this the answer is that they record the early history of Jessey's own church from its origin in 1616 till his own association with it.

The chain of evidence is therefore complete in that the alleged story of transmission is possible and probable; and as all the men were of probity, as the records were always in the keeping of those who were sympathetic, we may proceed to their study with the expectation that any collateral information will harmonize and illustrate.

Numerous students have bent their close attention to these papers, especially from America where one point involved has raised great discussion. Most of them indeed knew the records only in the pages of Neal or Crosby or Gould, but at least they accumulated material relevant. No one can afford to overlook the books referred to by Doctors Dexter, Whitsitt, Christian,

Jesse Thomas, Lofton and others, even when he has unearthed many of them for himself and has added more.

The intrinsic importance of the records may be judged when we recollect that in America the Established Churches (Congregational) at Barnstable and Scituate were linked with the church whose origin is dwelt upon; while in England it gave rise to several, of which two have a continuous chain of history back to the life-time of Jessey:—the Strict Baptist church which till this year was worshipping in Commercial Street, and the Baptist church of "Devonshire Square," now worshipping in Stoke Newington. These records explain the origin of all four churches, and of the once famous "Cripplegate-meeting," also Baptist, and of others whose subsequent history is lost in the sands. Indeed, in 1711 there was hardly a single Particular Baptist church in London which did not owe its origin at first, second, or third hand to this church, as will appear when our study of these documents is ended.

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

ANNO 1712.

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

·Numb: 1

Page 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.
Adams.¹

¹ The title is due to Stinton. From his time the origin of the church was nearly a century distant, so that he might well call it an ancient church. He might perhaps have said that it was the oldest church which was represented in his day. In 1909 there is no Congregational church which has succeeded in showing its descent from Jacob; the latest discussion is in the Transactions of the Congregational Historical Society, 1905 and 1906. Even when Stinton wrote, every English descendant of this church seems to have evolved into a Baptist society, such as the meetings at Wapping, Walbrook, Artillery Lane, Devonshire Square, Cripplegate, and Tallow-chandlers' Hall.

Of Mr Jacob the *Chief* beginner of this Church
his Works & proceeds about this Way.²

Henry Jacob a Preacher, an eminent man for Learning, having wth others, often & many ways, sought for Reformation, & shewed the Necessity thereof in regard of the Church of England's so far^r remoteness from y^e Apostolical Churches in his 4 Assertion dedicated to King James, & he 1604 made an offer of Disputation therein.

² Henry Jacob was an Oxford graduate, ordained, but unbeneficed. It may illustrate the evolution of a Puritan into an Independent to augment the few notices of his books here prefixed to the story, from the researches of Dr. Dexter and his son Morton Dexter, checked by the Museum catalogue, as also from the discoveries of Mr. Champlin Burrage, notified in October, 1907, through the Baptist Review and Expositor.

Like many other Puritans who objected to the ritual in Elizabeth's Prayer-Book, and to the episcopal government in England, he found it convenient to go abroad. At Middelburg, apparently, he published under his initials, in 1598:—"A Treatise of the Sufferings and Victory of Christ in the worke of our redemption, declaring . . . that Christ after his deathe on the crosse went not into hell in his soule. Contrarie to certain errours, publiklie preached in London; anno 1597." At Middelburg he was in touch with the Separatists, for Browne and Harrison had had a church here between 1581 and 1584, while the local English chaplain, Francis Johnson, had been won over to somewhat similar principles so that he resigned, and after imprisonment in London, where Jacob had vainly argued with him, he found his way this year to Amsterdam where he shepherded a flock of some three hundred Separatists, to which the 1592 church of Barrow had expanded. Against them Jacob during 1599 issued anonymously:—"A defence of the Churches and Ministry of England. Written in two treatises, against the reasons and obiections of Mr. Francis Johnson, and other of the Separation commonly called Brownists. Published especially for the benefit of those in these parts of the Low Countries." And bound with it, "A Short Treatise concerning the truenes of a pastorall calling in pastors made by praelates. Against the Reasons and obiections of Maister Francis Iohnson, with others of the Separation commonly called Brownistes." Next year he had to fight on the other hand, and issue, still anonymously, A defence of his first book "for answere to the late writings of Mr. Bilson, L. Bp of Winchester."

The death of Queen Elizabeth opened a new era, when the Puritans hoped much from a Presbyterian king. Jacob was active in promoting the great petition for reform, and a copy of a letter of his from Wood Street in London, asking for signatures may be seen in the Epistle Dedicatorie of The Answere of the Vice-Chancellor, etc. in Oxford. The petition came to nothing; James in his capacity as Supreme Governor of the Church of England made several changes in the Prayer-Book, but not what the Puritans wanted. He then ordered absolute uniformity, with the alternative of being silenced. Jacob was not an incumbent, but the new Stuart drill would cut off all hopes; so he tried once more, and published under his own name after June in 1604 the first book here alluded to:—"Reasons taken out of God's Word, and the best humane testimonies, prouing a necessitie of reforming our churches in England." This naturally led to his imprisonment.

In the Clink, a jail in Southwark controlled by the bishop, he had more leisure for literature, and besides petitioning for release and offering promises and bail on

A Humble Supplication to his Majesty (viz) King ¹⁶⁰⁹
 James for permission to enjoy y^e Government of
 Christ in lieu of humane Institutions, & abolishing
 that of the Antichristian Prelacy, as more opposite
 to Monarchy, & to his Royal Prerogative: And
 haveing set forth

An attestation of y^e most famous & approved ¹⁶¹⁰
 Authors witnessing wth one Mouth y^t each Church
 of Christ should be so independent as it should

4 April, 1605, he corrected "The Second humble Supplication of many faithfull Subjects in England, falsely called Puritans directed to ye Kings Majtie, 1605," which however never found its way into print till 1907. He also drew up a catechism, "Principles & Foundations of Christian Religion," far more compact than Bacon's or Nowell's or even than Ponet's. About April 1606, the time having expired during which he promised to be silent, he began writing a defence of his book, pointing out that it had not been answered.

We are indebted to Mr. Burrage for grouping these documents, which show that Jacob was already nearly as far advanced as John Smith, "the ringleader of the Separation" in Lincolnshire. He held that a visible church was constituted by a free mutual consent of believers joining and covenanting to live as members of a holy society together; that such a church should elect its ministers—a pastor or bishop, elders, and deacons—and then as a rule leave these guides to prepare and direct everything. In other words, he was not an Episcopalian, nor even a Presbyterian in the sense of wanting synods, but he accepted Calvin's original idea, of a congregation governed by its officers: in English phrase, he was a Barrowist, not a Brownist.

Out of prison, he was able to publish again, and in 1606 he made "A Christian and Modest Offer of a most Indifferent Conference, or Disputatyon, about the maine and principall Controversies betwixt the Prelats, and the late silenced and deprived Ministers in England: tendered by some of the said Ministers to the Arch.bb. and Bb., and all their adherents." Nothing came of this, and in 1609 he presented to James the Humble Supplication here mentioned; James read a copy, and made notes on the margin, but did not heed it. Jacob therefore emigrated again, and at Leyden met John Robinson; in 1610 he published two more books here noted, "The Divine Beginning" and "A Plaine and Cleere Exposition of the Second Commandement." (It may be noted that the date in the margin to the former of these seems to have been transposed with that above; and on the other hand that the latter book escaped the careful search of Dexter.) In 1611 he expanded the Divine Beginning, as is here observed—the only known copy being at the Bodleian, so that again this author is very well informed. And that same year on 4 September he wrote a letter from Middelburg subsequently published as a "Declaration and Plainer Opening of Certain Points, with a sound confirmation of some other, contained in a treatise intituled" The Divine Beginning. In 1613 according to Dexter, perhaps in 1612-3 which tallies with this MS. if we transpose two dates, he issued the attestation which showed he had shaken himself free not only from Episcopacy but from the developed Presbyterianism of France and Scotland, declaring explicitly that "a true Church vnder the Gospell containeth no more ordinary Congregations but one." His own evolution was now complete in theory, and this manuscript describes how he persuaded others, and led some on to practice.

have y^e full Power of all y^e Church affairs entire within itselfe: And Published

The Divine Beginning & Institution of a Visible ¹⁶¹² Church, proveing y^e same by many Arguments, opening Matth: xviii. 15 wth a declaration & fuller evidence of some things therein: And having published

[2] An Exposition of y^e Second Co^mandement, ¹⁶¹⁰ shewing that *therein now is required a right [2] vissible Church State & Government independent. ¹⁶¹⁰

He having had much conference about these ^[Neal uses at II. 96.] things here; after y^t in y^e low Countries he had converse & discoursed much wth Mr Jn^o Robinson late Pastor to y^e Church in Leyden^s & wth others about them: & returning to England In London he held many several meetings wth the most famous Men for Godliness and Learning (viz) Mr Throgmorton, Mr Travers, Mr Wing, Mr Rich Mansell, Mr Jn^o Dod. (to whom Dr Bladwell was brought y^t by his opposition y^e Truth might y^e More appeare) these wth others haveing seriously weighed all things & Circumstances Mr Jacob & Some others sought y^e Lord about them in fasting & Prayer together: at last it was concluded by y^e Most of them; that it ware a very warrantable & commendable way to set upon that Course here as well as in Holland or elsewhere, whatsoever Troubles shall ensue. H Jacob was willing to adventure himselfe for this Kingdom of Christs sake; y^e rest encouraged him.⁴

³ John Robinson died in 1624-5, so that this manuscript was begun after that date, and was not exactly a contemporary diary.

⁴ Mr. Shakespeare has pointed out the importance of this statement. The Brownist churches had been frowned upon by the Puritans; but much had happened since 1580. Even twelve years before, John Smith of Lincoln had failed to convince Dod Hildersham and Barbon that Separatism was desirable; but almost directly afterwards Dod had been suspended from his living, and was now silenced altogether. That Dod was incumbent of Fawsley, where were printed some Marprelate Tracts, of which Job Throkmorton denied being

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The Church Anno 1616 was gathered

Hereupon y^e said Henry Jacob wth Sabine Staismore, Rich Browne, David Prior, Andrew Almey, W^m Throughton, Jno Allen, M^r Gibs, Edw^d Farre, Hen Goodall, & divers others well-informed Saints haveing appointed a day to seek y^e Face of y^e Lord in fasting & Prayer, wherein that perticular of their Union together as a Church was mainly comended to y^e Lord: in y^e ending of y^e Day they were United, Thus, Those who minded this present Union & so joyning together joynd both hands each wth other Brother and stood in a Ringwise: their intent being declared, H Jacob and each of the Rest made some confession or Profession of their Faith & Repentance, some ware longer some ware briefer, Then they Covenanted together to [3] walk in all Gods Ways as he *had revealed or [3] should make known to them⁵

the author. But the Mr. John Dod named here is more probably the incumbent of Coleman Street and now of Coggeshall, destined soon to be silenced by Laud. Hildersham was now on bail, and in 1616 was fined £2000, so absconded till 1625; Neal tells us that he opposed the proceedings of Jacob. Of Smith's Barbon little more is known, but by 1640 another Barbon of stronger convictions was in touch with this church. Walter Travers was the famous Presbyterian leader, provost of Trinity College in Dublin till 1598; in 1612 he presented a plea to the Privy Council, opposed at once by his former antagonist Hooker. Richard Mansell, minister of Yarmouth, had been imprisoned since 1604 for refusing the oath *Ex-officio*.

The persecuting Bancroft died in 1610, and was succeeded by Abbott, a Calvinist, who proved more tolerant. So within a year or two, Helwys and Murton brought over some of Smith's disciples to London, where they formed what is apparently the first Baptist church in England. In 1612 Helwys challenged the Establishment as the Mystery of Iniquity, and incidentally blamed flight from persecution. This stung John Robinson at Leyden, who replied in 1614. Murton returned to the matter next year in his *Objections Answered*, saying "That hath been the overthrow of religion in this land, the best able and greater part being gone." The return of Jacob was a manifest response to this call.

⁵ This final clause is noteworthy. John Smith in his last book had said: "This is the quintessence of the separation, to assume unto themselves a prerogative to teach all men, and to be taught of no man. Now I have in all my writings hitherto received instruction of others, and professed my readiness to be taught by others." Jacob now followed his example, and avowed himself ready to follow as God should make known to them. Four years later, Robinson the disciple of John Smith, also advised his church "if God should reveal anything to us by any other instrument of his, to be as ready to receive it, as ever we were to receive any truth by his Ministry."

This method of covenanting is thoroughly Puritan, and is based on the Old Testament

Thus was the begining of that Church of which proceed, they within a few Days gave notice to the Brethren here of the Antient Church.⁶

After this Hen Jacob was Chosen & Ordained

with such precedents as that of Nehemiah. Those who studied the New Testament usually found out that mutual covenanting is not advised, and that the New Covenant is accepted by a believer in the act of baptism. For a thorough treatment of this Puritan custom, see Burrage's "Church Covenant Idea."

⁶ The church founded in 1592 after a less formal existence, had acquired the title "The Ancient Church" when this manuscript was written. For in 1634 John Canne in publishing his "Necessitie of Separation From the Church of England, proved by the Nonconformists Principles," styled himself "Pastor of the ancient English church," most of whose members then lived "in Amsterdam." The expression is not only accurate, but technical, and evidently refers to the fact that other churches had arisen, but this was the senior. Even by Stinton's day, however, it had disappeared, and the prestige was transferred to Jacob's church.

In 1616, as in 1596, the Ancient Church had members both in London and in Amsterdam, though there is no sign of any officers resident in England. The Ancient Church was Barrowist, its confessions of 1589 and 1596 are well known. When they are compared with the confession put out by Jacob's church now, to be seen at the Bodleian or at Dr. Williams' Library, it is evident that the Ancient Church was far more positive, while the Jacob church was like Milton's lion, only half extricated from the soil whence it sprang. Professor Williston Walker has not even included Jacob's Confession in his ample volume setting forth The Creeds and Platforms of Congregationalism. The brethren of the Ancient Church felt the difference; they had not been consulted, they were not asked to come and bless the formation, they were only notified afterwards. As late as 1624 they hesitated about acknowledging Jacob's as a true church. Their scruples included that Jacob's people went to the parish churches sometimes; with a hit at Jacob and his book on the Second Commandment they inferred that Jacob's people were idolaters. They objected also to Jacob's covenant as false, and were not willing to recognise Sabine Staesmore and his wife unless it was renounced, and a new one made. Robinson argued these points, sent a copy of much correspondence on the matter with Amsterdam, and decided that Jacob's was a true church.

Inattention to the contrast between the two churches has led to confusion in some writers, and even when the light had dawned, the tradition lingered as far as to suggest that Jacob's church may have eventually absorbed the Ancient Church. Of course anything may have happened, but no shred of proof has been adduced, and we shall show the probability that the Ancient Church merged into the 1621 church of Hubbard, at some date soon after 1632.

This document mentions the following places where Jacob's church met on specified occasions; 1632 Blackfriars, 1636 at Mr. Digby's, within the jurisdiction of the Lord Mayor, 1637 Queenhithe, 1638 Barnaby Street, 1640 Tower Hill, 1641 at brother Golding's and at Nowel's, within the jurisdiction of the Lord Mayor. Not one of these places suggests Southwark. Lambeth is mentioned in 1639, but only as the scene of trial and sentence. The High Commission records of 1634, at folio 376 describe John Lathrop as of Lambeth Marsh, a fact noted by this writer five years ago; but this only gives the residence of the pastor, and will hardly go far to prove that his church habitually met in Southwark. Indeed the evidence suggests that at this period it had no habitual meeting place, but used members' houses. As for the later period, 1653-1678, the Hexham and Broadmead Records prove it then met in Swan Alley, Coleman Street, north of the Thames.

Pastor to that Church, & many, Saints were joynd to them.⁷

The same Year ye said Hen Jacob wth ye advice ¹⁶¹⁶ & consent of the Church, & of some of those Reverend Preachers beforesaid published to ye World

A CONFESSIO & PROTESTATION in the Name of certain Christians, therein showing where- in they consent in Doctrine wth ye Church of Eng- land, & wherein they ware bound to dissent, with their evidences from ye Holy Scriptures for their dissent in about 28 particulars viz

- | | |
|------------------------------|------------------------------|
| 1. Christs offices. | 15. Mixt Multitude |
| 2. Scriptures all Suffic : | 16. Humane Traditions. |
| 3. Churches Distinction. | 17. Traditions Apostolick, |
| 4. Visibile Church. | 18. Of Prophecy. |
| 5. Synods and Counsels | 19. Reading Homilies. |
| 6. Cathol. Church Politick. | 20. Christs descent to Hell. |
| 7. Provincial Church. | 21. Of Prayer |
| 8. Parish Chu. Bondage. | 22. Holy Days so called. |
| 9. L. Arch. Bps. L. Bps. | 23. Marriage, Burying, |
| 10. Makeing Ministers | Churching, &c. |
| 11. what Comūnion wth them. | 24. Ministers being Magis- |
| 12. Pluralists. No residents | trates. |
| 13. Discipline Censures | 25. Lords Days Offerings. |
| 14. Pastors Number & Power | 26. Tiths Church Dues |
| | 27. Magistrates Power |
| | 28. Necessity on us to obey |
| | Christ rather than |
| | man herein. |

With a Petition to ye King in ye Conclusion for Tolleration to such Christians.

- [4] *At ye Same time also he published a Collection of 14 Sundery Reasons. 20 & 4 Conclusions proveing how necessary it is for all Christians to Walk in all ye Ways & Ordinances of God in purity, in a right

⁷ If the Church of England was no true Church, episcopal ordination was null and void. Such had been the obvious conclusion of John Smith and other Separatists, and Jacob accepted it. He was chosen and ordained anew.

Church way. part of them were made by Mr Wring the Preacher.⁸

About eight Years H. Jacob was Pastor of y^e Said Church & when upon his importunity to go to Virginia, to w^{ch} he had been engaged before by their consent,⁹ he was remitted from his said office, ¹⁶²⁴ & dismissed y^e Congregation to go thither, wherein after Years he ended his Dayes.¹⁰ In the time

⁸ The British Museum contains the anonymous tract, "A Collection of sundry matters, tending to prove it necessary for all Persons actually to walke in the use and practise of the Substantial Ordinances." Possibly the Mr. Wring who collaborated in this, is the Mr. Wing who was consulted before the church was founded. Neal took this view, from this document. Hence we infer that the reading Wing is not original.

⁹ The growing power of Bishop Laud, and his rigorous drill into uniformity, augured ill for absolute Separatists. As early as 1611 the idea had occurred to the Puritans that they might settle in the new colony of Virginia, and the London Company sent out a small band under Sir Thomas Dale, who settled at Henricopolis, named after the Prince of Wales. In 1618 Elder Blackwell took out a band of Separatists from the Ancient Church in Holland. Next year Captain Christopher Lawne planted another important Puritan Colony on the creek that still bears his name. In 1620 Robinson's church from Leyden followed these precedents, but was carried to a different part of the coast, to starve in New England. By 1621 Edward Bennett had planted two hundred people up the James River; his relation William Bennett, a Puritan, seems to have gone as their preacher. Nearly opposite Daniel Gookin settled another Puritan colony the same year, and named it, after his friend Captain Newce and their Irish home, New Port Newce. Close to Bennett's group came in 1622 Nathaniel Basse with another Puritan band. So important were these, that in 1629 Richard Bennett and Basse appeared in the House of Burgesses to represent Warrosquoyacke County. Other details as to the early Puritan settlements here can be found in Latane's Johns Hopkins study, "Early Relations between Maryland and Virginia," or in Dr. Dill's study of it in the Baptist Review and Expositor for April 1907. Now in 1619 the first legislative council met, at James City, a few miles inland from James Town; with local self-government and many Puritans, it is no wonder if many Puritans thought of a wholesale emigration to this hospitable colony. James also saw the risk of a wholesale revolt and a practically republican government, so confiscated the charter in 1624 and ruled the colony by his own governor on his own lines. What with outrageous revolutions of this kind, and with the great Indian massacre of 22 March 1622-3, much trouble attended that State and people from 1620 onwards. A census taken in February 1623-4 revealed only 1275 people living, 370 having died. Puritan emigration slackened, and when it was resumed in 1630, it was directed to New England and not Virginia, under cover of a new charter, to a trading company, and not to lords proprietors.

¹⁰ There is real difficulty about this statement of Jacob's actual emigration, and his death in Virginia. The dates are uncertain; for the side-note is evidently based upon the text, and that only says "about" eight years; and the number of years he spent there is left blank. Counting back "about 9 Years" from June 1634, we get about June 1625 as the beginning of Lathorp's pastorate. The interregnum was "a Year or two," which takes us to about Christmas 1624, with a margin of six months on either side, as the end of Jacob's pastorate. So the manuscript is quite self-

of his Service much trouble attended that State & People, within & without.

After his Departure hence y^e Congregation remained a Year or two edifying one another in y^e best manner they could according to their Gifts received from above, And then at length John Lathorp sometimes a Preacher in Kent, joynd to y^e said Congregation; And was afterwards chosen and Ordained a Pastor to them, a Man of a tender heart and a humble and meek Spirit serving the

consistent. The question is whether when his pastorate ended, he actually went to Virginia and died there.

On this point Dr. Dexter said in 1879 that he had searched all available records in vain for further light upon the port of debarkation, the post of labour, the cause of death and the place of rest. The writer has followed up this enquiry, with the help of many more documents than were available to Dr. Dexter, and is equally at fault. But whereas the myth had sprung up that Jacob even founded a town called Jacobopolis, he can at least explode this. In the earliest days there was discussion as to the name of the first town; the colony was called after the Virgin Queen, so it was thought an obvious compliment to call the town after her successor. There was wavering between James Town and James City, both ultimately adopted for the port and the capital; but on 18 August 1607 we find in the Colonial State Papers that a Dutchman writing a Latin letter, latinized the name and dated from Jacobopolis. Hence this name has nothing to do with Henry Jacob.

The Dictionary of National Biography tells rather a different story as to Jacob's death, and careful scrutiny of the original documents confirms it in the main. On 5 October 1622 Henry Jacob made his will, avowedly because he was going to Virginia; and the will benefits his sons on condition that they too come to Virginia by the end of May next. So far this bears out the statement here that he had been engaged to go thither before 1624. This will however was proved on 5 May 1624 by Sarah his widow, Mr. Harris of Newgate being proctor. The "proctor's act," which would state something as to date and place of death, is not in the registry, and there is only the ambiguous statement that probate was granted to Sarah Jacob, relict of Henry Jacob, of St. Andrew, Hubbard. First, this may only mean that Sarah was of the London parish, which indeed seems the case by the entry here for 1632. Or it may mean that Henry was still domiciled in London, without implying anything as to the place of his death: the writer knows a will signed by a man who had lived for several years in New York and had not stirred out of America, yet described himself as an Englishman domiciled in London, where the will must be proved. Or it may mean that Henry actually died in London, either having never left it, or having returned after a visit to Virginia. Now St. Andrew, Hubbard, is a tiny parish under the shadow of the monument commemorating the fire of 1666 which burned down the parish church. Most fortunately the records were preserved; they date from Elizabeth's reign, are very full and very legible. In the years 1622-1624 there is no mention of any Jacob, and we may fairly conclude that Henry Jacob did not die in that parish. If he died in Virginia early in 1624, his will would have to be proved in the English court. The "about eight years" should really be "six," and the blank in this line should be filled with "two."

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Lord in the ministry. about 9 Years to their great Comfort.¹¹

1632. the 2^d Month (called Aprill) y^e 29th Day ¹⁶³² being y^e Lords Day, the Church was seized upon by Tomlinson, y^e Bps Pursevant, they ware mett in y^e House of Hump: Bornet, Brewers Clark in Black: Fryers, he being no member or hearing abroad, At w^{ch} time 18 were not comitted but scaped or ware not then present.¹² [Neal uses II. 315.]

¹¹ The pastorate of Lathorp was marked by two swarms hiving off from the church, as detailed below, one between 1620 and 1630, the other in 1633. But the narrative at this point is concerned only with the troubles from without, which led to the emigration of Lathorp. Bishop Laud was translated to London in 1627, so that they were now directly under his jurisdiction; and when he was re-translated in 1633 to Canterbury, he exerted his metropolitan rights and his rights as a Privy Councillor and as a High Commissioner so that he still dealt directly with all conventicles in London.

¹² In the records of the Star Chamber and High Commission, published by the Camden Society as volume 146, we get the trial resulting from this capture. On May 3 the prisoners specified were John Latroppe their minister, Humphrey Bernard, Henry Dod, Samuell Eaton, Granger, Sara Jones, Sara Jacob, Pennina House, Sara Barbon. Susan Wilson, besides divers others unnamed. It was admitted that Barnett, the brewer's clerk at whose house they were taken, himself went to church. Dod had been warned before—was he related to Dod the nonconforming minister? The prisoners came from different places; Essex (our records mention Colchester), St. Austin's, St. Martin's le Grand, St. Botolph's, Aldgate, Isleworth and St. Saviour's. It was not the first time they had been known to meet: Lambeth (evidently Lathorp's own house), St. Michael of the Querne, St. Austin's, Old Jewry, Rotherhithe, and other remoter places. By May 8 a further batch was brought up, Mark Lucar of St. Austin's, John Ireland of St. Mary Magdalen's in Surrey, Toby Talbot, William Pickering, Mabel Milbourne, William Atwood, Samuel Howe, Joan Ferne, Elizabeth Denne, Elizabeth Sargeant, John Egge, Henry Parker, John Woodwyne, John Melbourne, Elizabeth Melbourne, Thomas Arundel of St. Olave's, William Granger of St. Margaret's in Westminster, Robert Reignolds of Isleworth. These are distinguished from attenders on two other conventicles, dealt with also that day.

These records tally very closely with the story of the church, and give the names of the eighteen who at first "thought to have escaped." Some of the church afterwards attained a little importance, notably Samuel Howe, Mark Lucar and Praise-god Barbon.

It may be convenient to reproduce Mr. Pierce's list of the prisons in London, as most of them concerned our friends. London proper contained the Tower, where prisoners of the High Commission were tortured occasionally; the Fleet, used often by the Star Chamber; Newgate, the Compter in the Poultry, and the Compter in Wood Street, all three under the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs; Bridewell close to Blackfriars, for disobedient apprentices, pick-pockets, strumpets, etc: the bishop also had in his palace adjoining St. Paul's, a Coal Hole which he used for his own prisoners. Across the river were five more; the Southwark Compter, the Marshalsea, the White Lion (an old inn), and the Queen's Bench, all on the east of the main street; the Clink, an old prison for keepers of brothels who exceeded the license given them by the bishops of Winchester, on the

About 42 ware all taken & their names given up. Some ware not comitted, as Mr^s Bernet, Mr Lathorp, W. Parker, Mr^s Allen &c Several ware comitted to the Bps Prison called then the New [5] Prison in Crow a merchants *house again) & [5] thence Some to ye Clink, some to ye Gathouse, & some that thought to have escaped he joyned to them, being in Prison togeather viz
 John Lathorp Mr Sargent Widd Ferne Sam Hon Sam House Sister House Bro^r Arnold Mr Wilson John Woddin John Milburn Marke Lucar Mr Crafton Mr Granger Henry Parker Mr Jones H. Dod, deceased, a Prisoner Mr Barbone Mr Jacob Mr Lemar.

1632 Elizab. Milburn, about 26 comited ye 12th of ye 2n^d Month (called May 12th) being ye Lords Day.¹³ Just a fortnight after was ye Antient Church so seized upon & two of them comitted to be fellow Prisoners with these. The Lord thus tryed & experienced them & their Friends & foes ye Space of some two Years, some only under Bail, some in Hold: in w^{ch} time ye Lord Wonderfully magnified his Name & refreshed their Spirits abundantly, for I. In that time ye Lord opened their mouths so to

street from Deadman Place to St. Mary Overies. At Westminster, over two gateways into the abbey precincts, was the Gate-house, very convenient for both Star Chamber and High Commission.

¹³ The text is avowedly difficult to read here and invites skill to supply the gaps and to punctuate aright. It is by no means clear why the date 1632 is given in the left margin, when it had already been given in the text, and when at that place it had also been noted in the right margin. Again at the former place we have the ordinary reckoning—the second month called April—while here the second month is called May, and the 12th of May cannot be the Lord's Day if the 29th of April was. It would be tempting to suppose that the new paragraph in the present text represents a new paper; but the court report shows that Elizabeth Melbourne was one of those brought up on 8 May. Whatever else needs doing, the full stop after Lemar's name seems wrong, and the contraction 2nd is certainly an error for 3rd, though even then the dating is slightly wrong. As to the names, there are several trifling slips, all of which can be rectified from the Court Records except that of Ralph Grafton, which is here spelt with a C, and presently appears as Ghofton. For all names, reference should be made to the list compiled in a later article.

speake at ye High Commission & Pauls & in private even ye weake Women as their Subtill & malicious Adversarys ware not able to resist but ware asshamed.

2. In this Space ye Lord gave them So great favioir in ye Eyes of their Keepers yt they suffered any friends to come to them and they edifyed & comforted one another on ye Lords Days breaking bread &c.
3. By their Holy & Gracious carriage in their Sufferings, he so convinced others yt they obtained much more favioir in the Eyes of all Such generally as feared God then formerly, so that many ware very kind & helpfull to them, contributing to their Necessities, some weekly sending Meat &c, to them.
4. Their Keepers found so sure in their promises that they had freedom to go home, or about their [6] Trades, or buisness *whensoever they desired, & set their time, & say they would then returne it was enough without the charges of one to attend them.¹⁴
5. In this very time of their restraint ye Word was so farr from bound, & ye Saints so farr from being scared from the Ways of God that even then many ware in Prison added to ye Church, viz

Jo. Ravenscroft	Sarah.....	Willm.	Widd. White
Widd. Harvey	Hump. Bernard	Thos. { Harris	Ailce
Mary Atkin	G. Wiffield	Jane {	Eliz } Wincop
Thos. Wilson			Rebec }

6. Not one of those that ware taken did recant or turne back from the truth, through fear or through flattery, or cunning Slights but all ware ye more strengthened thereby,

[Neal here deserts this MS. and garbles number 23.]

¹⁴ There are many other instances of jailers being thus complaisant to religious prisoners, Bunyan's case being well known. Samuel Eaton in particular profited by his parole being taken, as will presently appear.

7. When in y^e time of their Sufferings, M^r Davenport had so preached that some brought the Notes of his Sermon to these, as if it ware to condem their practice, & would have them answer them if they could: they sent a letter to him desireing he would Send them his own Notes to avoid mistakes hoping that either he might inform them or they him in some things discover to him w^t was made known to them, He loveingly performed it, they having perused his Notes, wrote back to him a large answer; after his receipt thereof he never did comūnicate with them any more, but went away when y^e Sacrament day came, and afterward preached, publickly & privately for y^e truth, & soon afterward went to Holland, where he suffered somewhat for y^e truths sake, & then went to New England where he now preacheth the same Truth that these do here, 'though there without such Persecution.¹⁵
8. The Answers of M^{rs} Jones & Some others in y^t [7] time of their *Sufferings are not¹⁶ yet Extent for y^e Comfort and Encouragement of others against taking that Oath ex officio against false Accusers.¹⁷ Their Petitions to his Maj^{ty}.

¹⁵ John Davenport made his mark in New England, and Mather's History supplies a few details. He had been of Brasenose, a B.D., and was at this time incumbent of Coleman Street, which he resigned in 1633, going to Holland, where he joined the English church in Amsterdam—not the Ancient church of which John Canne was Elder. but the Puritan church housed then and now in the Bagijnhof. He was removed from this church because he objected to the promiscuous baptism of children—evidently wishing it confined to the children of members. He returned to England, helped get the charter for the trading company of Massachusetts Bay, arrived in New England 1637 and died on 15 March 1670. He never became a Baptist, and as "he now preacheth the same Truth that these do here," it follows that this manuscript was written by a pædobaptist—which Henry Jessey was until 1645.

¹⁶ The word "not" should apparently be "even."

¹⁷ Queen Elizabeth as Governor of the Church of England, appointed not a single Vicar-general like Thomas Cromwell, but a High Commission. She empowered any six commissioners to summon anybody suspected, and to examine them "upon their corporal oath," that is, laying their hand on a Bible and swearing. If they would not take that oath, the commissioners might imprison them as long as they pleased. Since this oath

Sarah Jones her Grievances given in & read openly at ye Cōmission Court.

Her Cronicle of Gods remarkable Judgments & dealings that Year &c wonderfull are the Lords works its meet he should have all ye Praise.

After ye Space of about 2 Years of the Sufferings & Patience of these Saints they ware all released upon Bail (some remaining so to this day as Mr Jones &c, though never called on)¹⁸ only to Mr Lathorp & Mr Grafton they refused to shew such faviour, they ware to remain in Prison without release.

At last there being no hopes yt Mr Lathorp should do them further Service in ye Church, he having many motives to go to new England if it might be granted After the Death of his Wife he earnestly desiring ye Church would release him of yt office w^{ch} (to his grief) he could no way performe, & that he might have their consent to goe to new England, after serious consideration had about it it was freely granted to him

Then Petition being made that he might have ¹⁶³⁴ Liberty to depart out of ye Land he was released from Prison 1634, about ye 4th Month called June,

was administered by virtue of the office held on the commission, it came to be popularly called the Ex-officio oath. No accuser need appear, the material for accusation was extracted from the suspect: the chief difference between this court and the Inquisition was obviously in name. The system came to the notice of Lord Burghley in 1584, but despite his protests, it was continued by Whitgift, and a petition of the Commons that same year was equally ineffectual. The Millenary Petition of 1603 did little to check it, except that the commission to Bancroft in 1611 limited it to those who were already definitely accused. But Laud on the other hand widened its extent, for in 1584 the Commons spoke of it as administered to clergy alone, but now laymen also were invited to criminate themselves. In 1641 when the High Commission was abolished, it was thoroughly provided that no person whatever exercising ecclesiastical power should even tender to any person whatever an Ex-officio oath, on pain of £100 fine and treble damages to the person aggrieved. So Sara Jones won her cause.

¹⁸ This parenthesis suggests that the document was written about 1641; for in that July the High Commission was abolished, and the remark was needless in view of the altered situation.

& about 30 of the members who desired leave & permission from y^e Congregation to go along with him, had it granted to them, namely, M^r Jo: Lathorp, Sam. House, John Wodwin, Goodwife Woodwin, Elder & Younger, Widd: Norton, & afterwards Rob^t Linel & his Wife, M^r & M^{rs} Laberton, M^{rs} Hamond, M^{rs} Swinerton¹⁹

1620 joyned those wth M^r Jacob, these inhabiting in Coulchester (though an old Church of y^e Separation was there) *viz Joshua Warren, Henry January, [8] St Puckle a Manasses Kenton, Lemuel Tuke &c who afterwards by Consent became a Church. Tuke left them & is a Preacher at Dry.²⁰

1630 M^r Dupper had been of this Congregation he 1630 wth Tho: Dyer y^t was one of them & Daniel Chidley y^e Elder these

¹⁹ The Acts of the High Commission enable us to expand this. On April 24 John Lathropp was enlarged on bond to appear in Trinity Term, and not to attend private conventicles. On June 12 Sarah Jones the wife of Thomas Jones of Water Lambeth refused to take oath to answer articles—precisely as this manuscript says—and was therefore committed to the Gate house, but was afterwards discharged on bond for her appearance. Then, and on June 19 and on October 9 Lathorp did not appear, and orders were made to certify the bonds and to attach him. On the last occasion Samuel Eaton was joined with him. And on February 19, 1634-5 they were both accused of having kept conventicles. That was the official view of the fact declared here, that the congregation did meet and grant leave to about thirty of their number to emigrate with Lathorp. It will be noted that nothing like thirty names are given here; either the paper was mutilated—for the next paragraph is quite a new topic—or else Stinton was tired of copying names, as he avows at the end of the whole document. As Mr. Lathorp disappears off the horizon of this church, it is only needful to say that he sailed on 31 August—a point evidently unknown to the High Commission—landed at Boston on 18 September, and took charge of churches in the old colony (not the new Massachusetts colony) at Scituate and Barnstable.

²⁰ Essex had been a stronghold of the Elizabethan Puritans; in Dr. Usher's edition of the Minutes of the Dedham Classis 1582-1589 he gathers the names of 55 ministers in this county, all organized in opposition to the bishop, eight being of Colchester itself. It is significant how silenced Puritans were on the high road to keep conventicles, that one of these was George Tuke: Lemuel Tuke in the next generation goes further. This was what John Canne urged on Ames was the logical course. Even under Edward, when a Dutch church settled at Colchester, an English tanner there had been convicted of heresy; now these elements combined and precipitated a church. It again becomes clear that Jacob's type was not of the former Brownist type, for some people in Colchester would not join the old Separatist church, but joined him; and presently most were dismissed to form a second church in Colchester.

joyned together to be a Church, Mr Boy joyned himself to them & Mr Stanmore Benj: Wilkins, Hugh Vesse, John Flower, Bro: Morton, & his Wife, John Jerrow.²¹

1633. There haveing been much discussing these deny-¹⁶³³ ing Truth of y^e Parish Churches, & y^e Church being now become so large y^t it might be prejudicial, these following desired dismission that they might become an Entire Church, & further y^e Comunion of those Churches in Order amongst themselves, w^{ch} at last was granted to them²² & performed Sept 12. 1633 viz

[Gould quotes on page cxxii.]

Henry Parker & Wife
Widd: Fearne Marke Lucar Hatmaker
Mr Wilson Mary Milburn Tho^s Allen
Jo: Milburn
Arnold

To These Joyned Rich. Blunt, Tho: Hubert, Rich.¹⁶³³
Tredwell & his Wife Kath:, John Trimber, Wm
Jennings & Sam Eaton Mary Greenway——Mr
Eaton with Some others receiving a further
Baptism.²³

²¹ For fuller detail of the 1630 movement we must compare the last section of these records. Dupper from Colchester took the radical view that the parish churches could not be regarded as true churches, and that all intercourse with them must be explicitly renounced. Jacob had founded his church with the approval of several parish clergy, and a member now had his child christened at the parish church. Canne declined to recognize such a wavering body as a sister church, taking exactly the view that the Ancient church had taken in 1624, for as will be seen when studying the fourth document, he was now the pastor of this Ancient church. Dupper urged them to come out boldly, and they evaded the issue in revising their covenant. So he and a few others quitted and established themselves on the basis of the Ancient church and Canne. This was a secession, and Dupper's friends apparently did not hold communion with the body they left.

²² After three years, discussion cleared the air to the extent that a third group quitting on the same principle, were granted an amicable dismission. They also held communion with Canne's Ancient church and Dupper.

²³ A fresh point was started by Samuel Eaton. If baptism in the parish church was not valid, he himself was unbaptized, and the covenant could not replace baptism. So when he quitted Lathorp's church for Lucar's, he received a further baptism on profession of his faith. This was exactly the same advance that John Smith of Lincoln had made when he recognized not only with Barrow that the Church of England was the Beast of

Others joyned to them,
 1638. These also being of ye same Judgment wth Sam.
 Eaton & desireing to depart & not to be censured
 our intrest in them was remitted wth Prayer made
 in their behalfe June 8th 1638. They having first
 forsaken Us & Joyned wth Mr Spilsbury,²⁴ viz

[9]	*Mr Peti. Fener .	W ^m Batty	[9]
	Hen. Pen	M ^{rs} Allen (died 1639)	
	Tho. Wilson	M ^{rs} Norwood	

[Gould
ends.]

Revelation, but that her baptism on the forehead was the Mark of the Beast. It is not said whether Eaton found his way to this view direct from the Bible, or whether he read a copy of Smith's book on the point. But we do know that for his further baptism he went to Spilsbury. What act was baptism, did not apparently trouble any one yet.

Gathering together from the State Papers the facts known about Eaton later than those mentioned in notes 12 and 19, we find that he was a button-maker of St. Giles without Cripplegate, and that on 5 May 1636 his case was referred to the High Commission. Two years later, a clergyman imprisoned for debt petitioned Laud about him, asseverating that this schismatical and dangerous fellow, committed to Newgate by Laud, had held conventicles in jail, and had been allowed to preach openly; he had affirmed often that baptism was the doctrine of devils, &c. [a misapprehension of Eaton's objection to baptism in an apostate church]; the jailor had listened, and had even let Eaton out to preach at conventicles. [This confirms precisely the statements in these papers.] On 25 August 1639 Eaton was buried in Bunhill Fields by two hundred people who asked no help from any parish clergyman.

The memory of him lasted for two or three years as a Separatist leader, and the contemporary lampoons carefully distinguished him from Samuel Eaton the minister of New Haven in Connecticut in 1639, who returned about 1641, and after preaching in Chester and Knutsford, founded the Independent church at Dukinfield near Manchester.

²⁴ Within five years a different church came to light, clustering around John Spilsbury, of entirely independent origin. For other early information about him we depend on John Taylor's scurrilous rhyme published in June 1641, A Swarme of Sectaries:—

Also one Spilsbery rose up of late
 (Who doth, or did dwell over Aldersgate)
 His office was to weigh Hay by the Trusse
 (Fit for the pallat of Bucephalus)
 He in short time left his Hay-weighing trade,
 And afterwards he Irish Stockings made:
 He rebaptiz'd in Anabaptist fashion
 One Eaton (of the new found separation)
 A zealous Button-maker, grave and wise,
 And gave him orders, others to baptize;
 Who was so apt to learne that in one day
 Hee'd do't as well as Spilsbery weigh'd Hay.

Taylor mentions six other leaders of conventicles in his satire, while in The Brownists' Synagogue we get fifteen more names, all different from our group, but with the express acknowledgement that besides these local groups, the arch-separatists, the demy gods who

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²⁵Other Persecutions besides the Persecutions before^d

The Good Lord Jesus gave, (Satan still envying ye Prosperity of Zion, stirred up against this Church) several Tryalls afterwards wherein still ye Lord gave occasion of Triumphant in him; It's good to record & bring to remembrance our Straights & ye Lords Enlargements, Experience works Hope & Hope maketh not ashamed because ye Love of God is shed abroad in our hearts. to instance in

²⁶John Trash was taken by Rag at Mr Digbeys ¹⁶³⁶ & not Yelding to Rags general warrant, was had to

preached everywhere were Greene the feltmaker and Spencer the coachman; from the next document we know that their headquarters were in Crutched Friars. Thus we have here in 1639 a group of nine whose lines are intertwined, showing how little Laud's repression availed:—

1. The Ancient Church of 1592, London and Amsterdam, at this time under John Canne.
2. The old Separatist Church of Colchester.
3. Our Jacob-Lathorp-Jessey Church of 1616.
4. Its daughter at Colchester under Lemuel Tuke.
5. The secession of 1630 under Dupper.
6. Another daughter of 1633, including Mark Lucar and [Green] the hatmaker, to which Samuel Eaton joined presently.
7. The Old Colony daughter of 1634 at Scituate, under Lathorp.
8. Spilsbury's church, known by 1638.
9. Green and Spencer's church in Crutched Friars, founded in 1639 by division from 6.

These all fall into two groups; 3, 4 and 7 were mediating, willing to admit communion with the parish churches; the rest declined to acknowledge them in any way. This was also one difference across the Atlantic between the Puritans of Massachusetts of the "New England way," and the earlier Plymouth church from Leyden. The Colonial State Papers of December 1634 preserve a letter intercepted from James Cudworth at Scituate, saying that their pastor Lathorp had just arrived, and contrasting the methods of the Old Colony with "the presbyterial government as it seems established" in Boston and the New England towns. It is well to remember that Lathorp's First Church at Scituate is to be distinguished from a second established there on the New England lines, though Scituate was not then in Endicott's territory.

²⁵ Apparently the fore-going section, 1620-1638 was misplaced by Stinton in copying; he speaks of "several sheets," not of a stitched book. The section between the lines, 1636 to 1641, continues the topic of persecution which was suspended at 1634. It will be observed that the personal note "Us" first appears under the date 8 June 1638: Henry Jessey first met this church about 1635, and became pastor in 1637. We note the same "us" presently under date 21 January 1637-8.

²⁶ On 31 August 1639 it was reported that Mrs. Traske, a Sabbatarian, had lain in the New Prison or the Gate House for eleven years. It is implied here that Trash belonged to this church. The "Mill Yard" Sabbatarian Baptist church, which has lost

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y^e L. Mayor & was comitted to y^e Poultre Counter for ten days & then was released upon Bail, wanted his health & was shortly after translated.²⁷

11th Month (vulgarly January) y^e 21 day at Queenhith (where M^r Glover, Mr Eaton, Mr Eldred¹⁶³⁷ & others ware wth us)²⁸ after Exercise was done, by means M^r the overthwart Neighbour, Officers & others came, at last both y^e Sheriffs, & then Veasy y^e Pursevant who took y^e Names; The Lord gave such Wisdom in their Carriage y^t some of their opposers afterwards did much favour them & bail'd them. The next Day Veasy the Pursevant got Money of some of them, & so they ware dismissed, 4 ware comitted to y^e Poultre Counter viz

R. Smith M^{rs} Jacob. S. Dry

3 Month 8th Day At M^{rs} De Lamars Veasy wth ¹⁶³⁸ others came upon them in Barnaby Street by Male all taken 4 bound to answer at High Comission. viz Br. Russell & Cradock

11th Month at Lambeth M^{rs} Lovel & M^{rs} Chit-¹⁶³⁹
 [10] wood by Doctor *Featly were sent to Kings Bench, [10]
 & by Doctr Lands direction bound to y^e Assizes

2 Month Vulgo April 21. At Tower Hill at ¹⁶⁴⁰
 M^{rs} Wilsons where some ware seeking y^e Lord wth

its records, claims Trask as member, and on the strength of him claims to have originated in the reign of James. In 1645 Ephraim Pagitt, who knew him well, stated his opinions as that it was not lawful to do anything forbidden in the old Law, nor to keep the Christian Sabbath. He had been pilloried at Westminster, whipped thence to the Fleet, and imprisoned there three years before he recanted. See Heresiography, p. 124.

²⁷ John Ragg or Wragg, Veasy, and Male, were pursuivants of the High Commission, mentioned here and in the court records. This church was well posted on matters of law, for the point was raised that a general warrant, specifying no names, was invalid; John Wilkes long afterwards established the point.

²⁸ Eaton belonged to another church now, but the relations between that and "us" were avowedly friendly, as had not been the case with Dupper's church or the Ancient Church.

fasting for y^e Parliament²⁹ (like to be dissolved unless they would grant Subsidies for Warrs against y^e Scottish) by procurement of Male y^e Arch Prelates Pursevant, Sr W^m Balford Leutenant of y^e Tower sent theither H Jesse (who he found praying for y^e King as he told his Mag^{ty}) M^{rs} Jones, M^r Brown wth others about 20.

Then Sr W^m asked his Magesties Pleasure concerning them who would have them Released but Dr Laud y^e Arch Bishop being Present desired the men might be bound to y^e Sessions w^{ch} was perform & no Enditement being there against them at their appearance they were freed. 1641

Also 6 Month 21. at our Brother Goldings by y^e Constables Means, Alderman Somes came who took y^e Names of M^r Puckle & John Stoneard, y^e Constables carried them with M^r Golding, M^r Shambrook & some others to y^e Mayor who bound them to y^e Sessions, from whence their Accusers being called then to take y^e Protestation wth their Parishoners none appearing against them they were freed.³⁰

Also 6 Month 22^d day at the L Nowers house, 1641
y^e same L. Mayor Sr John Wright came Violently on them, beat, thrust, pinched & kicked such men or Women as fled not his handling, among others M^{rs} Berry who miscarried & dyed the same week & her Child. He comitted to y^e Counter H.

²⁹ William Kiffin was apparently present, to judge by his autobiography. As he is not named here, the inference is that to the writer he seemed of no special importance. As in 1643 Kiffin routed Jessey in argument, we infer that the document was penned before then.

³⁰ With the fall of the High Commission, the officers had to rely on the Lord Mayor or the Sessions or the House of Commons. Neither officers nor Puritans approved of Separatism: toleration was only secured in January of 1640-1 after a leading case before the House of Lords, mentioned in a later document. The intolerance of the Puritans was constant, and led in the end to Colonel Pride purging the House of Commons, since they were by stealth passing an ordinance to imprison for life or execute all Baptists and some others.

Jessey, Mr Nowel, Mr Ghofton, & that night bound them to answer at y^e House of Comons where they appearing he let it fall.

[11]

*COVENANT RENEWED.

[11]

Whilst Mr Lathorp was an Elder here some 1630 being greived against one that had his Child then Baptized in y^e Common Assemblies,³¹ & desiring & urging a Renouncing of them, as Comunion wth them, Mr Can also then walking Saints where he left Mr How (he going wth Some to Holland)³² He desiring that y^e Church wth Mr Lathorp would renew their Covenant in Such a Way, & then he with Others would have Comunion wth them. Mr Dupper would have them therein to Detest & Protest against y^e Parish Churches, Some ware Unwilling in their Covenanting either to be tyed either to protest against y^e truth of them, or to affirm it of them, not knowing w^t in time to come God might further manifest to them thereabout Yet for peace Sake all Yelded to renew their Covenant in these Words

To Walke together in all y^e Ways of God So farr as he hath made known to Us, or shall make known to us, & to forsake all false Ways, & to this the several Members subscribed their hands.

After this followd several Sheets containing y^e Names of y^e Members of y^e said Congregation & y^e time of their admission.³³

³¹ This makes clear that in 1630 the church had not arrived at the point of renouncing all fellowship with the parish churches. For christenings, weddings and funerals even to-day, many people who habitually worship elsewhere, still resort to them.

³² For discussion of this mutilated sentence, and its remarkable implications, a further document must be consulted. It misled Neal into confusing this church with that of Hubbard How, and More; see his History, II. 316.

³³ Though Stinton unfortunately was too tired to copy mere names and dates, we can recover several, which will be appended presently to a sketch of the church.