

Theology on the Web.org.uk

Making Biblical Scholarship Accessible

This document was supplied for free educational purposes. Unless it is in the public domain, it may not be sold for profit or hosted on a webserver without the permission of the copyright holder.

If you find it of help to you and would like to support the ministry of Theology on the Web, please consider using the links below:



Buy me a coffee

<https://www.buymeacoffee.com/theology>



PATREON

<https://patreon.com/theologyontheweb>

PayPal

<https://paypal.me/robbradshaw>

A table of contents for the *Transactions of Congregational Historical Society* can be found here:

https://biblicalstudies.org.uk/articles_congregational-historical-society-1.php

THE MARPRELATE TRACTS

(Summary of a paper contributed by Rev. W. PIERCE)

SUFFICIENT attention does not seem to have been paid to the social and ecclesiastical conditions under which these famous writings appeared. The forces of progress, paralyzed by the papal *régime* of Mary, had been released on the advent of Elizabeth, and England saw a marvellous renaissance. The very domestic architecture—the large Elizabethan window—is a symbol of the time. Enterprise shewed itself on every hand. The naval exploits of Raleigh, Drake, and Cavendish, from 1584 to 1588, established the renown of the British sailor; and the year in which the first Marprelate tract appeared was that of the Spanish Armada. A year or two later Shakespeare wrote his first original play. Bacon was already giving proofs of his massive, serene wisdom; and the political affairs of the nation were being managed by men of the stature of Walsingham, Burleigh, Knollys, and Hatton. The opponents of Puritanism accused the writers of the tracts, and the “seekers of the reformation” generally, of promoting internal dissension and weakening her Majesty’s throne when the enemy was at the gate; but the truth is more easily discerned to-day. Howard and Drake, Hawkins and Frobisher on the sea, as well as Walsingham and Burleigh in the council chamber, were fighting against the political ideals of Spain; while Martin Marprelate, as well as Barrowe, Greenwood, Penry, and a host of others,

were attacking Spanish ecclesiastical ideals with equal piety and patriotism.

But, amidst all this greatness of the revived national life, one institution lagged behind. The age of Elizabeth produced no really great Church leader. The queen, devoid of anything approaching religious earnestness, regarded her policy as a fair compromise between the extremes of Puritan and Papist ; and, having fixed her *via media*, would hear of no change. Unfortunately for the interests of religion she found a pliant and unscrupulous tool in Whitgift, whom she appointed Archbishop of Canterbury in 1583, with instructions to bring the religion of the country into uniformity, since, she said, "it had got out of square." As the movement represented by the Marprelate tracts has chiefly to do with this man and Aylmer, Bishop of London, it is proper to consider what manner of men they were.

Whitgift, being at Cambridge during the visitation of Cardinal Pole, and being unwilling to receive the first tonsure, at first meditated an escape to the Continent. His tutor, the saintly Bradford, and the master of his college, the learned Ridley, suffered martyrdom ; but Whitgift, yielding to the persuasion of the time-serving Andrew Perne—called by Martin "the old turner" from his easy facility in changing his creed—conformed sufficiently to ward off suspicion. Yet when, after the accession of Elizabeth, he had taken orders, he had the effrontery to select as the text of his first sermon in the University church of Great St. Mary's, "I am not ashamed of the gospel of Christ." As vice-president of the Welsh Marches he freely used torture to extract evidence ; and within a week of his confirmation in the primacy he issued articles, the first of which prohibited domestic worship if any stranger were

présent. His abstract views on most questions of divinity were more liberal than those of many Evangelical Free Churchmen to-day; but the man was narrow, mean, and vindictive. The complaint of all who came into personal contact with him, the lords and ladies in the courtly circle, was that if they interceded on behalf of any poor Nonconformists he professed always to be glad to serve them, and to be ready to shew the object of their solicitude all possible kindness; but at the same time he would remit nothing of his rigour. To him personally must be ascribed the martyrdom of Barrowe, Greenwood, and Penry. He was consistent throughout, drove his hard policy straight ahead like a Roman road, was never betrayed into any momentary generosity toward an opponent, or shewed any quixotic indifference to his own personal safety or advantage.

Aylmer was a renegade. He had lived in poverty and exile, and his sacrifices for his faith revealed a better side to his character. At that time he wrote his *Harborowe for faithful subjects*, a book full of excellent sentiments, in which the avarice and unchristian ostentation of the prelacy are unsparingly denounced. But all this was forgotten when he became Bishop of London; promotion and wealth brought with it degeneracy of character, and Aylmer became an intolerant persecutor and a vulgar money-grabber. When called on by the Lords of the Council to compensate one Barnaby Benison for a long and illegal imprisonment, he abjectly entreated them to consider his "poor estate and great charges"; yet Neal reports that he "left behind him in money about £16,000"—probably equal to £100,000 to-day. One of the greatest services rendered by Martin to the cause of Church reform was the unearthing of the *Harborowe*. "Come downe, you bishoppes, from your thousands,

and content you with your hundreds (said the exile); let your diet be priestlike, and not princelike"; and Martin is quick to ask "If this prophesie of yours come to passe in your dayes, who shall be B(ishop) of London?"

Meanwhile the prisons were full of Nonconformists, victims of Whitgift's High Commission, men and women of blameless life and unfeigned piety herding with degraded felons in filthy, fever-laden cells and dungeons. John Greenwood and Henry Barrowe had suffered two years of close imprisonment, in defiance of all law, when the first Marprelate tract appeared. It was an age of literary revival, the age of the blossoming youth of Shakespeare, Marlowe, and Bacon, when even the records of commonplace commercial transactions were infected with a sense of style; yet in the domain of religion the forceful progressive spirits, the men with vision, were under a ban, silenced, deprived, imprisoned. On the other hand, according to a complaint of the Lords of the Council addressed to the Bishop of London, "great numbers of persons that occupy cures" were "notoriously unfit, most for lack of learning; many chargeable with great and enormous faults, as drunkenness, filthiness of life, gaming at cards, haunting of alehouses, etc., against whom they heard of no proceedings, but that they were quietly suffered." Is it any wonder under such circumstances that the pent-up tides of life should break out, and that the great literary response to the tyranny of Whitgift should be the writings of Martin Marprelate?

As to the authorship of these writings, I have to confess that after long familiarity with the literature bearing directly on the subject, and some research among unpublished writings, I know of no fresh evidence that may help to solve the

problem. In the third tract, *Hay any work for Cooper?* the writer says "I am alone. No man under heaven is privy, or hath been privie unto my writings against you, I used the advise of non therein. You have and do suspect divers, as Master Paggett, Master Wigginton, Master Udall, and Master Penri, etc., to make Martin. If they cannot cleare their selues their silliness is pitifull, and they are worthy to beare Martin's punishment."

Nicholas Tomkins, a servant of Mrs. Crane, the courageous woman who harboured the secret press, when examined at Lambeth testified that "he knoweth neither Author, Publisher, or Printer of ye Books certenly"; he had heard Field, Wigginton, Penry, and Marbury mentioned, "but who hath so reported it to him, he doth not remember." After being put on the rack he declared that "he hath harde Penry named to be the Author of the first Martin" (*Harl. MSS. 7042, fos. 13 and 32*).

In these friendly reports of what rumour said as to the authorship of the tracts, one name is absent, perhaps by design—the name of Job Throkmorton. Yet it cannot be denied that he was closely concerned in the printing and publication; and Matthew Sutcliffe, a clergyman who wrote in defence of the bishops, includes his name among the principals of the literary conspiracy:—"I. Penry, I. Ud. I. F. all Iohns. and I. Thr. . . all concerned in making Martin." Udall affirms his belief "that those books were not done by any minister; and I think there is never a minister in this land that doth know who 'Martin' is; and I for my part have been very inquisitive, but I could never learn who he is." Now Throkmorton was a layman, and almost the only layman of whom we have evidence enough to make his alleged authorship in the least degree probable. Moreover, there is a constant tradition that he possessed some of

the intellectual gifts which made "Martin" such an attractive and popular writer. Camden refers to the Marprelate literature in his *Life of Queen Elizabeth*, naming as "the authors thereof . . . Penry and Udall, ministers of the word, and Job Throgmorton, a learned man, and of a facetious and gibing tongue."

We have one undoubted writing by Throgmorton, his *Defence . . . against the Sclaunders of Maister Matthew Sutcliffe*. In comparing this with the writings of Martin Marprelate allowance must be made for their diversity of purpose; in the one case a set defence of the author against certain serious charges, while in the other the author consciously and avowedly puts on the "antic disposition." Still, when so much allowance is justly made, if the writer be one of those who jest with difficulty the result will not be very attractive to the tastes of a humour-loving age. But the impression left upon us by the tracts is that Martin jests almost too easily; the antic turn fits him like a garment. On the other hand, if he be a humorist "native and to the manner born," it will be strange if there is not, even in his serious *Defence*, some trace of his gift. I do not know indeed that there is anything which one might call humorous in the *Defence*; but there are smartness and controversial subtlety that are akin to Martin's style. And the account of Copinger's long prayer, without being in the least irreverent, clearly suggests to the reader that Throgmorton was a man of real humour, though the subject restrains him in its expression. Of dialectic smartness there is plenty of evidence, and much might be quoted, in the way of quiet banter or skilful argument, which might well represent the writer of the tracts in a more serious and sedate mood.

Another line of argument is drawn from a book

entitled *M. Some laid open in his coulers*, which is a defence of Penry against the attack of Dr. Some, and has in some parts a distinct Martinist flavour. Throkmorton was Penry's friend, and fits the description on the title page by being an Oxford man, though the mysterious letters J. G. at the close (which Dr. Dexter, less happy than in most of his surmises, interpreted to mean John Greenwood) remain unsolved. It is suggested that the author of the *Defence* is probably the author of *M. Some in his coulers*; and that internal evidence identifies the author of the latter with the writer of the Tracts. If this can be proved it must be, not by mere subjective impressions, even of critics possessing keen literary instincts, but by tracing some unconscious elements of style, the employment of some characteristic and not too common locution; this may conceivably establish identity of authorship.

Now in the Marprelate *Epistle* (Arber's edn. p. 5, l. 7) we have the word *insult* used with the meaning of our word *exult*. The commoner form of expressing the meaning of *exult* would be, in Elizabethan language, *insult upon*—a form used by Shakespeare. It is therefore significant that in *M. Some in his coulers* we have the word used with the same import as in the *Epistle*. A similar likeness would appear in the use of the word *stroken*.

A similar comparison may find means of connecting *M. Some in his coulers* with Throkmorton's *Defence*. For instance, in the *Defence* Throkmorton seems to have an unconscious liking for the verb *to muse* in the sense of *to marvel*. Turning now to *M. Some in his coulers* we have "I cannot but muse at one thing," "I muse your D(كتورship) should be at the cost of printing us a new Almanacke of last year." If this proof could be

adequately and convincingly worked out, there would be compelling evidence that Throkmorton was Martin.

Still, it must be remembered that in his *Defence* we have Throkmorton's denial. True, no one can read the *Defence* without observing how much more bold and confident he is when repudiating all implication in the absurd Hacket conspiracy. When he turns to the Marprelate accusation the temperature of his rhetoric suddenly goes down. He is ready to take an oath "whensoever it shall be thought so good by the state." ("He requires an act of Parliament, which he knows will never be given," is Sutcliffe's reply). But the words of his repudiation are, "I am not Martin, I knowe not Martin, And concerning that I stand enlightened of, I am as cleare as the childe unborn." If there were a way of repudiating the authorship by a verbal juggle my conviction is that Throkmorton would have employed it without hesitation. He is perhaps only part author, or of some and not all: *He is not Martin*, and his opponent Sutcliffe replies "I yield . . . he is Job Throkmorton." He is in evident haste to drop the Marprelate subject, and gets at once into the Copinger-Hacket controversy, finishing his *apologia* with a few vigorous strokes on that empty drum.

[In a brief discussion which followed the paper there was evidence of general agreement with the writer, stress being laid on the fact that both Penry and Barrowe appear, from their acknowledged writings, to have been remarkably deficient in—if not wholly destitute of—any sense of humour.]

Welsh Nonconformity in 1672

II

IN the last issue of the *Transactions* I presented an actual transcript of the documents in the Record Office, with a few introductory remarks upon their form, their orthography, and their topography. In the present I propose to give a *résumé* of the information we may gather from them as to the distribution of Nonconformity throughout the Principality, just ten years after the Act of Uniformity had created it.

In essaying this task it was necessary first to arrange the material, which in the records is given us in such a sporadic and unconnected fashion, into groups which have some intelligible connection with each other. On the one hand, we need to sift out the data according to the type of Nonconformity to which the applicants for licences belonged; and on the other, according to the counties in which they resided and in which the churches were gathered.

The type in Wales was threefold; first, the Presbyterian; second, the Independent or Congregational; and, thirdly, the Baptist or Anabaptist. None of the great Methodist bodies were as yet in even germinal existence; they did not emerge into activity until a century later. The Presbyterians were not nearly so strong in Wales as they undoubtedly were in England, especially in Devon.

Indications are not lacking, moreover, that in Wales the distinction between Congregationalists

and Presbyterians was not a very hard and fast one. In Monmouth there are only three places claiming to maintain a Presbyterian cause, viz., Mynyddislwyn in the west, Bettws in the centre, and Caldicot in the east. In each case the Congregationalists are also represented, but the two denominations seem oddly mixed. In Mynyddislwyn, though Watkin John asks licences both for himself and his house as a Presbyterian [E(187)]—which entries, it will be noted, are undated, so that it is doubtful whether the licences were ever issued—a certain Watkin Jones applies for the double licence as an Independent, and obtains both, for they are dated as issued Aug. 10/72 [E(232)]. One cannot help shrewdly suspecting that Watkin John was not very distantly related to Watkin Jones.

But a yet more singular thing happens at Bettws and at Caldicot. At Bettws Reginald Morgan, on Aug. 10, secures a licence for his house as an Independent meeting-place [E (231)]; and yet on Sep. 5, the same year, he obtains a licence for himself as a Presbyterian teacher [E (245)]. And at Caldicot James Lewis applies to have a licence for his house, early in June, for the Presbyterians, and fails to get it. That is the conclusion I form from the fact that the entry [E (187)] is undated: in August he applies for, and secures, one for the Independents [E (234)].

Further, in Glamorgan, we have a still more interesting and satisfactory proof that the two denominations were so near in their sympathies and general principles that they easily co-operated, and were not too particular about the name. Samuel Jones, of Llangynwyd, was the centre of a very active religious movement. Under his influence two chains of connected churches were brought into existence, planted along two lines running parallel to one another, roughly speaking, from north-west

to south-east of the southern portion of the county to the east of Gower and the Vale of Neath.

These lines were not more than 4 or 5 miles apart, the one on the sea-coast or maritime plain, the other among the hills that rise not far from the sea. Now Llangynwyd, belonged to the latter, in the valley of the Llynfi; and Samuel Jones had been its Presbyterian minister throughout the period of the Commonwealth. The Act of Uniformity drove him from his living there in 1662; but, having a comfortable home in the parish at Brynllwyarch, 2 miles down the valley from the village, he had continued, in spite of the penal Acts of the English Parliament, to exercise his ministerial gifts through a wide tract of neighbouring country. Churches were formed as far north-west as Neath, and as far south-east as Cowbridge, and between them were communities meeting at a house called "Kildaudy," probably in Maesteg; and another at Goytrehen, a little farther down the Llynfi valley from Samuel Jones's home; both of them the property of Rees Powell, his wife's father, of Maesteg. Now, before his presentation to Llangynwyd, Jones had been ordained to the *Presbyterian* ministry at Taunton. So that he naturally called himself and the churches he had formed, "Presbyterian."

But the other side the hills, which cast their broad shadows over Brynllwyarch in the early summer mornings, there was a line of Independent churches; from Baglan, just at the foot of the slope which separates Cwm Afon from the Vale of Neath to the north-west, as far as Kenfig and Newton Nottage in the great plain by the sea on the south-east; and in their midst, at Margam, just due west of Brynllwyarch, Samuel Jones owned a house which he was glad to have used as a place of Nonconformist worship. Now mark

the bigness of the man's heart and the breadth of his sympathy! He will not stand for his Presbyterianism among his Independent neighbours, as the Baptists did in Newton Nottage for their Anabaptist views; but, in applying for a licence for his house at Margam, he applies for it as "a meeting-place for Independents."

And there is a further interesting point preserved in the records, which looks in exactly the same direction.

320 (234) shews Daniel Higgs, the Independent, of Swansea, and Samuel Jones, the Presbyterian of Llangynwyd, making their applications for licences on the *same* slip of paper; while 320 (235) exhibits Stephen Hughes, the Congregationalist, of Swansea, signing the receipt of licences for Samuel Jones and his father-in-law, Rees Powell, both Presbyterians.

As a matter of fact, by the close of the seventeenth century the name of *Presbyterian* had ceased to represent a separate denomination in Wales. All Nonconformists of Pædobaptist practice gloried in the name of Congregational or Independent.

Still, I have adhered to the distinction which is so real in Scotland and England, and arranged the applications, actual issues, and receipts, under separate heads, according as the distinctive denomination is given as Presbyterian in the one case, or Independent or Congregationalist in the other.

With this threefold classification as to denomination I have, in the index appended to this paper, combined a grouping according to counties, arranging the places in each county *not* (as is generally done) in alphabetical order, but in the groups determined by the ease with which they might be worked in the instances (and they are many) in which the meeting-places are more num-

erous than the teachers. This consideration, indeed, is not only far more influential than anything so unimportant as initial letters, but even than county boundaries. In fact, one of the first things we learn from the study of these licence documents with the aid of a good map is, that the grouping of churches of each denomination is determined far more by the natural features of the country than by any artificial arrangements whatever. For purposes of reference it is convenient to group them into counties, as I have done in the index appended to this article. But in some cases the arrangement in counties is seen to be almost as artificial as the arrangement according to initial letter. Not in all, nor, indeed, in most; for natural features have generally guided politicians to the divisions which they have made. When mountain ranges or hill ridges form the county boundary, the churches will be found in their lines of extension to observe the county-limits; but when the boundary is a broad, easily navigable estuary, or a well bridged river, the line or group of churches will break the bounds of county along the lines of least resistance and natural expansion. Still, for convenience, we will follow the county divisions as our general guide, only departing from that general principle when something more vital will lead us to break the county bounds. As to the order in which we shall glance at them, I shall be guided by the fact that the paper was read in Cardiff, and so begin at Glamorgan, working west and north, and returning to finish with Glamorgan's eastern neighbour, Monmouthshire.

In GLAMORGAN we have just seen how the group of Presbyterian churches founded by Samuel Jones followed a north-west and south-east direction, its main directing factor being the valley of

the Llynfi. The remaining pair of Presbyterian churches in the county, Cardiff and Wenvoe, were worked together; for though Wenvoe could furnish two meeting-places, the houses of Joshua Miller and Morgan Thomas, it had no preacher, and they would be dependent on the ministerial services of John French, of Cardiff.

True, the river Ely was between them, and two hill ridges were beyond the river; but there were two good roads which crossed the one by bridges, north at Ely, and south at Llandough, next Cardiff, and circumvented the other.

I have also referred to the line of Independent churches on the maritime plain extending from the estuary of the Neath to the mouth of the Llynfi. There were, besides, two other groups of Congregational churches in opposite corners of the county among the hills at the north-east, and in the peninsula of Gower to the south-west.

Three of the four in the first group formed one community, that is, all three were dependent upon the ministry of one man. This was Thomas John, who lived at Eglwsilan, the southernmost of the three. Though older maps give the name, and shew the parish church to have stood on the slopes facing the mountain mass still bearing its name "Mynydd Eglwsilan," it has so dwindled with the growing importance of other villages which have sprung up with the development of the coal-mines in the neighbourhood that it has disappeared from modern maps. But the other two were not far off, Llanfabon just the other side of Mynydd Eglwsilan, and Gelligaer away north-east of Treharris, only some two miles short of the county frontier, which is the Rhymney river. These all obtained their licences in August, 1672. There was still another Independent cause quite as near the northern county boundary as Gelligaer is to its eastern, in

Merthyr ("Methir"), then only a village, now a great, grimy town. They applied so late for licences for their minister, Henry Williams, and their meeting-place in the house of Howell Rees, that they never received them, and so had no relief from the perils of the penal statutes.

In Gower there was an interesting group of Congregational societies; Swansea was their centre, and supplied them with preachers. The other three were Bishopston, Nicholaston, and Rhoscilly, the last close to Worms Head. The Gower Nonconformists were amongst the first to move to avail themselves of the benefits of the royal Indulgence. Marmaduke Matthews applied for a licence (and he desired a "general" licence as well as a specific one to preach in his own house)¹ within a month after its publication. As we learn from the endorsement of 320 (36) it was handed in on April 11th, and was actually issued the following day, April 12.² (It is in the entry of his house as meeting-place that the beautiful New Testament expression is used—"the Independent way").

But it is Daniel Higgs who is the country bishop for the three villages west of Swansea; and he is scarcely a week later in securing his aim. He travelled up to London to see to it personally. While there he worried the Whitehall authorities pretty persistently.

Twice he asks for his own house, and thrice, though apparently without effect, for the Swansea "schoole-house."³ And then, dropping the "schoole-house," he asks for houses in the three villages, as well as for the house of Stephen Hughes in Swansea,⁴ and succeeds. His personal licence he secures April 17,⁵ and the licences for the four meeting-places three days later;⁶ and we have the receipt signed

¹ 329 (36) and (37). ² E (17). ³ 320 (84), (86), (88). ⁴ 320 (233) and (234). ⁵ E (26). ⁶ E (39).

by himself, shewing that he was able to return with the royal authority in his pocket.⁷

But Glamorgan had its contingent of Baptist churches as well as Presbyterian and Congregationalist. A compact group it is, gathering round the lower reaches of the Ogmore, the main stream, of which the Llynfi is an affluent. Bridgend seems to have been the mother church, and its minister must have supplied both Llangewydd and St. Bride's.⁸ But the fourth Baptist cause, at Newton Nottage, was self-contained, having Howell Thomas as its own pastor and teacher. The entries in the Entry Book are documentary proof of their vigorous existence; but, seeing they are undated, it is more than doubtful that the licences were ever issued.⁹

The traces we have of two other Baptist churches form a natural transition to the county lying west of Glamorgan, I mean Carmarthen.

There was a Baptist church in Swansea, which met in the house of William Dykes, and whose minister was Lewis Thomas.¹⁰ But there was also one much stronger in a place quite on the south-western confines of the county, for it had two meeting-places, as well as a minister, Robert Morgan.¹⁰ I mean Llangennydd. True E. B. 38A puts it in Carmarthen, but it is in Gower, just on the slopes looking across the Burry Inlet to Carmarthen, and down upon the northern part of that marvellous three miles' stretch of purest sand in Rhossili Bay. And there can be little doubt that these two Gower Baptist churches kept in touch with and supported the one sister church in Carmarthen, which without them, being pastorless, could not well have struggled on.

Here, then, is a case where county divisions

⁷ 320 (235). * Probably about 4 miles south of Bridgend; not, as shewn on the map, the village so called near Llandaff.—T.G.C. * E (186) ¹⁰ E (251) and E (260).

count for nothing under stress of spiritual need, and in presence of natural facilities of communication. The Baptist community at Llanon, in *Carmarthen*, forms a little triplet with the Glamorgan churches at Swansea and Llangennydd. True, the River Loughor is the boundary between the two counties; but a bridge at Hendy carries a good road direct to Llanon from Swansea, and a ferry to Llanelly would take Robert Morgan across the Burry Inlet to Llanelly, whence an equally good road would make an easy journey to Llanon.

The Congregational churches in CARMARTHEN are four, scattered on the northern and southern borders of the county, and so far from each other that their very existence in such a seemingly sporadic way is a puzzling problem. There is Llanstephan quite by itself, on the south, on the promontory between the Rivers Towy and Taf; Cenarth and Pencarreg in the extreme north, one in the north-west corner, and the other in the north-east; and Penkader, midway between the two, but some few miles further south. And, to make their isolation the more piteous, only one of them, Pencarreg, has a minister. How can their hungering congregations get any food?

The situation of Cenarth upon the River Teifi, not far from a large group of churches of the same faith and order whose centre is in Cardigan, suggests an explanation, which the records support, that it is from Cardigan that Cenarth is supplied. But with Llanstephan and Penkader we must supplement the information of the records by a supposition, before we can find in it the light and relief we require. The licences for these widely parted places were asked for early, as early as the licences for Swansea, Gower, and Llangynwyd; and it is Stephen Hughes who makes the application, that he may minister to their spiritual needs.

We have heard of him before. He has a house in Swansea, which is licensed as a Congregational meeting-place, and we know he travelled up to London with Daniel Higgs to secure these precious documents. But it would be impracticable for him to supply these places from Swansea.

There is no road from the east across the Towy farther south than Carmarthen town, and that is five and twenty miles direct from Swansea.

But Carmarthen lies within compassable distance of both, and my fancy is that Stephen Hughes, for the purposes of his great work, took up his abode at Carmarthen (though his home and house property were in Swansea), and worked both Penkader on the north, and Llanstephan on the south by frequent visits.

In PEMBROKE we have three Congregational "causes"—Haverfordwest, Uzmaston, and Cilgerran. The two former are close to one another, and the meeting-place in Uzmaston is evidently supplied by Peregrine Philips, the minister of the church in Haverfordwest. Cilgerran is right away on the extreme north border, on the River Teifi, and on a separate county map looks quite desolate in its isolation.

Still, we reflect it had in John (or Jenkin) Jones a minister of its own, and was therefore equipped for a brave Independent career.

When we come to cross the border, and look at the situation from the standpoint of CARDIGAN, a moment's reflection shews us that the county divisions in these parts of Cardigan, Pembroke, and Carmarthen do not divide. They are only opposite banks of the same beneficently flowing, well bridged river. Its northern bank is the southern border of Cardigan; its southern bank is the northern border, first (as far as its affluent the Cych) of Pembroke, and beyond that stream of

Cardigan ; and the river, well bridged as it is at Cardigan, at Cenarth, at Newcastle Emlyn, at Llandyssil, and at Lampeter, like the ocean in these days of ocean going ships seems rather to unite than to divide its broad and fertile valley, making one the people who are nourished by its alluvial bounty. So that, as we look along the lower parts of the Teifi valley, we see the county town of Cardigan one, in spiritual matters, with Cilgerran in Pembroke and Cenarth in Carmarthen on the other side the stream, though the nearer Cilgerran be a self-sufficing church. For Cenarth is definitely attached to Cardigan, and dependent on it for the ministry of its pastor, James Davies, who applies for a licence to teach in John James's house in Cenarth, as well as his own house in Cardigan [321 (35)].

But, what is more, there is a living link that binds in one these places in three counties, and that is the generously active personality of Stephen Hughes, of a fourth county, viz., Glamorgan. Not content with seeking a licence to work in Carmarthen, he gladly acts at Whitehall as ambassador to plead the cause of Cardigan and Pembroke too ; he applies for and obtains the licences they seek, gives an acknowledgment of their safe receipt, and carries them back in triumph to gladden their several hearts with the common joy of liberty to worship each after his own conscience [321 (214)].

But journeying farther up the river we may reach a fourth church of this wide family, in a place whose name evidently caused the clerks no little trouble, and whose actual location needs some care to determine. Llanfair Trefhelygen lies at the head of a valley close to Llangynllo. The ruins of its ancient church, dedicated to Saint Mary, may still be traced, but its name has dropped out of the modern map. It could boast of no

minister, and so was probably dependent, like Cenarth the other side of the river, on the visits of James Davies from Cardigan.

Still further up we come to a triplet of places almost on the river side—Pencarreg and Cellan, both on its southern or eastern bank, and about half way between them, Lampeter, on its northern or western bank.

Yet which bank they are on makes little difference; Pencarreg is in Carmarthen, though the Entry Book assigns it to Cardigan [E(266)], and Cellan is in Cardigan, though it is on the same side of the river as Pencarreg. All three are nourished by the same fresh stream, and all three are united by the strong bridge at Lampeter, so that the high roads which meet at its Carmarthen end, from Carmarthen and from Llanwrda at the south, are linked with the three that converge on the Cardigan side from Cardigan and Aberaeron and Tregaron on the north, to the great outside world, and to each other. The irony of the situation is that central Lampeter has no minister, though, like both the others, it has a meeting-place; so it is dependent for its ministry on either David Jones from Pencarreg, or Evan Hughes from Cellan.

Nor have we yet come to the end of this great river family. Still higher up, 5 miles from Cellan, we come abreast of Llandewi Brefi at the foot of the hills to the east (about a mile and half up the stream, the Afon Brevi, from which it takes its name); and yet another four, we are abreast of Llanbadarn Odwyn on the west. Both have their teachers, David Jones and John James.

And it would seem that, from his mountain perch, the latter came down to do good work at two places in the wide tract between Llanfihangel Ystrad and the sea.

It was a good seven miles down the Aeron valley to the broad plain at the bend of the river where Ystrad¹¹ stands; but Dihewid, three miles due west of it, and Llandyssilio (gogo), yet another eight right on the sea coast, though they had each its brave group of Nonconformists of the Congregational way, had no teacher among them, and the hardy mountaineer from Llanbadarn Odwyn seems to have come to minister to both.

It is an inspiring story these licence entries have to tell us of the long chain of noble Independent churches lying in this Teifi valley, from Cardigan, at its mouth, right away to Llanbadarn Odwyn so near its source.

Turning now to Brecknock there is much the same lesson to be learnt as to the futility of political border-lines in face of a common spiritual necessity.

Almost due east of Llanbadarn Odwyn, beyond the upper reaches of the Towy, and on the edge of the valley of the Wye, we come, at Llanafan Fawr, to one of two Baptist communities, which need each other's practical support. Llanafan Fawr (which Whitehall caligraphy turns into "Llanavaure") is in Brecon. But Llandrindod, up the valley of the Ithon (now so frequented for its Spa), with its twin Baptist community, is on the other side of the Wye, and so in another county, Radnor. But what matter? Llandrindod has no minister, Llanafan Fawr has one, and so the Brecon teacher, Thomas Evans, comes to the Radnor meeting-place and community of service overrides the difference of county.

The BRECKNOCK Congregational churches are three, and are all in the eastern half of the county. Their natural centre is the county capital, and I can scarcely help thinking that they found it there.

¹¹ The Ystrad *doubtfully* marked on the map is another place, Ystrad Meirig.—T. G. C.

True, there is no licence asked for Brecon city, but we have preserved for us an interesting letter, dated "Brecon, June 24, 1672," written to Sir Joseph Williamson at Whitehall by one Timothy Halton, in which he says:—"We are here well furnished with conventicles, and what troubles some persons is that several of those who are licensed are excommunicated by the Church of England, and yet venture to administer the sacraments." Whatever became of the licences for these "several" licensed persons, their licences do not appear in the Entry Books. But there are two for Llanvigan, close to the waters of the Usk; one for a teacher, Lewis Prichard, and one for David Williams's house; so that it will not need active help from Talgarth and Llanigon, eight and ten miles away. These two are not in the Usk valley which seems to link Brecon with Monmouth away south-east, but in the valley system of the Wye. Talgarth is inevitably suggestive to every Cheshunt College man of Trevecca ("Trefecca" is the true spelling), only a mile or so south of it, where the Countess of Huntingdon founded the seminary for training Evangelical preachers which was afterwards transferred to Cheshunt in Hertfordshire. Talgarth stands some four miles up the Afon Llynfi, a tributary of the Wye; and Llanigon (so strangely disguised in the Entry Book as "Kaington"), some six miles north of it, on the edge of the Wye itself, not three miles south of Hay. These two form a "Congregational settlement." Both have licences—three licences between them. Each has a meeting-place, but only Talgarth a minister; so that Llanigon had to look to David Williams, of Talgarth, to supply its lack of service.

RADNOR, northern neighbour to Brecknock, is strong in Nonconformity, mainly of the Congregational "way."

Its one pastorless Baptist community we have already glanced at in connection with her stronger sister at Llanafan Fawr across the border in Brecon. And its single Presbyterian church, on its northern border, we reserve to speak of as a natural link with Montgomery. We deal now with the five Congregational churches in Glascwm, Llanfihangel Nant Melan, New Radnor, Llanbister, and Llangunllo ; I have named them in their order, in a line running from south to north.

The southernmost, Glascwm, though high up in the hill country, at an elevation of over 900 feet above sea level, and separated by Little Hill (at a distance of four miles) from the main road which traverses the hills from Builth to New Radnor, so that it can be gained only by a country road which negotiates Little Hill to the south through Cregina, is yet the strongest of the five. It has two meeting-houses, as well as a teaching pastor, Edward Owen, who has to supply the two nearer churches at Llanfihangel Nant Melan, almost due north of it on the New Radnor road, and New Radnor itself ; since neither of these has a pastor, even the capital of the county having to come for its Congregational minister to little Glascwm. These three, then, naturally form a group to themselves in the southern half of the county.

The other two are further north, in positions which must have almost cut them off from their southern friends, the great masses of Radnor Forest lying south-west of the one and due south of the other. Both of them, too, are high up among the hills, Llanbister being nearly 900 feet above the level, and Llangunllo scarcely 150 feet lower, and on the upper waters of the Ithon and the Lugg respectively (both tributaries of the Wye), yet communicating with each other with moderate ease by the seven or eight miles of country road

between them. Llanbister, the more westerly, has its teacher, John Hamer, as well as its meeting-place; but Llangunllo has a meeting-place only, so that John Hamer would have to shepherd both by many a tramp across the hills between them. Indeed, the Radnor Congregationalists may well claim this distinction that they are the one *hill-clan* amidst all the Nonconformist clans of Wales. Englishmen naturally regard Wales as the country of hills and mountains, and are apt to think of their Welsh comrades in Nonconformity as hardy mountaineers; but the facts thus far reviewed shew them to be rather lowlanders of valleys that nestle between the hills, and of maritime places which lie at the foot of their mountains beside the sea. But the Congregationalists of Radnor are highlanders; and we should like to have known those two brave pastors, Edward Owen of Glascwm, and John Hamer of Llanbister, who, between them, shepherded these five scattered flocks amongst the Radnor hills.

And now to pass to Beguildy, the northern outpost of Nonconformity in Radnor county. It is the one distinctly Presbyterian community in Radnor, but it is in a position which naturally favoured communication with another, which—ten miles away—yet needs its support and help. This other was Newtown, in another county altogether, but county boundaries cannot divide them, when a good road connects them.

Beguildy was on such a road, the road that runs just within Radnor border-line, up the Teme valley, right away from Knighton as far as Hendre, and then away to the left, crossing into Montgomery over the ridge of Kerry hill. There, more than 800 feet above the sea, Beguildy had its goodly band of Presbyterian stalwarts, with two teachers and two meeting-places—the teachers the brothers

Richard and Maurice Griffith, and the two meeting-places the houses of Richard Griffith and Owen Morgan.

But we must hasten on. Shall we accompany Richard Griffith on one of his visits to Newtown? We climb 700 feet at least before we reach the border of Radnor and MONTGOMERY on Kerry hill, at an elevation of 1,543 feet. But we drop rapidly, more than 500 feet in the three miles to Dolfor, on the great road that runs almost due north and south, up the Ithon valley between Builth and Newtown. At Dolfor we are only five miles by the high road from Newtown, but the preacher from Beguildy would doubtless shorten his walk a mile and more by taking a good track, which cuts off a great bend in the high road.

At Newtown, next in importance to Welshpool in the whole county of Montgomery, he would find his little band of Presbyterian brethren assembled in the house of Widow Morris; and so the banner of religious freedom is kept flying in the southern borders of the county.

But the northern half of the county is not left without its witness. Almost the whole of Montgomery remains untouched by the Puritan movement. Only along its eastern border is there any stir. But at Welshpool and at "Gwynly" we have unequivocal testimony in the Entry Book that both Presbyterians and Congregationalists had raised their voices to some effect. In Welshpool, two brothers, Rogers by name, were at the head of the Presbyterian movement. Hugh Rogers gave his heart and voice to it, David Rogers gave his heart and house.

And the Entry Book gives us yet another place with a Congregational teacher, and a meeting-place for Congregationalists. The entry of the teacher's licence is on p. 262, and of the licence for the meet-

ing-place on p. 269. Exactly how we should read these names has sorely troubled the authorities. Beriah Evans devotes a long note to it, and finally, as if in despair, turns it into Glyn, and by a flourish of the magician's wand wafts it away into Monmouth. But both entries, seven pages apart, put it very distinctly in Montgomery, and the identity of the *county* is almost emphasized by the comical variations in its spelling—"Mungomrysh." on p. 262, and "Mungumrysh." on p. 269. Nor can I see much difficulty in deciphering the name. On p. 262 the third letter, or last part of the second letter (whichever the clerk actually meant it to be), is rather indistinct. The two strokes of it to some eyes may seem to be an imperfectly closed o, and then the previous stroke must be an r, the name reading "Groynly." But on p. 269 there can be no question. The two final strokes are distinctly open, and form, with the previous stroke, an unambiguous w. A re-examination of the end of the word, too, convinced me that the last consonant was l, not b. So that I have no doubt that the officially intended name was "Gwynly."

Of course in this case there remains the problem, where in the county of Montgomery is "Gwynly" to be found? The first half of the word, "Gwyn," is genuine enough. It is a very common Welsh word, meaning "white." But what of the second syllable "ly"?

Might it not be "ty," as clearly meaning "house"? Rev. Silyn Roberts tells me that while "ty" must come first if the two are used as separate words, "Ty Gwyn" being a frequent name, they may be compounded into a single word provided the t is flattened into d. "Gwendy" would be as good Welsh as "Ty Gwyn."

Now I find in the Welshpool district of Mont-

gomery two names in which "Gwyn" figures prominently, both about three miles from Llanfyllin; the one in an easterly direction, Bryngwyn Hall on a hill overlooking the present Bryngwyn station on the Llanfyllin branch line; the other, Ty Gwyn, at the head of Nant Alan, west-south-west of Bryngwyn Hall, about four miles away.¹² It is an isolated spot among the hills, but its little gatherings from the country side, in Richard Price's house, may well have been sometimes reached by the energy of Hugh Rogers, of Welshpool, ten miles off, as well as regularly ministered to, according to the terms of the first licence, by Richard Price himself.¹³

And now, turning west, we come to county MERIONETH. Five names are given us in the documents as belonging to Merioneth, but I would add a sixth from the list assigned to Montgomery. Two of these are clear of difficulty, Llanegryn and Peniarth; two others may very reasonably be located, Cynfal and Bryn, and one other, "Bodvegny," Bodgadvan, with fair probability; but the sixth, "Errowgoyel," as yet to my mind presents a hopeless problem. Of the five we can locate, three are in a closely compacted group at the south-west corner of the county. For if I am right in identifying Bodgadvan with the "Bodvegny" of the Entry Book, it forms one of a little trinity of causes gathered through the ability and energy of Hugh Owen, of Llanegryn. It was a little west-south-west of Llanegryn, between it and the sea, as Peniarth was a little east of it. Hugh Owen was one of the few Welsh

¹² This is at least as good a conjecture as the purely speculative "Gwynthrew" of the map, and the note on p. 10.—T. G. C.

¹³ I see that "L. T. A. G." (in *The Examiner*, of March 2) would identify it with "Gunley." My difficulty in accepting that identification is that all other alterations made by Whitehall clerks are from true Welsh forms to pseudo-English ones. It is most unlikely that an English form like Gunley should be altered into a pseudo-Welsh one. Still, the unlikely often happens.

Nonconformists who stirred early, not so early as Marmaduke Matthews, and Daniel Higgs, and Samuel Jones with Stephen Hughes, in Glamorgan; still, not more than two months after the appearance of the Declaration. He had the advantage, too, of a personal representative in London acting for him, William Owens (was it a brother living in London? or travelling specially to London, as did Stephen Hughes, of Swansea, a month before?). For we have a memorandum of his application preserved in 321 (237); the entry of the issue of the licence on the 22nd of May [E (135)]; and the receipt of it signed by "Will: Owens," on the 28th of the same month [321 (277)].

Bodgadvan lies west of Llanegryn, at the foot of the hill which rises between it and Broad Water. Is the present chapel, nestling between this hill and the hillock to the north of it, the modern representative of Ellis Davis's house, for which a licence was obtained two months later (July 25/71) [E (215)]? The licence for a third meeting-house at Peniarth [E (210)] was got at the same time as that for "Bodvegny."

In striking contrast to this cosy cluster of three are the other two; Cynfal ("Cynvell" in the Entry Book) is an isolated spot, with big mountains rising round it north and east, only open to the world towards Maentwrog. Yet there are clearly brave men and women willing and eager to gather to the hospitable shelter of Mary Lloyd's house there [E(201)]; though I fancy for a minister they would have to cross the county border, and go to Carnarvonshire, the mountains east of Ffestiniog so cut it off from its eastern side; or trust to the itinerant evangelist, Hugh Owen. It is to that eastern border of the county, quite near to Corwen, that I am inclined to think we must look for Bryn (given in E (210) as in "Montgom.").

For, just east of the high road from Bala to Corwen, is a Bryn, within the parish of Llangar, which has an epithet beautifully appropriate to it as giving a meeting-place (in the house of John Kynaston) for Puritan assemblies, "Bryn Saint." My difficulty in so locating it is the difficulty I have expressed about Cynfal. No teacher is attached to it, and to get a "teaching ministry" they would have to go east, right out of the county, to get a kindred spirit.¹⁴

The nearest Congregational minister is at Ruabon, a good fifteen miles from Corwen, along the valley of the Dee, through the lovely vale of Llangollen, and out beyond its eastern end. Still, wilder impossibilities than that, under the impulse of brotherly sympathy and in the service of the same Master, became actual facts.

The sixth, "Errowgoyel," I give up, at present, as an insoluble mystery.¹⁵

Classified List of Licences and Applications.

GLAMORGAN.

(1) Presbyterian

1. *Cardiff*. John French (t^r) E (187) ? L. I.
John French's ho : (m.pl.) E (187) ? L. I.
2. *Wenwoe*. Josuah Miller (t^r) E (187) ? L. I.
Morgan Thomas's ho : (m.pl.) E (187) ? L. I.
3. *Llangynwydd*. Samuel Jones (t^r) 320 (234) appl : E (50) L. I.
Ap. 30/72 ; 320 (235) L. R.
Samuel Jones's ho : (m.pl.) 320 (234) appl : E (50) L. I.
Ap. 30/72 ; 320 (235) L. R.

¹⁴ As the name is written Bryng (E 210), query if Bryngwyn, near Llanfyllin, is meant.—T. G. C.

¹⁵ Perhaps Erwoed, see map.—T. G. C.

4. *Goytrenchen*. Rees Powell's ho : (m.pl.) 320 (234) appl : E (50) L. I. Ap. 30/72 ; 320 (235) L. R.
5. *Kildaudy* (? in *Maesteg*). Rice Powell's ho : called "Kildaudy" (m.pl.) E (273) ? L. I.
6. *Cowbridge*. (Pontfaen). Samuel Jones (t^r) E (254) L. I. Sep 30/72
Eve Christopher's ho : (m.pl.) E (254) ? L. I.
7. *Neath*. Eliz. Morgan's ho : (m.pl.) E (273) ? L. I.

(2) Baptist

1. *Bridgend* [*Penbont ar Ogwy* (? *Ogwr*)]. Thomas Joseph (t^r) E (188) ? L. I.
Thomas Joseph's ho : (m.pl.) E (188) ? L. I.
2. *Llangewydd*. Llewellyn Morgan's ho : (m.pl.) E (188) ? L. I.
3. *St. Bride's*. Widow Williamson's ho : (m.pl.) E (188) ? L. I.
4. *Newton* (Nottage). Howell Thomas (t^r) E (188) ? L. I.
William Andrews's ho : (m.pl.) E (188) ? L. I.
5. *Swansea*. Lewis Thomas (t^r) E (251) L. I. Sep. 30/72
William Dykes's ho : (m.pl.) E (260) ? L. I.
6. *Llangennyth*. Robert Morgan (t^r) E (251) ? L. I.
Joshuah Franklin's ho : (m.pl.) E (260) ? L. I.
Edward Williams's ho : (m.pl.) : (E 260) ? L. I.

[The Entry wrongly assigns these to Carmarthenshire ; B. Evans thinks *Llangunnor* is intended].

(3) Congregational

1. *Merthyr Tydfil*. Henry Williams (t^r) E (287) ? L. I.
Howell Reese's ho : (m.pl.)
2. *Eglwysilan*. Thomas John (t^r) E (234) L. I. Aug. 10/72
William John's ho : (m.pl.) E (234) L. I. Aug. 10/72
3. *Llanfabon*. William Rowland's ho : (m.pl.) E (234) L. I. Aug. 10/72
4. *Gelligaer*. Lewis Rees's ho : (m.pl.) E (234) L. I. Aug. 10/72
5. *Margam*. Samuel Jones's ho : (m.pl.) ; E (181) ? L. I. E (196) L. I. July 16/72
Samuel Jones (t^r) E (196) L. I. July 16/72
6. *Baglan*. Robert Thomas (t^r) E (197) L. I. July 16/72
Robert Thomas's ho : (m.pl.)
7. *Kenfig*. Jacob Christophers (t^r) E (197) L. I. July 16/72
Lewes Alward's ho : (m.pl.) E (197) L. I. July 16/72
8. *Newton*. Watkin Cradock (t^r) E (197) L. I. July 16/72
Watkin Cradock's ho : (m.pl.) E (197) L. I. July 16/72

GOWER.

9. *Swansea*. Marmaduke Matthews (t^r) 320 (36) appl. ; 320 (37) appl. ; E (17) L. I. Ap. 12/72
Daniel Higgs (t^r) : 320 (84) appl. ; 320 (86) appl. ; 320 (88) appl. ; 320 (234) appl. ; E (26) L. I. Ap. 17/72

- Marmaduke Matthews's** ho : (m.pl.) : 320 (36) appl. ; E (17)
L. I. Ap. 12/72
- Daniel Higgs's** ho : (m.pl.) : 320 (84) appl. ; 320 (86) appl.
The Schoole house (m.pl.) : 320 (84) appl. ; 320 (86) appl. ;
320 (88) appl.
- Stephen Hughes's** ho : (m.pl.) : 320 (233) appl. ; E (39) L. I.
Ap. 20/72
- Thomas Williams's** ho : (m.pl.) 320 (85) appl.
10. **Bishopston.** **Henry Griffith's** ho : (m.pl.) : 320 (233) appl. ;
320 (234) appl. ; E (39) L. I. Ap. 20/72. 320 (235) L. R.
11. **Nicholaston.** **Robert Gethen's** ho. (m.pl.) : 320 (233) appl. ; 320 (234)
appl. ; E (39) L. I. Ap. 20/72. 320 (235) L. R.
12. **Roscilly.** **Richard Bevan's** ho. : (m.pl.) ; 320 (233) appl. ; 320 (234)
appl. ; E (39) L. I. April 20/72. 320 (235) L. R.

CARMARTHEN.

Baptist

1. **Llanon.** **John Morgan's** ho : (m.pl.) E (260) ? L. I.

(Note.—B. G. Evans adds two at Llangunnor, but this is almost certainly a mistake. See under Glamorgan.)

Congregational

1. **Llanstephan.** **Evan Morris's** ho : (m.pl.) : 320 (84) appl. ; 320 (86)
appl. ; E (26) L. I. Ap 17/72
Stephen Hughes (t^r) 320 (84) appl., 320 (86) appl. ; E (26)
L. I. Ap 17/72
2. **Penkader.** **Widow Jenkins's** ho : (m.pl.) ; 320 (84) appl. ; 320 (86)
appl. ; E (26) L. I. Ap. 17/72
Stephen Hughes (t^r) 320 (84) appl. ; 320 (86) appl. ; E (26)
L. I. Ap. 17/72
3. **Cenarth.** **John James's** ho : (m.pl.) 321 (35) appl., E (85) L. I.
May 8/72
4. **Pencarreg.** **David Jones** (t^r) : E (266) L. I. Oct. 28/72

PEMBROKE.

Congregational

1. **Haverfordwest.** **Peregrine Philip** (t^r) 320 (234) appl. ; E (51)
L. I. Ap. 30/72 ; 320 (235) L. R.
Peregrine Philip's ho : (m.pl.) 320 (234) appl. ; E (51) L. I.
Ap. 30/72 , 320 (235) L. R.
Richard Maylor's ho : (m.pl.) 320 (234) appl. ; E (51) L. I.
Ap 30/72 ; 320 (235) L. R.
2. **Uzmaaston.** **Mark Gibbon's** ho : (m.pl.) 321 (364, back) appl. ;
E (173) ? L. I.
John Phillips's ho : (m.pl.) 321 (364, back) appl. ; E (173) ? L. I.

3. *Cilgerran*. (John) Jenkin Jones (t^r): 321 (35) appl.; E (85)
 L. I. May 8/72; 321 (214) L. R. May 20/72
 (John) Jenkin Jones's ho: (m.pl.); 321 (35) appl.; E (85)
 L. I. May 8/72; 321 (214) L. R. May 20/72

CARDIGAN.

Congregational

1. *Cardigan*. James Davies (t^r): 321 (35) appl.; E (85) L. I.
 May 8/72; 321 (214) L. R. May 20/72
 James Davies's ho: (m.pl.); 321 (35) appl.; E (85) L. I.
 May 8/72; 321 (214) ? L. R. May 20/72
 Widow Gwyn's ho: (m.pl.) E (266) ? L. I.
2. *Llanfair-Trefhelygen*. David Rees's ho: (m.pl.) E (266) ? L. I.
3. *Llandyssilio*. David Thomas's ho: (m.pl.) E (266) ? L. I.
4. *Dihewid*. Philip David's ho: (m.pl.) E (266) ? L. I.
5. *Lampeter*. Evan David's ho: (m.pl.) E (266) ? L. I.
6. *Cellan*. Evan Hughes (t^r) E (266) ? L. I.
 David Hughes's ho: (m.pl.)
7. *Llandewi-Brefi*. David Jones (t^r) E (266) ? L. I.
 David Jones's ho: (m.pl.)
8. *Llanbadarn-odwyn*. Morgan Howell (t^r) E (266) ? L. I.
 John Jones's ho: (m.pl.)

BRECON.

Congregational

1. *Llanvigan*. Lewis Pritherech (t^r) E (287) ? L. I.
 David Williams's ho: (m.pl.) E (286) L. I. Feb. 3/73
2. *Talgarth*. David Williams (t^r) E (254) L. I. Sep. 30/72
 William Watkins's ho: (m.pl.) E (254) ? L. I.
3. *Llanigon* ('Kaingon'). William Watkins's ho: (m.pl.) E (254)
 ? L. I.

Baptist

1. *Llanafan-fawr*. Thomas Evans (t^r) E (286) ? L. I.

RADNOR.

Baptist

1. *Llandrindod*. William Greene (t^r): E (286) L. I. Feb. 3/73
 W^m Greene's ho: (m.pl.)

Presbyterian

1. *Beguildy*. Richard Griffith (t^r) E (277) ? L. I.
 Maurice Griffith (t^r) E (277) L. I. Dec. 9/72
 Richard Griffith's ho: (m.pl.) E (277) ? L. I.
 Owen Morgan's ho: (m.pl.) E (280) ? L. I.

Congregational

1. *Glascwm*. Edward Owen (t^r) E (273) ? L. I.
Richard Mills's ho : (m.pl.) E (273) ? L. I. Nov. 18/72
Thomas Price's ho : (m.pl.) E (273) ? L. I.
2. *Llanfihangel-Nant-Melan*. Thomas Tomman's ho : (m.pl.) E (273)
? L. I.
3. *New Radnor*. John Weaver's ho : (m.pl.) E (255) ? L. I.
4. *Llangunllo*. Richard Griffith's ho : (m.pl.) : E (273) ? L. I.
5. *Llanbister*. John Hamer (t^r) E (273) ? L. I.
Ann King's ho : (m.pl.) E (273) ? L. I.
6. *Beguildy*. Maurice Griffith (t^r) E (273) ? L. I.

MONTGOMERY.

Presbyterian

1. *Newtown*. Widow Morris's ho : (m.pl.) E (260) ? L. I.
2. *Welchpool*. Hugh Rogers (t^r) E (246) ? L. I. ; E (270) L. I.
Nov. 18/72
Hugh Rogers's ho : (m.pl.)
David Rogers's ho : (m.pl.) E (246) L. I. Sep. 5/72

Congregational

1. *Gwynly* [Location doubtful]. Hugh Price (t^r) E (262) L. I.
Oct. 28/72
Richard Price's ho : (m.pl.) E (269) ? L. I.
2. *Bryn(g)* [? if *Bryn-Ayre*, or perhaps near *Llanfyllin*]. John
Kynaston's ho : (m.pl.) E (210) L. I. July 25/72

MERIONETH.

Congregational

1. *Llanegryn*. Hugh Owen (t^r): 321 (237) appl. ; E (135) L. I.
May 22/72 ; 321 (277) L. R. May 28/72
Hugh Owen's ho : (m.pl.) : 321 (237) appl., E (135) L. I.
May 22/72 ; 321 (277) L. R. May 28/72
2. *Bodvegny* [Probably *Bodgadwan*]. Ellis Davis's ho : (m.pl.)
E (215) L. I. July 25/72
3. *Peniarth*. David Williams's ho : (m.pl.) E (210) L. I. July 25/72
4. *Cynfal*. Mary Lloyd's ho : (m.pl.) E (201) L. I. July 22/72
5. *Errowgoyel* [? if *Erwgoed*]. John Owens's ho : (m.pl.) E (210)
L. I. July 25/72

Corrigenda and Addenda.

320 (36) and 320 (37) should have been as follows :—

- 320 (36) "Marmaduke Matthews of Swansey ^{Humbly} desiers to have a
"Lycence to Preach to his Congregaçõns in his owne
"Dwelling House in y^e fores^d Towne

Presbyt

Endorsed : R. on Thursday 11 Apr.

Swanzey.

- 320 (37) "A Lycence is desired for Marmaduke Matthews Mr. of Arts
"to bee a Teacher or to preach in the parish of St. Jones by
"Swansey in the County of Glamorgan to the people calld
"Independents, & to bee a teacher also in any place licensed
"& allowed &c."

To the memorandum printed as 320 (86) should have been added :—
"Stephen Hughes congregat.
at y^e house of Evan Morris of Lanstephan and at y^e Widdow Jenkins
of penkader Carmarthenshire"

Endorsed "Swansey
Lancashire, not appr."

Addenda to E.

- E (85) "Licence to Jenkin Jones to be a Congr. Teacher in his howse
in Kilgerran Pembrokesh. 8 May"
- E (166) "The howse of John Harris at the Bell Inn in Carwent,
Monmouth. Ind. meeting place
"Like for the howse of Josuah Lloyd in Henesant.
"Like for the howse of Henry Walter in Landand Pa.
(Printed on slip).
- E (220) "A licence for . . . Milman to preach in the house of W^m
Richards in Langume in Monmth. 25 July
- E (232) "Licence for John Jones to be a Indep^t Teacher att his owne
house aboves^d. Aug 10.
- E (234) "The house of Walter Jones of Magor in Monmouthsh.
Ind^t Aug. 10
"Licence to Tho : Barnes to be a Ind^t Teacher att the house
of Walter Jones above said. Aug : 10.
- E (239) "The house of Walter Jones of Magor in Monmouthsh.
Congr. Sep 5"
- E (270) "Licence to Hugh Rogers to be a Congr. Teacher of Welsh-
pool in Mungomrysh. Nov 18/72
"The house of David Thomas of Wimblinglyn. Denbighsh.
Congr.
"The house of John Prichard of Penyralt in Denbighsh.
Congr."

(To be continued).

The Date of Penry's *Aequity*.

MR. GRIEVE'S edition of Penry's *Aequity* is beyond praise. There seems but one *erratum* of any moment. On the last page the first word in line seven appears as "ast"; in the original it is "hast." The promise to retain "the original use of *u* and *v*" is not quite kept as regards the capitals on the title page, where AEQUITY should be AEQVITY, and GRACIOUS should be GRACIOVS. Also, on the title page, "Tygershead" should be "Tygers head." In the marginal Greek on p. [34] the original has τ; this is given wrongly as τ'; it should have been expanded into της, seeing that the other contracted forms of the Greek are expanded (as is also done with contracted forms of the English). Perhaps the occasional spelling "Ghospell" which occurs, with other forms of the same word, on p. [21] should have been retained, seeing that "Rhomish" is retained. "Gospell" is retained where it occurs. The spelling "Ghospell," common enough at Penry's date and later, is interesting, as due to a false etymology, comparing thus with "abominable."

What is the date of Penry's *Aequity*? Mr. Grieve tentatively dates the printed treatise thus: "published January (?) 1587." He endorses the statements in the *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, which affirm that it was written "to call the attention of the Parliament which sat from 28 Oct. till 2 Dec., 1586;" that it was abbreviated "in the vain hope that it might pass the press before Parliament was pro-

rogued"; but that, in spite of this, "the printed treatise" was presented to the House of Commons by Edward Downlee (corrected by Mr. Grieve to Donne or Dun Lee).

The Parliament here referred to was originally summoned for 15 Oct., was on that day prorogued to 27 Oct., and once more to Saturday, 29 Oct., 1586, on which day it actually sat for the first time. On 2 Dec., according to the original *Journals* (now lost), it was prorogued. Sir Simonds D'Ewes makes a great point of the fact that, after its first actual meeting, it was never prorogued, but was simply adjourned from Friday, 2 Dec., 1586, to Wednesday, 15 Feb., 1587. He assigns the error to the frequent carelessness of the deputy-clerk, William Onslow. However that may be, there can be little doubt that the Parliament was commonly spoken of as having been "prorogued" on 2 Dec., 1586, and as having met again "by prorogation" (instead of "by adjournment") on 15 Feb., 1587. It was dissolved on Thursday, 23 March, 1587.

Now Penry tells us (*Th' Appellation*, 1589, p. 3) that he was used by the Lord "as an instrument to motion the parliament holden by prorogation, in the 29 yere of her Majesties raigne." That year began on 17 Nov., 1586. The Parliament, therefore, which Penry was "an instrument to motion," was the Parliament "holden by prorogation" from 15 Feb. to 23 March, 1587. To this Parliament his treatise was presented by a worthy countryman, whose name is thus given (*ibid.* p. 4, margin):

" Master Ed-
vvard Don-
lee."

The date of presentation is not given.

Penry nowhere speaks of any "vain hope," or of any desire that his treatise "might pass the press before Parliament was prorogued." On the con-

trary, he explains the curtailment of something like the latter half of his treatise—about 32 pages “being already vnder the presse”—by saying (*Aequity*, final page, not numbered) “Some rumor of the speedy dissolution of the Parliament enforced me.” That he did not fail in getting his treatise through the press before the “speedy dissolution” is obvious, otherwise it could not have been presented. Hence we may conclude that the *Aequity* was not published till some time after the middle of February, and must have been published before 23 March, 1587. It would probably be safe to date the publication about the middle of March. On 27 Feb. a petition and book, embodying a revised prayer-book, and advocating a learned ministry, had been introduced to the House of Commons by Sir Anthony Cope. It is not, perhaps, an inadmissible conjecture that this action, which made some stir, was what moved Penry to similar action in behalf of a supply of preaching for Wales.

Internal evidence supplies some data for determining the year in which the manuscript of the *Aequity* was prepared. At p. [27] in the earlier part—the part printed off before the rumour of dissolution reached him—Penry speaks of Elizabeth as having reigned “twenty eight yeares, and aboue.” Similarly, at p. [40] in the later part, an abridgment of the original manuscript, he gives it as “twenty eight yeares and vppward.” Neither of these statements can have been penned till after 17 Nov., 1586. Again, at p. [58] in the later part, he speaks of the “vnseasonable haruest 1585,” and adds: “Therefore many were able to sowe nothing the last year,” *i.e.*, in 1586. This agricultural memorandum must, therefore, have been written in 1587, otherwise he would have said “this year.”

Another little point may deserve notice. How are we to account for the extraordinary slip of Penry (or his printer) who, at page [54], gives the date of Elizabeth's accession day as "that ioyful 17. day of Nouember 1557"? Assuredly, whoever made the mistake very well knew that Elizabeth's accession year was 1558. Queen's Day was a matter of common and jubilant knowledge. Certain schoolboys (the present writer among the number) used to get, by a welcome tradition from old times, a holiday on Queen's Day (let us hope they do still). They used to chant a not wholly decorous rhyme, enshrining the year date of the end of the Marian *régime*. The explanation of the slip seems to be that, writing (or printing) in 1587, the last figure of 1558 was, by Penry (or by his compositor), assimilated to the final figure of the current year.

One point more. Penry's *Th' Appellation* is dated 1589. According to our reckoning this should be 1590. The legal year began on 25 March. Yet it was customary (subsequently the Quakers made it a rule) to reckon March, as a whole, to be the "first month" of the new year. It is reasonable to infer that *Th' Appellation* was published *before*, and the *Aequity* not published till *after*, St. David's Day.

Consulting all the indications, it would seem that the *onus probandi* lies with those who are prepared to controvert the following positions, viz., (1) the *Aequity* was not begun to be written till after 1 January; nor (2) was it printed off till after 15 March, 1587.

A. G.

Bibliography of Congregational Church History

SEVERAL members of our Society have expressed a wish for a summary of what has already been done in the matter of Congregational Church history. It is hoped, therefore, that an attempt to meet this desire will be acceptable, in place of the usual instalment of Early Nonconformist Bibliography.

As it is impossible to separate the early history of Congregationalism from that of Puritanism and Nonconformity in general, we begin with a series of standard works on the larger subject, including those of hostile writers, but limiting the selection to *results of*—as distinguished from *materials for*—research. We shall then proceed to the general and local history of Congregationalism, including associations, churches, colleges, etc., followed by a few of the most important works on early American Congregationalism, the Pilgrim Fathers, and the foundation of New England. Finally, it may be desirable to indicate the more important works on the general, not local, history of the other branches of the “Old Dissent,” the Presbyterians, Baptists, Quakers, and Unitarians. Merely expository and controversial works are excluded.

Puritanism and Nonconformity in General.

- FOXE, JOHN : Acts and Monuments of Matters Special and Memorable in the Church : (commonly called *The Book of Martyrs*.) First edition, fol., 1562-3 ; best editions, 3 vols., fol., 1641 and 1684 ; equally useful the reprint in 8 vols., 8vo., 1843.
Indispensable for Lollards and other pre-Reformation Nonconformists. The abridgments are worthless to students.

FULLER, THOS. : The Church History of Britain from the Birth of Christ to the Year 1648. First edition, fol., 1655 ; reprint, 6 vols., 8vo., 1845.

WALKER, CLEMENT ; *alias* THEODORUS VERAX : The Compleat History of Independency. Four parts, 4to., 1660-61.

HEYLYN, PETER : Aerius Redivivus ; a History of the Presbyterians. Fol., 1670.

CLARENDON, EDWARD HYDE, EARL OF : History of the Rebellion. Three vols., fol., 1705.

These three, on the other hand, are avowedly, and even malignantly, hostile to Nonconformity ; but they cannot be neglected in an impartial study of its history.

WOOD, ANTHONY : Athenae Oxoniensis. Two vols., fol., 1691 ; second edition, 1721.

Indispensable for the lives of many early Nonconformist writers. (Cooper's Athenae Cantabrigiensis, 2 vols., 8vo., 1858-61, is much less valuable, as it only comes down to about 1609.)

CALAMY, EDMUND, D.D. : An Abridgment of Mr. Baxter's History of his Life and Times ; with an account of the Ministers who were ejected after the Restoration of King Charles II. 8vo., 1702 ; second edition, 2 vols., 1713 ; third edition, 5 vols., 1723-7. Abridged, corrected, and re-arranged as The Nonconformists' Memorial, by S. Palmer. Two vols., 1775 ; latest edition, 3 vols., 1802-3.

A revised edition of this very important work is greatly to be desired.

COLLIER, JEREMY : An Ecclesiastical History of Great Britain—chiefly of England, &c. Two vols., fol., 1708 ; again 1714 ; reprint in 9 vols., 8vo., 1852.

WALKER, JOHN : The Sufferings of the Clergy during the Great Rebellion. Fol., 1714.

This was designed as a counter-blast to Calamy, on the "tu quoque" principle. It contains but little Nonconformist history or bibliography, and is very unreliable, yet is often useful in local research. The abridgment, 8vo., 1862, is worthless.

STRYPE, JOHN : Ecclesiastical Memorials under King Henry VIII., King Edward VI., and Queen Mary. Three vols., fol., 1721.

Annals of the Reformation and Establishment of Religion in England under Queen Elizabeth. Four vols., fol., 1735.

Life and Acts of John Whitgift. Fol., 1718.

(Also in 6, 7, and 3 vols., 8vo., 1822.)

BURNET, GILBERT : History of His Own Times. Two vols., fol., 1724-34 ; reprint in 6 vols., 8vo., 1833.

These, though written from the standpoint of strict Conformity, are generally fair, even when unsympathetic. They are important for the earlier stages of Nonconformity and for the history of Toleration.

NEAL, DANIEL : The History of the Puritans, or Protestant Non-conformists, from the Reformation in 1517, &c. Four vols., 8vo., 1732-8 ; second edition, 2 vols., 4to., 1754 ; 5 vols., 8vo., 1793-7, and 1822 ; 3 vols., 1837.

This, though in some points open to correction, can never be superseded.

GREY, ZACHARY : An Impartial Examination of the second vol. of Mr. Daniel Neal's History of the Puritans. Four vols., 8vo., 1736.

Written in vindication of the State Church.

CORNISH, JOSEPH : A Brief History of Nonconformity from the Reformation to the Revolution. Small 8vo., 1797.

This is the earliest brief history I have met with ; the writer seems to have Unitarian sympathies.

BOGUE, DAVID, D.D., and BENNETT, JAS., D.D. : The History of Dissenters from the Revolution to the year 1808. Four vols., 8vo., 1808. Second edition, revised and condensed, 2 vols., 8vo., 1833. A third volume, containing the history from 1808 to 1838, was added 1839.

WILSON, WALTER : The History and Antiquities of Dissenting Churches and Meeting-houses in London, Westminster, and Southwark ; including the Lives of their Ministers. Four vols., 8vo., 1808 fig.

This only deals with very few churches beyond the technical boundary specified. Mr. Wilson's MS. collections, in several volumes, in Williams's Library, probably extend over a wider field, and ought to be thoroughly examined.

BROOK, BENJAMIN : Lives of the Puritans. Three vols., 8vo., 1813.

Mr. Brook, almost to the end of his life, cherished the hope of an improved edition of this invaluable work. His MSS., laboriously written and re-written with this view, are in the Congregational Library ; and ought, at least in part, to be utilised. His History of Religious Liberty, 2 vols., 8vo., 1820, is valuable ; and his Life of Thomas Cartwright, 8vo., 1845, is the standard work on the subject, and is never likely to be superseded.

A Sketch of the History and Proceedings of the Deputies appointed to protect the Civil Rights of the Protestant Dissenters, &c. 8vo., 1813 (some copies dated 1814).

TOULMIN, JOSHUA, D.D. : An Historical View of the State of the Protestant Dissenters in England ; and of the Progress of Free Inquiry and Religious Liberty, from the Revolution to the Accession of Queen Anne.

The author was a Unitarian.

RICHARDS, W. : The Welsh Nonconformists' Memorial, edited, with notes, by J. Evans. 12mo., 1820.

Of interest for its biographical information.

IVIMEY, JAS. : A Brief History of Dissenters. 1827.

- REES, T. : A Sketch of the History of the Regium Donum, and Parliamentary Grant to Poor Dissenting Ministers of England and Wales. 8vo., 1834.
- PRICE, T. : The History of Protestant Nonconformity in England, from the Reformation under Henry VIII. Two vols., 8vo., 1836.
- VAUGHAN, ROBT. : Religious Parties in England ; their Principles, History, and Present Duty. 8vo., 1838. Second edition, 1839.
- SOAMES, H. : Elizabethan Religious History. 8vo., 1839.
- HUNTER, JOHN : The Rise of the Old Dissent, exemplified in the Life of Oliver Heywood. 8vo., 1842.
- Puritan Divines of the Time of Queen Elizabeth : Anon. Sm. 8vo., about 1848.
- TIMPSON, T. : The Ecclesiastical History of Britain. Sm. 8vo., 1838 ; second edition, 1849.
- STOWELL, W. H. : The Puritans in England. Sm. 8vo., 1849.
- JONES, J. A. : Bunhill Memorials ; Sacred Reminiscences of Three Hundred Ministers, and other Persons of Note, buried in Bunhill Fields. Sm. 8vo., 1849.
- MARSDEN, J. R. : The History of the Early Puritans, from the Reformation to the Opening of the Civil War. 8vo., 1850 ; other editions, 1852, 1860.
- The History of the Later Puritans, from the Opening of the Civil War to the Ejection of the Nonconforming Clergy in 1662. 8vo., 1852 ; other editions, 1854, 1872.
- MIALL, J. G. : Footsteps of our Forefathers. 1851.
- HOPKINS, SAML. : The Puritans ; or the Church, Court, and Parliament of England during the reigns of Edward VI. and Elizabeth. Boston, Mass. Three vols., 8vo., 1859-61.
- COLEMAN, THOS. : The Two Thousand Confessors of 1662. 8vo., 1860.
- The English Confessors after the Reformation. 8vo., 1862.
- VAUGHAN, R. : English Nonconformity. 8vo., 1862.
- STOUGHTON, JOHN, D.D. : Church and State Two Hundred Years Ago. Crown 8vo., 1862.
- BAYNE, PETER : English Puritanism, its Character and History ; an Introduction to Documents relating to . . . the Act of Uniformity. 8vo., 1862.
- WILLIAMS, F. SMEATON : The Story of the Two Thousand of 1662. Sm. 8vo., 1862.
- THE CENTRAL UNITED BARTHOLOMEW COMMITTEE, 1862, *issued two volumes of Bicentenary Papers, viz. :—*Lecture Series—Four Lectures by T. McCrie, Alex. Maclaren, R. W. Dale, and R. Halley ; and Tract Series—Eleven popular tracts by various writers.

All containing much historical information, presented in a familiar style.

The Bicentenary Lectures, Leeds series, by G. W. Conder, R. K. Brewer, S. G. Green, and E. R. Conder, 12mo., 1862, are also a valuable popular series.

In addition to these a great number of tracts and lectures, locally produced, and too numerous for separate mention, contain much varied information. The Congregational Library has, it is believed, a complete collection.

WILSON, JOSHUA: Calumnies Confuted; Historical Facts in answer to the Quarterly Review on the Bicentenary Commemoration. 1862.

STOUGHTON, JOHN, D.D.: Ecclesiastical History of England. Three vols., 8vo., 1867 and 1874: revised as History of Religion in England. Six vols., 1881, and two additional vols. 1884.

SKEATS, HERBERT: A History of the Free Churches in England from 1688 to 1851. 8vo., 1868. Second edition, with continuation by C. Miall, Cr. 8vo., 1891.

EVANS, A. J.: A Primer of Free Church History. 1899.

HOULDER, J. A.: A Short History of the Free Churches. 1899.

HORNE, C. SILVESTER: A Popular History of the Free Churches. 1903.

Eras of Nonconformity, a series of monographs by various authors, in course of publication. 1904-5.

Independents or Congregationalists; General History.

HANBURY, BENJAMIN: Historical Memorials relating to the Independents or Congregationalists. Three vols. 8vo., 1839.

An invaluable collection of memorials and extracts; unfortunately marred by editorial faults in arrangement.

BRIGHT, J. S., D.D.: Apostolic Independency exemplified in the History of Congregational Churches. 1842.

FLETCHER, JOSEPH: History of the Revival and Progress of Independency in England since the Reformation. Four vols., Cr. 8vo., 1847; reprint 1861.

WADDINGTON, JOHN, D.D.: Congregational Martyrs. Cr. 8vo., 1861. Second edition, 1862.

Congregational Church History. 1862.

PUNCHARD, GEORGE: History of Congregationalism from 250 A.D. Five vols. 8vo., Boston, U.S.A., 1867-81.

WADDINGTON, JOHN, D.D.: Congregational History from A.D. 1200 to 1880. Five vols., 8vo., 1869-80.

DEXTER, H. M., D.D.: The Congregationalism of the last 300 years, as seen in its Literature. Ryl. 8vo., 1879.

WALKER, WILLISTON: The Creeds and Platforms of Congregationalism. 8vo., New York, 1893.

- MACKENNAI, ALEX., D.D. : The Story of the English Separatists. 1893.
 (Edited by). Six Tracts on occasion of the Tercentenary of Greenwood, Barrowe, and Penry. 1893.
- POWICKE, F. J., Ph.D. : Henry Barrowe, and the Exiled Church of Amsterdam. 8vo., 1900.
- BURRAGE, CHAMPLIN : The Church Covenant Idea. Its Origin and its Development. Philadelphia, 1904.

Congregationalists—Local History.

The *Congregational Magazine*, 1818 to 1826, contained a very valuable series of papers entitled "Statistical Account of Dissenters," by Joshua Wilson. It was designed to cover the entire country, the counties being taken alphabetically, and special prominence being given to the Congregational churches. Unfortunately the series broke off with Devon, which was left incomplete. Mr. Wilson's memoranda are in the Congregational Library; but much of the MS. is unintelligible.

LONDON.

- PIKE, G. H. : Ancient Meeting-Houses. 1870.
- WHITE, J. G. : The Churches and Chapels of Old London. 1901.
- HANBURY, B. : An Historical Research concerning the most Ancient Congregational Church in England. 1820.
- MARSH, J. B. : The Story of Hare Court. 1871.
 Memorials of the City Temple. 1877.
- PIERCE, WM. : Old New-Court. 1892.
- BENNETT, JAS., D.D. : History of the Church in Silver Street. 1841.
- DAVIS, C. H. : History of the Silver Street Sunday School Society. 1904.
- PYE-SMITH, A. : Memorials of Fetter Lane Chapel. 1900.
- FREE, R. W. : Lux Benigna; being the History of Orange Street Chapel.
- STOUGHTON, JOHN, D.D. : Congregationalism in the Court Suburb (Kennington) 1883.
- JONES, A. T. : Notes on the Early days of Stepney Meeting. 1887.
- FARREN, JOHN : Jamaica Barn, the Story of Jas. Janeway; also sketch of the Ministry of Thos. Rosewell. 1874 and '77.
- DAVIES, JOHN : Account of the Old Gravel-pit Meeting House. 1853.
- TURQUAND, P. J. : Brief Historical Sketch of the Educational Institutions connected with the Congregational Fund Board. 1896.

CAVE, A., D.D. : Story of the Foundation of Hackney College. 1898.

FARREK, W., LL.B. : Jubilee of New College—Reminiscences. 1901. Various pamphlets relating to Homerton, Highbury, and New Colleges ; and an interesting, though too brief, Historical Sketch of Congregational Colleges by S. Newth, D.D., in the "Senatus Academicus Calendars," *v. d.*

[There are also pamphlets relating to Bury St., Craven Chapel, Camden Town (Park), Islington Chapel, Kentish Town Tabernacle, Tonbridge, Tooting, Tottenham Court Road, and Union Chapel].

BEDFORDSHIRE.

BROWN, J., D.D. : Centenary Narrative of the Bedfordshire Association. 1896.

John Bunyan, 1885, contains a complete history of Bunyan Church, Bedford.

BERKSHIRE.

LEGGE, WM. : Historical Memorials of Broad St. Chapel, Reading. 1851.

STEVENS, J., D.D. : Two Centuries Young ; Abingdon Congregational Church. 1900.

[A Handbook to the Congregational Church, Newbury, 1887].

BUCKINGHAMSHIRE.

PARKER, JOHN : History of the Church meeting in Crendon Lane, High Wycombe. 1848.

SUMMERS, W. H. : Centenary Memorials of the Congregational Churches at Mortimer West and Beaconsfield. 1898 and 1900.

[There are also short accounts of Newport Pagnell, and Pottersbury].

CAMBRIDGESHIRE.

[An Account of Emmanuel Church, Cambridge, in a large Bazaar Programme.]

CHESHIRE. *

URWICK, W. : Historical Sketches of Nonconformity in the County Palatine of Chester. 4to., 1864.

MARSH, G. V., and HOPE, J. G. : Queen Street Independent Sabbath School, Chester. 1803-1903.

THOMPSON, JOS. : Manual of the Congregational Church at Wilmslow. 1882.

CUMBERLAND.

LEWIS, W. : History of the Congregational Church at Cockermouth. 1870.

DEVON.

Axminster : *Ecclesiastica* ; or a Book of Remembrance ; a History of y^e Church at Wykecroft, Axminster. 1874.

AMERY, P. F. : Historical Sketch of the Independent Chapel, Ashburton. 1892.

DEEBLE, C. : Record of Howe Congl. Church, Torrington, 1896.

SLATER, W., and BERTRAM, R.A. : Historical Account of the Congl. Church, Barnstaple. 1870.

[There is an anonymous pamphlet, Extracts from the History of the Cong. Ch., Tiverton, 1660-1840].

DORSET.*

DENSHAM, W., and OGLE, J. : The Story of the Congregational Churches of Dorset. 1899.

DENSHAM, W. : The Story of the Congregational Ch. at Dorchester. 1898.

KNELL, S. : The Independent Ch. at Lyme Regis and its ministers. 1856.

ESSEX.*

DAVIDS, T. W. : Annals of Evangelical Nonconformity in Essex. 1863.

BURLS, R. : A Brief Review of the Plan and Operations of the Essex Congregational Union, with memoirs. 1848.

BOWEN, H. P. : Religious Annals of Brentwood. 1862.

AULT, E. B. : History of the Congl. Church, Clavering. 1893.

DALE, BRYAN : The Annals of Coggeshall. 1863.

WRIGHT, C. : Nonconformity in Epping. 1625-1895, 1896.

BECKETT, W. H. : Free Church Life at Stebbing. 1893.

BEDDOW, W., and SPURGEON, C. H. : Memoirs of Stambourn. 1891.

[There are short pamphlets relating to Billericay and Ongar.]

GLOUCESTERSHIRE.

CASTON, M. : Independency in Bristol. 1860.

FULLER, J. G. : Rise and Progress of Dissent in Bristol. 1840.

DAVIES, W. : The Tewkesbury Academy. 1902.

[A pamphlet relating to Bridge St. Church, Bristol.]

HAMPSHIRE.

PEARSALL, J. S. : Historic Memorials of a Christian fellowship at Andover.

CHAMPNESS, W. : History of the Congl. Church, Fareham. 1891.

JONES, T. C. : Congregationalism in Petersfield during the last 100 years. 1899.

BENHAM, D. : Some Account of the village of Tadley, and the Independent Church there. 1862.

[There is an anonymous pamphlet about Romsey, undated.]

HERTFORDSHIRE.

URWICK, W. : Nonconformity in Hertfordshire. 1884.

DIXON, R. W. : A Century of Village Nonconformity at Bluntisham.
[Several pamphlets relating to Cheshunt College. *v. d.*]

HUNTINGDONSHIRE.

MILLARD, J. H. : Memorials of Trinity Church, Huntingdon, for 50 years, 1873.

COOPER, R. D. : The Old Meeting-House, St. Neot's. 1890.

KENT. †

TIMPSON, T. : Church History of Kent. 1869.

GORDON, JOHN : History of the Congregational Churches in Sheerness and the neighbourhood. 1898.

BELSEY : Centenary of Ebenezer Sunday School, Chatham. 1899.

THATCHER, T. : Brief History of Staplehurst Congl. Church and its ministers, 1888.

DRAPER, F. : Historical Associations of the Free Churches of Tonbridge Wells and neighbourhood. 1904.

LANCASHIRE.*

HALLEY, R., D.D. : Lancashire, its Puritanism and Nonconformity. Two vols., 1869; 2nd edition 1 vol., 1872.

NIGHTINGALE, B. : Lancashire Nonconformity. Six vols., 1890-93.

SLATER, R. : A Brief History of the Lancashire Congregational Union. 1840.

DAVISON, W. H. : Centenary Memorials of Duke's Alley Chapel, Bolton, 1854.

BROWN, T. W. : Congregationalism, from Marsden Height to Brierfield. 1901.

Illustrated Memorial volume of Salem Congl. Church, Burnley. 1889.

LEACH, C. : Manchester Congregationalism. 1898.

ANTLIFF, S. R. : Independency in Preston. 1880.

NIGHTINGALE, B.: History of the old Independent Chapel, Pockholes.

[Also pamphlets relating to Farnworth and Horwich.]
Lancashire Independent College, Jubilee Memorial volume. 1893.

LINCOLNSHIRE. †

BARKER, J. T.: Congregationalism in Lincolnshire. 1860.

NORFOLK.*

BROWNE, JOHN: History of Congregationalism in Norfolk and Suffolk. 1877.

STOUGHTON, J., D.D.: The Rise and Early Progress of Congregationalism in Norfolk. 1886.

ALEXANDER, JOHN: Thirty Years' History of the Church in Princes Street, Norwich. 1874.

A Manual of the Congl. Church at Oulton. 1862.

RUSSELL, J. S.: A Leaf from the Early History of the Ancient Congl. Church, Great Yarmouth. 1850.

NORTHAMPTONSHIRE.*

COLEMAN, THOS.: Memorials of the Independent Churches of Northamptonshire. 1853.

"EBENEZER: A Memorial of the . . . Congl. Church, Market Harborough." 1894.

ARNOLD, THOS., and COOPER, J. J.: The History of the Church of Doddridge (Northampton). 1895.

GASQUOINE, T.: Account of the Congl. Ch. at Potterspury.

" " The Story of a Village Chapel (Welsford). 1901.

GLASS, NORMAN: The Early History of the Independent Church at Rothwell. 1871.

NOTTINGHAMSHIRE.

MCALL, SAM.: Historical Account of the Congl. Church worshiping in Castlegate Meeting-House, Nottingham.

OXFORDSHIRE.

FERGUSON, W.: Facts 300 years ago and Facts Now, &c. (A history of the church at Bicester). 1855.

Mansfield College, its Origin and Opening. 1890.

SALOP.*

ELLIOT, E.: History of Congregationalism in Salop. 1898.

SOMERSET. †

- THOMAS, J. L. : Centenary Report of the Somerset Congregational Union, with Historical Notices of Churches. 1896.
 GUNN, H. M. : The Free Churches of Chard and the neighbourhood. 1867.
 HARVEY, W. J. : Story of Zion Chapel, Frome. 1892.
 History of Rook Lane (Church and) Sunday School, Frome. 1895.
 PITMAN, Mrs. : Memorials of the Congl. Church, Milbourn Port. 1883.
 South Petherton Church Manual, with Epitomized History, 1883.
 SWEETMAN, G. : The Centenary of the Congl. Church, Wincanton. 1899.
 SEAGER, G. W. : A Short History of the Congl. Church, Wells.

STAFFORDSHIRE.

- KEY, GEO. : Records of 100 years of Congregationalism at Rugeley. 1897.
 [There is also a sketch of Ebenezer Church, West Bromwich, in a bazaar programme.]

SUFFOLK* (*see Norfolk*).

- RIX, S. W. : Brief Record of the Independent Church at Beccles. 1837.
 HODSON, W. W. : The Independents of Sudbury. 1893.
 JOHNSON, N. W. : History of the Dissenting Interest at Wickhambrook. 1844.
 BROWNE, JOHN : The Congl. Church at Wrentham. 1854.

SURREY. †

- WADDINGTON, J., D.D. : Surrey Congregational History. 1866.
 ANDERSON, J. E. : A History of the Independents or Dissenters at Mortlake, 1888 ; new edn., 1902.
 PARK, J., and GILBERT, H. M. : Past Days should speak ; Sketch of the rise and progress of Nonconformity in Wandsworth. 1882.

WARWICKSHIRE. †

- SIBREE, J., and CASTON, M. : Independency in Warwickshire. 1855.
 JAMES, J. A. : Protestant Nonconformity in Birmingham. 1849.

[There are several pamphlet histories of Birmingham churches, but the most complete narrative is that of Mr. Rutherford, in Vol. I., Nos. 5 and 6 of the *Transactions*.]

WILTSHIRE. †

- STRIBLING, S. B. : History of the Wilts and East Somerset Union.
 HARRISON, C. : The Church at Birdbush. 1853.
 GUNN, H. M. : Tercentenary Memorial read at Horningsham. 1866.
 Nonconformity in Warminster. 1853.
 JENKIN, G. L. : Nonconformity in Malmesbury. 1895.
 WILLIAMS, D. E. : History of the Congregational Church in Mere.
 1895.
 MANN, T. : A Brief History of the Tabernacle Church, Trowbridge.
 1884.
 RUDDOCK, J. B. : History of the Old Congregational Church, West-
 bury.

[There is also a pamphlet relating to Wilton.]

WORCESTERSHIRE.

- MORRIS, JOHN : Annals of a Village Church (Broadway). 1896.
 HUNSWORTH, GEO. : Memorials of the Old Meeting-House, Kidder-
 minster. 1874.
 BLACHFORD, F. H. : Bicentenary Memorials of Baxter Church,
 Kidderminster. 1893.
 LUCAS, HENRY : These Fifty Years : Memorials of Christian Work
 at Netherton.
 URWICK, W. : Nonconformity in Worcester. Fourth edition, 1897.
 [There is also a facsimile of the ancient "Covenant" of the
 Worcester Congregational Church.]

YORKSHIRE. †

- MIALL, J. G. : Congregationalism in Yorkshire. 1868.
 DARWENT, C. E. : The Story of Fish Street Chapel, Hull. 1899.
 STURDY, JAS. : The Origin of the Congregational Chapels in the
 Whitby District. 1901.
 REYNOLDS, E. H. : A Chapter in the History of Barnsley Noncon-
 formity. 1897.
 DALE, BRYAN : A History of Congregationalism at Flockton. 1902.
 DALE, B. : Jubilee Memorial of Zion Chapel and Schools, Halifax.
 1867.
 Historical Sketch of Early Nonconformity in the City of
 York. 1904.
 BRUCE, R., D.D. : Centenary Memorial of Highfield Chapel,
 Huddersfield.
 TURNER, J. H. : Nonconformity in Idle ; with the History of Aire-
 dale College. 1876.
 THOMAS, W. : Jubilee of Queen Street Chapel, Leeds, with
 Memorials. 1875.

- WONNACOTT, JAS. : History of Morley Old Chapel. 1859.
 PEARSON, MARK : North Owtam, its History and Antiquities. 1898.
 SMITH, G. S. : Jubilee Memorial Volume, West End Congregational
 Chapel, Sowerby Bridge. 1890.
 PEEL, F. : Nonconformity in Spen Valley. 1891.

WALES.

- REES, THOS. : History of Nonconformity in Wales. 1861.
 EVANS, BERAH H. : Diwygwyf Cymry. 1890.
 JENKINS, J. A., and JAMES, R. E. : Nonconformity in Cardiff. 1904.

The Congregational Library has all the above named books and pamphlets, with three or four exceptions. There are doubtless other local Histories, which the librarian would be glad to obtain or to hear of. There is also a large amount of historical information scattered about in local and other magazines, church handbooks, and other ephemeral publications, the collecting and arranging of which is greatly to be desired.

Of County Histories of Congregationalism, Cheshire, Dorset, Essex, Herts, Lancashire, Norfolk, Northants, Salop, and Suffolk (see *), have been so admirably done that little more can be wished, except the bringing of information up to date. Of other counties (see †), the treatment of Kent, Surrey, Warwickshire, and Yorkshire is far from satisfactory ; while of Lincolnshire, Somerset, and Wilts we have only brief sketches—a mere foundation for history. Some members of our Society are engaged upon Berkshire and Oxfordshire, Kent, Northumberland and Durham, and Surrey ; and another has made large collections of material toward a more adequate treatment of Yorkshire. The other areas are practically untouched.

The Pilgrim Fathers, etc.

The literature on this topic is so voluminous that only a selection of the most important works needs to be given.

- MATHER, COTTON : † Magnalia Christi Americana ; or the Ecclesiastical History of New England, from its first planting in the year 1620 unto . . . 1698. Fol., 1702. American reprints, 2 vols., 8vo., 1820 and 1853.
 STEWARD, J., D.D. [pseudonym for H. Trumbull] : History of the Discovery of America, of the landing of our Forefathers at Plymouth, &c. 8vo., 1809. Often reprinted.
 ROBBINS, T. : A Historical View of the First Planters of New England. 12mo., 1815 ; reprint, 1843.
 FARMER, J. : A Genealogical Register of the first settlers of New England. 8vo., 1829.

- BAYLIES, F. : A Historical Memoir of the Colony of New Plymouth, &c. Two vols., 8vo., 1830 and 1832 ; again, 1866.
- YOUNG, A. : Chronicles of the Pilgrim Fathers . . . from 1602 to 1625 ; now first collected from Original Records &c. 8vo., 1841 ; reprint, 1844.
Chronicles of the first Planters of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay, from 1623 to 1636. 8vo., 1846.
- UHDEN, H. F. : The New England Theocracy ; a History of the Congregationalists of New England to the Revivals of 1740. In German (Leipzig), 16mo., 1842 ; in English, 12mo., 1858.
- CHEEVER, G. B. ; The Journal of the Pilgrims at Plymouth in New England in 1620. 8vo., 1848.
This is an incomplete edition of Bradford's Narrative, given in Young's Chronicles, and afterwards published in a more complete form.
- WILSON, DANIEL : † History of the Pilgrim Fathers. Cr. 8vo., 1849.
- HUNTER, JOHN : † Collections concerning the Early History of the Founders of New Plymouth, &c. 12mo., 1849 ; a much enlarged edition, 8vo., 1854.
This is the book which first identified Scrooby as the birthplace of the "Mayflower Church," and Austerfield as that of Governor Bradfield.
- BROWN, H. S. : † The Pilgrim Fathers—a Lecture delivered in Manchester. 1853.
- BARTLETT, W. H. : † The Pilgrim Fathers, or the Founders of New England in the reign of James 1st. 4to., 1853 ; second edition, 1854 ; in Dutch (Leyden), 1859.
- The First Plymouth Patent, granted 1 June, 1621, now first printed from the original MS. 1854.
- RUSSELL, W. S. : Pilgrim Memorials, 1855.
- FELT, J. B. : The Ecclesiastical History of New England ; comprising not only Religious, but also Moral and other relations. Two vols., 8vo., 1855 and 1862.
- Records of the Colony of New Plymouth, edited by N. R. Shurtleff, M.D. Twelve vols., 4to., 1855-62.
- BRADFORD, WILLIAM : History of Plymouth Plantation : now first printed from the original MS. for the Massachusetts Historical Society. 8vo., 1856.
The MS. was reproduced in facsimile, fol. 1896 ; and a superior literatim reprint was issued by the State Government of Massachusetts, 8vo., 1900.
- GALE, N. : The Pilgrims' First Year in New England. 16mo., 1857.
- CLARK, J. S. : A Historical Sketch of the Congregational Churches in Massachusetts, from 1620 to 1858. 12mo., 1858.
- The Path of the Pilgrim Church, from its Origin in England to its Establishment in New England. 12mo., 1862.

- WADDINGTON, J. : The Track of the Hidden Church ; or the Springs of the Pilgrim Movement. 12mo., 1863.
- DEXTER, H. M. : Pilgrim Memoranda ; A Chronological Glance at Prominent Facts of Interest in connection with the Pilgrim Fathers and their History. 8vo., 1870.
- BACON, L. : The Genesis of the New England Churches. 16mo., 1874.
- RITCHIE, J. E. : † On the Track of the Pilgrim Fathers ; or Holidays in Holland, &c. 8vo., 1876.
- DRAKE, S. R. : The Making of New England. 1886.
- BROWN, JOHN, D.D. : † The Pilgrim Fathers and their Puritan Successors. 8vo., 1895.
- ARBER, EDWARD : † The Story of the Pilgrim Fathers, 1606-1623 ; as told by themselves, their friends, and their enemies. 1897.
- GRIFFIS, W. E., D.D. : The Pilgrims in their three homes. 1898.

All the above, except those marked †, were published in America.

It does not seem necessary to give a complete list of historical works relating to the Presbyterians, Baptists, Quakers, and Unitarians. But a selection from the most important of these may be useful.

Presbyterians.

- The History of the English and Scotch Presbytery. Written in French by an Eminent Divine of the Reformed Church, and now Englished. 8vo., 1659.
- The History, Opinions, and Legal Position of the English Presbyterians. 8vo., 1834.
- WILSON, JOSHUA : An Historical Enquiry concerning the Principles, Opinions, and Usages of the English Presbyterians. 8vo., 1835 ; second edition, 1836.
- WILSON, JOSHUA : English Presbyterian Chapels proved to have been Orthodox Foundations. 1844.
- JAMES, T. S. : The History of the Litigation and Legislation respecting Presbyterian Chapels and Charities in England and Ireland between 1816 and 1849. 8vo., 1867.
- MCCRIE, THOS. : Annals of English Presbyterianism from the Earliest Period to the Present Time. 8vo., 1872.
- The (Westminster) Assembly of Divines ; Minutes of the Sessions, 1644 to 1649. 8vo., Edinburgh, 1874.
- The Historical Claim of the Presbyterian Church of England Considered. Folio, 1887.
- DRYSDALE, A. H. : History of the Presbyterians in England, their Rise, Decline, and Revival. 8vo., 1889.

Baptists.

- BLOME, F. : The Fanatick History ; or an exact relation and account of the Old Anabaptists and the New Quakers. 8vo., 1660.
A violent attack on Baptists.
- CROSBY, T. : The History of the English Baptists from the Reformation to the Beginning of the Reign of King George I. Four vols., 8vo., 1738-40.
A standard book of reference.
- EDWARDS, M. : Materials toward a History of the American Baptist Church. Two vols., 12mo. (Philadelphia), 1770 and 1792.
- BACKUS, I. : History of New England, with particular Reference to the Denomination of Christians called Baptists. Three vols., 1777-96 ; new edition, 2 vols., 1871.
- THOMAS, J. : A History of the Baptist Association in Wales, from the year 1650 to the year 1790. 8vo., 1795.
- IVIMEY, J. : A History of the English Baptists. Four vols., 8vo., 1811-30.
- CLARKE, H. : History of the Sabbatarians, or Seventh-Day Baptists in America. 12mo., 1811.
- BENEDICT, DAVID : A General History of the Baptist Denomination in America and other countries. Two vols., 8vo., Boston, 1813.
- TAYLOR, A. : The History of the English General Baptists, in two parts ; ¹/₁ English General Baptists of the 17th century ; ²/₁ The New Connection of General Baptists. Two vols., 8vo., 1818.
- MURCH, JEROME : History of the Presbyterian and General Baptist Churches in the West of England. 8vo., 1835.
- ORCHARD, G. H. : A Concise History of Foreign Baptists. 8vo., 1838.
- EVANS, B. : The Early English Baptists. Two vols., Sm. 8vo., 1862-4.
- CRUMP, J. M., D.D. : Baptist History, from the Foundation of the Christian Church to the Eighteenth Century. 8vo., 1871.
- GOADBY, J. J. : Byepaths of Baptist History. 8vo., 1871.
- HEATH, RICHARD : Anabaptism, 1521-36. 1895.

The publications of the Hanserd Knollys Society, 1846-54, are important ; especially the "Tracts on Liberty of Conscience and Persecution, 1614-1661," and the "Confessions of Faith and other Public Documents," both edited by E. B. Underhill.

Quakers.

- CROESE, GERARD : General History of the Quakers. 1696.
- SEWELL, WILLIAM : The History of the Rise, Increase, and Progress of the Christian People called Quakers. In Dutch, fol., Amsterdam, 1717. In English, fol., 1722 ; second edition, fol., 1725 ; 2 vols., 8vo., 1795 ; at least eight other editions, English and American.

- A Brief Account of Many of the Persecutions of the People called Quakers, in the Exchequer, Ecclesiastical, and other Courts, 1736.
- BESSE, JOSEPH : A Collection of the Sufferings of the Quakers for a Testimony of a Good Conscience. Two vols., fol., 1753.
- GOUGH, JOHN : A History of the People called Quakers. Four vols., 8vo., Dublin, 1789.
- WRIGHT, THOS. : History of the Rise and Progress of the People called Quakers in Ireland, 1880 ; a revised edition by John Ritty and Thomas Wright, 1811.
- BARCLAY, ROBT. : The Inner Life of the Religious Societies of the Commonwealth. 4to., 1876.
- The First Publishers of Truth : in course of publication by the Friends' Historical Society, 1904-5.
- The journals of G. Fox and W. Penn, the lives of Isaac Pennington and Thos. Elwood, and the "Minutes and Advices" and "Epistles" of Yearly Meetings, and numerous volumes of "Testimonies," should also be studied.

Unitarians.

- A Brief History of the Unitarians, called also Socinians. 12mo., 1687.
- LINDSAY, THEOPHILUS : Historical View of the State of Unitarian Doctrine and Worship from the Reformation to our own Times. 1783.
- The Manchester Socinian Controversy ; with Introductory Remarks and Appendix. 8vo., 1825.
- HEBARD, J. : Historical Sketch of Unitarianism. 12mo., 1834.
- TURNER, W. : Lives of Eminent Unitarians. 1840.
- WALLACE, ROBT. : Anti-Trinitarian Biography. Three vols., 1850.
- NEW, HERBERT : The Unitarian and Free Christian Churches in England ; their Origin, &c. 1883.
- HERFORD, BROOKE : The Story of Religion in England. Third edition. 1883.
- GORDON, ALEXANDER : Heads of Unitarian History. 1895.
- LLOYD, WALTER : The Story of Protestant Dissent and English Unitarians. 1899.
- EVANS, G. EYRE : Midland Churches ; a History of the Congregations on the Roll of the Midland Christian Union. 1899.

(See also several items under "Presbyterian" and "Baptist.")

A Remarkable Letter of Joseph Hussey

THE once celebrated Joseph Hussey, whose *Glory of Christ Unveiled* still finds appreciative readers, was born at Fordingbridge, 31st March, 1660. His first preceptor was Robert Whitaker, ejected from Magdalen College, Cambridge; afterwards he was a student in C. Moreton's academy, Newington Green. He preached his first sermon in W. Jenkyn's meeting-house, Jewin St., 14th Aug., 1681. He was successively domestic chaplain to Mrs. Powell (afterwards Lady Thompson) at Clapham, and to Sir Jon. Keate at Hoo, Herts. He was ordained, in the presence of six Presbyterian ministers, at Dr. Annesley's meeting-house, Little St. Helen's, 26th October, 1688; and is reported as preaching at Sissaphernes in the parish of Codicote, and Maiden's Croft, near Hitchin, between that date and 1691. On 19th November, 1691, he commenced a lengthened pastorate in Cambridge; the meeting-house was located in Hog-hill, the congregation consisting partly of Presbyterians and partly of Independents. In October, 1696, a division took place; Mr. Hussey and a majority of the members adopting a distinctively Congregational polity, with "a very rigid covenant," while a minority seceded and formed a Presbyterian church in Green Street. Of the original society, now represented by Emmanuel church, the senior deacon

was Revd. Robert Wilson, who had been silenced at Over in Cheshire by the Act of Uniformity. Mr. Hussey was a High Calvinist of the Crispian school, and in 1718-19 disputes arose in the church on matters both of doctrine and discipline, in consequence of which, in January, 1720, he removed to London. For a few years he ministered to a church in Petticoat Lane, and died 15th Nov., 1726.

The following letter is given from a transcript found among papers from the study of Dr. John Rippon, and apparently in his handwriting. It is stated to be "copied from the original in the possession of the Rev. Dr. Macro of Norton, in Suffolk."

[Copy].

SUSAN ORLEBAR,

For I will salute your person by your old name. You having committed heinous offences & sins against the Ld. Xt. & us of this Congregational Church of saints, & in open slander against the gospel before the world, declared your sin as Sodom & hid it not, we have voted to meet the 2d Thursday of Jany 1700 in order to humble ourselves before the Ld., and by giving you up in the name of the Lord C. to Satan cut you off by the terrible sentence from any relation to the Church; that you may find it utter destruction to the flesh, & that your spirit, if you belong to Xt, may be saved in the Day of the L. Jesus.—These are therefore to give you notice in asmuch as the Church is bound by the indispensable laws of Xts Government to proceed in the sharpest way against you for your manifold scandals. We shall if the Lord will effect it the Day and Month above written.

Given at our Church meeting, Thursday Nov^r 7th 1700.

JOS. HUSSEY Pastor

ROBT. WILLSON
SAML AUNGIER
PHILIP SAUNDERS

138 A Remarkable Letter of Joseph Hussey

On the back of the letter is the following transcript:—

Colchester Nov^r 28 1700

I Susan Handley do solemnly declare and am ready to make oath, that I know of no other Reason for this severe sentence to be pronounced against me by the Within named Joseph Hussey & others, but that I set my hand to a paper wherein I obliged myself not to marry any one but who should be believed to be of the same society and thereby leaving the congregation.

Subscribed by Susan Handley in the presence of me,
JOS. POTTER, Mayor.

[Susan's declaration, though ungrammatical, is sufficiently intelligible; she had incurred censure by marrying out of the society. The date, Jan., 1700, is correct for the time, the year then commenced 25th March.]

The Last Days of a Renegade

AMONG the MSS. discovered a few years ago in the Congregational Library is a parcel of 14 letters, addressed by various persons in the years 1712-14 to the pious and benevolent Robert Nelson, author of the *Festivals and Fasts of the Church of England*. One of them is from the notorious Robert Ferguson—one of the few black sheep among the ejected ministers of 1662, written within the last few weeks of his unhonoured life. This man was the ejected vicar of Godmarsham, Kent; and in 1674 became assistant to Dr. John Owen, from which post he was dismissed for some unspecified misconduct. From that time he was a political adventurer, and is strongly suspected of being a Government spy, inasmuch as, whatever punishment befel his associates, he was always allowed to escape. He was associated with Monmouth, and is believed to have been the author of the extravagant manifesto put forth in the duke's name on his landing. A little later he was in Holland, closely connected with the Whig patriots! After the Revolution, being dissatisfied with the reward assigned for his services, he united with Jacobites in a conspiracy against King William, and subsequently—according to Burnet—conspired against Queen Anne. He was a worthless man, and it is to the honour of Congregationalists that they early detected and disowned him.

MUCH HONOURED, & MOST DEAR SIR,

When I consider, how many way's I have been obliged to you, and how often you have been pleased to testify

The Last Days of a Renegade

your generosity, as well as your friendship, in succouring and relieving me under former wants and necessities ; j may not only blush, but be greatly asham'd, (as I truly do & am) to make my supplication to you, for some testimony of your compassion and goodness towards me, under my present indigency. But as necessity doth not only extenuate, but even excuse, (j will not say justify) whatsoever it enforceth unto ; so my straits being such at this time, that through not having bread to eat my very life is become a burden, as well as matter of inexpressible grief & sorrow to me, j do hope that the laying it before you with the profoundest humility j possibly can, will instead of provoking you to any angry (tho' never so just) resentment ; represent me rather as object, upon whom you may exercise your pity and goodness. Nor will j say any word, for the awakening your bowels towards me under my present distressed and [illegible]ous circumstances, than that j am resolved to perish [?], rather than to dishonour God, through striving to help myself by putting forth my hand to sin. I am, Sir,

Yours more, than j am master of words to express.

July 27, 1714

ROBERT FFERGUSON.

Sir, the person, by whom this is conveyed unto, & presented [?] before you, is my daughter, so as that whatever you shall say or do to her, will be the same as if said or done to my self.

[Address]

“To Robert Neelson Esquire :
These.”

[The seal bears a hand holding a flail ; motto illegible.]

Congregational Historical Society : List of Members [14

Hon. Members marked *H*, Life Members marked *L*.

- Adeney, W. F., Rev., Prof., M.A., D.D.
 Adshead, G. H., Esq.
 Allan, W. G., Rev., M.A.
 Anderton, W. G., Rev., M.A.
 Andover (U.S.A.) Theological
 Seminary
 Astbury, F. T., Rev.
 Atkinson, S. B., Esq., B.A., LL.B.
 Avery, J., Esq.
 Bartlet, J. V., Rev., Prof., M.A., D.D.
 Basden, D. F., Esq.
 Bax, A. Ridley, Esq.
 Beaumont, E., Esq.
 Boag, G. W., Esq.
 Bragg, A. W., Esq.
 Bragg, Mrs.
 Brown, J., Rev., Dr., B.A.
H Brown, W. H. Esq.
 Brownen, G., Esq.
 Burrage, Champlin, Esq.
 Campbell, R. J., Rev., M.A.
 Carter, W. L., Rev., M.A.
 Cater, F. I., Rev., A.T.S.
 Clapham, J. A., Esq.
 Clark, J. H., Esq.
 Clarkson, W. F., Rev., B.A.
 Claydon, George S., Esq.
 Colborne, F. N., Rev.
 Cocks, J., Esq.
 Cribb, J. G., Esq.
 Crippen, T. G., Rev.
 Dale, Bryan, Rev., M.A.
 Davies, J. Alden, Rev.
 Davis, C. H., Rev.
 Davy, A. J., Esq.
 Dawson, E. B., Esq.
 Didcote, C. Page, Esq.
 Dimelow, J. G., Esq.
 Dixon, H. N., Esq., M.A., F.L.S.
 Dixon, R. M., Esq.
L Dore, S. L., Esq., J.P.
H Ebbs, A. B., Esq.
 Ebbs, W., Rev.
 Ellis, C. W., Esq.
 Evans, A. J., Esq., M.A.
 Evans, G. Eyre, Rev.
H Evans, Jon. L., Esq.
H Evans, R. P., Esq.
H Evans, Sparke, Esq.
 Firth, Solomon, Esq.
 Flower, J. E., Rev., M.A.
 Forsyth, P. T., Rev., Dr.
 Gasquoine, T., Rev., B.A.
 Glasscock, J. L., Esq.
 Gordon, A., Principal
 Gosling Howard, Esq.
 Green, Joseph J., Esq.
 Green, T., Esq.
 Grice, T. E., Esq.
 Grieve, A. J., Rev., M.A., B.D.
 Groser, W. H., Esq., B.Sc.
 Hall, W. H., Esq.
 Handley, S. B., Rev.
 Harker, F. E., Rev.
 Harris, W. J., Esq.
 Harwood, W. Hardy, Rev.
 Hawkins, F. H., Esq., LL.B.
 Hepworth, J., Esq.
 Hepworth, T. M., Esq.
 Heslop, R. Oliver, Esq., M.A., F.S.A.
 Hewgill, W., Rev., M.A.
 Hills, A. M., Miss
 Hitchcock, W. M., Esq.
 Holt, Edwyn, Esq.
 Hodgett, C. M., Esq.
H Horne, C. Silvester, Rev., M.A.
L Hounsom, W. A., Esq.
 Huckle, Attwood, Esq.
 Iliff, John S., Esq.
 James, Norman G. B., Esq.
H Johnston, W., Esq.
 Keep, H. F., Esq.
 Key, James, Rev.
 King, Jos., Esq., M.A.
 Knaggs, J., Rev.
H Lancashire Independent College,
 (Goodyear, C., Esq.)
 Lawrence, Eric A., Rev.
 Le Brun, E., Esq.
 Legg, A. H., Rev., M.A.
 Lester, E. R., Esq.
 Lewis, Geo. G., Esq.
 Lewis, H. Elvet, Rev.
 Lloyd, J. H., Esq.
 Lovatt, J., Esq.
 Low, G. D., Rev., M.A.
 Luke, R., Esq.
 Mackintosh, R., Rev., Prof., D.D.
 Martin, G. Currie, Rev. Prof. M.A.,
 Massey, Stephen, Esq. [B.D.
H McClure, J. D., Dr.
 McCrae, A., Esq.
 McKnight, E., Esq.
 Muir, W., Esq.
 Musgrave, B., Esq.
 New College
 (Staines, Howard, Rev.)
H Palmer, C. Ray, Rev., Dr.
 Palmer, W. M., Esq.
 Pearson, S., Rev., M.A.
 Penney, Norman, Esq.
 (Society of Friends)
 Pierce, W., Rev.
 Pink, W. Duncombe, Esq.

- Pitt, Mrs. Walter
 Potts, C. Y., Rev.
 Powicke, F. J., Rev., M.A., Ph.D.
 Poynter, J. J., Rev.
 Pugh, Mrs.
 Rawcliffe, Edwin B., Rev.
 Richards, D. M., Esq.
 Ridge, A. J., Esq.
 Ritchie, D. L., Rev.
 Robinson, W., Rev.
 Rollason, A. A., Esq.
 Rowntree, J. W., Esq.
 Rutherford, J., Esq.
H Rylands, Mrs., D.Litt.
 Scamell, W., Esq.
 Selby, W. B., Rev., M.A.
 Shaw, H., Rev.
 Silcock, P. Howard, Esq., B.A.
 Simon, D. W., Rev., D.D.
H Smith, W. J., Esq., M.A.
H Spicer, Albert, Esq.
H Spicer, George, Esq., M.A., J.P.
 Standerwick, J. W., Esq.
 Stanier, W. H., Esq.
 Summers, W. H., Rev.
 Sykes, A. W., Esq.
- H* Thacker, Fred S., Esq.
 Thacker, Henry, Esq.
 Thomas, D. Lleufer, Esq.
H Thompson, J., Esq.
 Thorpe, F. H., Esq.
 Titchmarsh, E. H., Rev., M.A.
H Toms, C. W., Esq.
 Tuck, W., Esq.
 Turner, G. Lyon, Rev., M.A.
 U.S.A. Congress Library.
 Wallace, Hugh C., Rev.
 Watkinson, J., Esq.
H Webster, Is., Esq.
L Whitley, A. W., Esq.
 Wicks, G. H., Esq.
H Wilkinson, W., Esq.
 Williams, Mrs.
 Williamson, David, Esq.
 Williamson, David, junr., Esq.
H Wills, Sir W. H., Bart.
 Windeatt, E., Esq.
 Wing, Lewis, Esq.
 Wontner, A. J., Esq.
 Wood, Leonard B., Esq., M.A.
 Woodall, H. J., Esq.
 Young, Hugh P., Rev.

**N.B.—Any American subscriber who has not
 received the last No. of *Transactions* (Vol.
 2, No. 1) is requested to communicate
 with the Secretary.**

CONGREGATIONAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY

AIMS AND OBJECTS

The Society was originated in the year 1899 :—

1. To encourage research into the origin and history of Congregationalism.
 2. To issue *Transactions* giving the results of and discussions on such research.
 3. To print MSS. and rare documents, and to publish rare books and tracts.
- Already seven numbers of the *Transactions* have been published, of which the principal contents are appended. But, with a view to more frequent issues, it is highly desirable that the membership should be very considerably increased. The subscription for ordinary members is only 5/- per annum, entitling subscribers to the *Transactions*, and to all other publications of the Society, for the current year, free.

THE TRANSACTIONS

No. I—April, 1901

Non-Parochial Registers in Yorkshire, by Bryan Dale, M.A.—Dr. Watts's Church Book, by T. G. Crippen—Diary of the Gurney Family, by C. Silvester Horne, M.A.—Early Nonconformist Bibliography, I., by T. G. Crippen—Etc., etc.,
(This issue is not now for sale, except to New Members, the stock being very low.)

No. II—December, 1901

History of Congregationalism in Manchester, by Henry Shaw—John Bunyan and Thomas Marson, by John Brown—Devonshire and the Indulgence of 1672, I., by Edward Windeatt—The Puritans in Devonshire, by Edward Windeatt—Early Nonconformist Bibliography, II., by T. G. Crippen—Robert Browne's *Treatise of Reformation*—Etc., etc.

No. III—July, 1902

Lists of the Early Separatists, by F. J. Powicke, M.A., Ph.D.—Devonshire and the Indulgence of 1672, II., by Edward Windeatt—Early Nonconformist Bibliography, III., by T. G. Crippen—John Bunyan and Thomas Marson, by W. H. Gurney Salter—The Trendall Papers—Etc., etc.

No. IV—March, 1903

English and Scottish Congregationalism, by J. Stark, D.D.—James Nayler, the Mad Quaker, by Bryan Dale, M.A.—Early Nonconformist Bibliography, IV., by T. G. Crippen—King William III and the Nonconformists—Incipient Congregationalism in Halifax—Isaac Watts's Family Bible—Etc., etc.

No. V—January, 1904

Nonconformity in Hampshire, by Geo. Brownen (*with Map*)—Devonshire and the Indulgence, III., by Edward Windeatt—Diary of Dr. Thomas Gibbons, 1749-85, I., by W. H. Summers—Congregationalism in Birmingham, I., by J. Rutherford—Prison Correspondence of an Ejected Minister—Etc., etc.

No. VI—September, 1904

Gainsborough Old Hall, by E. McKnight—Congregationalism in Birmingham, II., by J. Rutherford—Diary of Dr. Gibbons, II., by W. H. Summers—Old Devonshire Nonconformity—Evangelization in Wales, 1690—The Indulgence, 1672—Early Nonconformist Bibliography, V., by T. G. Crippen—Etc., etc.

No. VII—January, 1905

Welsh Nonconformity, by G. Lyon Turner—Diary of Dr. Gibbons, III., by W. H. Summers—John Ball of Honiton, by G. E. Evans—Early Nonconformist Bibliography, VI., by T. G. Crippen—Etc., etc.

OTHER PUBLICATIONS

A New Years Gift

By Robert Browne, 1588. Carefully edited from the recently discovered original MS., with introduction and critical observations, by

CHAMPLIN BURRAGE.

Demy 8vo., 44 pp. and wrapper, uncut.

Price, 1/6 nett.

ROBERT BROWNE'S

A Treatise of Reformation without Varying for Anie

[Middleburg, 1582.]

Demy 8vo., 32pp. and wrapper, uncut, with a view of birth-place and facsimile of signature, and an

INTRODUCTION AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

By T. G. CRIPPEN.

Price, 6d. nett.

JOHN PENRY'S

A Treatise containing the Aequity of an Humble Supplication . . . in the behalfe of the Countrey of Wales . . . for the Preaching of the Gospel among those people, &c.

Of this, the earliest production (1578) of the Welsh patriot-martyr, only four original copies are known; and, though frequently quoted, it has never until now been reprinted. The reprint is carefully edited by A. J. GRIEVE, M.A., B.D., and has annexed a complete Penry bibliography.

Price, 2/6; postage extra.

OFFICERS OF THE SOCIETY

President : Dr. JOHN BROWN, B.A., Hampstead.

Hon. Treasurer : Mr. W. H. STANIER, Swindon.

Hon. Secretaries : { Rev. T. G. CRIPPEN } Memorial Hall,
{ Mr. HENRY THACKER } London, E.C.

CONDITIONS OF MEMBERSHIP

(a) Life Members, paying Twenty Guineas in lieu of Annual Subscription.

(b) Honorary Members, paying an Annual Subscription of One Guinea at least.

(c) Ordinary Members, paying an Annual Subscription of Five Shillings.

Subscriptions may be paid to the Treasurer, Mr. W. H. STANIER, Oakfield, Swindon; or to Mr. HENRY THACKER, at the Memorial Hall.

New members are entitled only to the *Transactions* and the other publications issued *in the year they join*.