

# 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](https://biblicalstudies.org.uk/articles_congregational-historical-society-1.php)

## EDITORIAL

THE usual Autumnal Meeting of the Congregational Historical Society will be held in connection with the meetings of the Congregational Union at Liverpool, on Wednesday 21st October, at 4.30 p.m., in the Common Hall, Hackins Hey. A paper will be contributed by G. W. Boag, Esq., of Gateshead, on *Early Congregationalism in Northumberland and Durham*.

We have unusual pleasure in announcing the speedy issue by Messrs. Constable of a work of national importance, which our esteemed contributor the Rev. W. Pierce has had for several years in preparation. It is entitled *An Historical Introduction to the Marprelate Tracts; a chapter in the Evolution of English Liberty, Civil and Religious*. It will be a demy 8vo. volume of about 400 pp.; and is expected to be ready before the end of October. Mr. Pierce has aimed at setting in order the chaos of information which is available about these celebrated satires, and defending their authors against the persistent vilification which has been customary among writers of all sects and parties. His position is that the Marprelate controversy was the summation of all the ecclesiastical conflicts from the accession of Elizabeth onward. There was practically no controversy of a doctrinal or ecclesiastical character between the Roman and Anglican churches at that time; no one, Conformist or Nonconformist, dreamed of a possible eirenicon with Rome; to every Protestant, whether Puritan or prelatist, the pope was merely Antichrist. The crucial question was: How far was the doctrine, in which all Protestants agreed, imperilled by the retention of traditional forms and usages?

Mr. Pierce has elucidated many doubtful points, and brought to light some important evidence that is now printed for the first time. We earnestly hope that the book will attain such a circulation as its historical importance deserves; and as will encourage the author to follow it with an annotated edition of the much talked of but little known tracts, and thus supply a literary need which has long been clamant.

In *Transactions*, vol. iii, pp. 151-2, mention was made of certain Doddridge relics the whereabouts of which was then unknown. We are informed that the German Bible with remarkable historical associations is the property of Elliot Reed, Esq., of Hampstead,

and the old trunk is, or was a few weeks ago, in the hands of Messrs. W. Williamson & Sons, Guildford.

We are not accustomed to occupy our pages with a chronicle of current events; but the death of the venerable Thomas Lord in the hundred and first year of his age and seventy fifth of his ministry is, we believe, a thing unique in the annals of Congregationalism. Mr. Lord was born amidst humble surroundings at Olney, Bucks, on 22nd April, 1808. In his youth he worked as a shoemaker, and was almost entirely self educated. In early manhood he became an ardent advocate of temperance, and was enrolled among the then despised teetotallers. In 1834 he was called to the pastorate of a small church at Wollaston, Northants, which he served efficiently for eleven years. He afterwards ministered for 17 years at Brigstock, 4 years at Horncastle, 6 years at Deddington, and 5 years at West Bromwich (Great Bridge), whence he retired at the age of 70. He was three times married, celebrating a golden wedding with his second wife; but was a widower at the time of his death. During his later years he lived with his daughter at Horncastle; and notwithstanding the failure of his sight he constantly served churches of various denominations, often at a considerable distance from home, until within a few days of his death. On his hundredth birthday he received a sheaf of congratulatory telegrams, including one from the King and one from the Congregational Union. His last sermons were preached in the Congregational church at Horncastle on Sunday, 9th August; the following Sunday he was taken ill, and died on Friday the 21st. His preaching was always of a practical character, strongly evangelical in tone, and latterly tinged with regret that "the good old word repentance seemed to have gone out of fashion."

We would earnestly request our friends to use what personal influence they possess to increase our number of members. There is much research work needed, numerous records that ought to be printed, and several important treatises of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries that urgently need reprinting; but it is impossible for us even to think of such undertakings with our present limited resources. Browne's *Book that Sheweth &c.*, Penry's *Korah, Dathan and Abiram*, Peters's *Good Work for a Good Magistrate*, and several of the early Cavalier lampoons against the Independents, may be taken as specimens of the work that might be put in hand if our membership were doubled.

We respectfully remind members of the Society that subscriptions are due at the beginning of the year. In future no current year subscriptions can be cancelled after the first issue of *Transactions* has been forwarded.

## The Episcopal Returns of 1665-6

IT has long been known that the Conventicle Returns of 1669 are preserved at Lambeth, being contained in vol. 639 of the MSS. department—one of the 250 vols. of the Tenison collection. They have been frequently consulted, and numerous extracts of local interest have been printed; but they have never been published as a whole. Having understood from the highest authorities that they had never even been completely transcribed, and believing that a complete transcript would be an invaluable aid to students of Nonconformist history, I undertook the task. But in executing it I found that the volume contained two other sets of documents of great value, which I also transcribed; one being the Returns given herewith, and the other some interesting schedules of statistics as to the relative number of Conformists and Nonconformists in various dioceses in the year 1676. All three sets of returns are the work of the bishops assisted by their clergy, under the direction of that indefatigable ecclesiastic, Archbishop Sheldon.

The document here reproduced, *so far as it relates to Nonconformists*, is a Return obtained in the year 1665 of (1) Hospitals and Almshouses, (2) Pluralists, (3) Lecturers, (4) Schoolmasters, (5) Physicians, and (6) Nonconformists. It is, unfortunately, very fragmentary, relating only to the dioceses of St. Asaph's, Exeter, Bristol, St. David's, Lincoln, and Norwich; the last two containing nothing whatever about Noncon-

formists: while for some unknown reason the Bishop of St. Asaph's gives as his first item "Ordinations" instead of "Hospitals and Alms-houses." It would be interesting to know why he departed in this particular from the archbishop's directions: to the historian of the Episcopal Church in Wales, Asaph's list of ordinations must be of great interest. Whether these returns only were sent to Lambeth, or whether the rest were lost or destroyed through neglect, we cannot tell. But such as they are their historic interest is very great, giving as they do a first hand report of the whereabouts and circumstances of the nonconforming clergy only three years after their ejection in 1662, and furnishing authentic information as to their attitude towards the ecclesiastical and political authorities of the day. They thus enable us to confirm, supplement, or correct the account given by Calamy of the earlier part of their career as Nonconformists. On this topic I propose to treat at some length in the next issue of the *Transactions*.

I have transcribed the whole of the documents contained in the Lambeth MS. 639, so far as they relate to Nonconformity; as well as the Licence Documents of 1672, and the State Papers relating to Nonconformity during the first decade or so of its existence. All these I hope some day to publish.

G. LYON TURNER.

- I. In Diocese of ST. ASAPH.
- pp. of MS.      Return in 1665—of Ordinations, Pluralists, Lecturers,  
300-303b      Schoolmasters, Physicians, & Nonconformists.  
303b      6. Nonconformists and Ejected Min<sup>rs</sup>.  
None such in this Diocese.  
Per R<sup>dm</sup> Prêm ac D<sup>nm</sup> Georgium Asapheñ.  
Epuñ. sub Chirographo proprio. Cum Iris  
missivis      1665

## 304 II. EXETER Diocese

## 305b 4. Schoolmasters.

[1 Devon]

LAMPFORD<sup>1</sup>. John Drake teaches Schoole unlicensedPLUMPTON MORRICE<sup>2</sup>. A Private Schoole taught by John W<sup>ms</sup> who also preacheth there not-conformable and unlicensed.DARTMOUTH. Edw<sup>d</sup> Manning, W<sup>m</sup> Ball, teach English schooles But neither Licensed nor well-affected.

BERRY POMEROY. Dan Upton teaches youth Not licensed &amp; Excommunicate.

BARUM<sup>3</sup>. Margaret Underdon & W<sup>m</sup> Coule, unlicensed.

TAVISTOCK. Mary Mollins and Lauercomb, both unlicensed.

SWINBRIDGE. W<sup>m</sup> Lea, not licensed.

WESTLEIGH. Eliz. Loueman, not licensed &amp; excommunicate.

## 306 [2. Cornwall].

DEANERY OF WEST. There are also severall women teachers in St. Martin's, Eastlow, Pelicit, and Likeyard—disaffected psons.

FOWEY. Mr. Hugh Warren. Gram. Schole, not Licensed.

IBID. Mr. Mich. Prestwood; English, Writing, Arithm: not licensed.

PERYN. Nicholas Hodge teaches a Schoole  
ST. KEVERNE. Mr. Thomas Cocken. } all unlicensed.  
CURY. Mr. Rob. Coode. }

## 5. Practisers of Physick.

[Devon].

OTTERY ST. MARY. Mr. John Staple—no graduate, Unlicensed, Disaffected.

FARRINGTON. John Symonds, Anabaptist, Ignorant, Unlicensed.

307 LEYDON. Rich. Bethlog A.B. Disaffected. Expelled All Souls, Oxon.

Tho. Spencer, Chirurgeon &amp; Practiser of Physic, notoriously disaffected.

WEST ALLINGTON. Wm. Hingston. Notorious Quaker.

<sup>1</sup> *i.g.* Sampford Courtney, *cf.* R. 403b.<sup>2</sup> *i.g.* Plympton St. Maurice.<sup>3</sup> *i.g.* Barnstaple.

307b 6. Non-Conformist ejected Minist<sup>rs</sup>.

[1 Devon]

EXETER. 1. M<sup>r</sup>. Thomas Ford. 2. M<sup>r</sup>. John Bartlet.  
 3. M<sup>r</sup>. Rob. Snow. 4. M<sup>r</sup>. Thos. Trescott.  
 5. M<sup>r</sup>. Downe. 6. M<sup>r</sup>. Atkins. 7. M<sup>r</sup>. Tickle.  
 8. M<sup>r</sup>. Caryll. 9. M<sup>r</sup>. Tapper. 10. M<sup>r</sup>. Hill.  
 11. M<sup>r</sup>. Hollett. 12. M<sup>r</sup>. Jordayne. The  
 whole Doz. Presbyterians. But not keepers  
 of Conventicles, w<sup>ch</sup> these 3 following In-  
 dependents doe, viz: 13. M<sup>r</sup>. Lewis Stukeley.  
 14. M<sup>r</sup>. Powell. 15. M<sup>r</sup>. Mall.

TRUSHAM. 16. W<sup>m</sup> Stooke. A.B. now husbandman &  
 peaceable.

KENNE. 17. Rich. Herring. A.M. husbandry &  
 peaceable.

ST. THOMAS PARISH. 18. Edw. Hunt, sayd to live  
 peaceably.

OTTERY ST. MARY. 19. Rob. Collins. Conventicle  
 hold<sup>r</sup>.

20. M<sup>r</sup>. Mawditt. 21. M<sup>r</sup>. Ambrose Clare,  
 peaceable.

22. M<sup>r</sup>. Groves, a wanderer.

TIVERTON. 23. Theoph. Polewheele, of Tiverton for-  
 merly, & there keepes seditious Conventicles.

24. Richard Sanders, a lurking wanderer &  
 seditious convent :

HALBERTON. 25. James Haddridge, thence ejected,  
 there remains Seditious still.

26. Steph : Coven. A wandering Seditious  
 Seminary.

THORNECOMBE. 27. John Hodder. 28. M<sup>r</sup>. Branker.

29. M<sup>r</sup>. Wakerly & 30. M<sup>r</sup>. Trottle.

HONYTON. 31. M<sup>r</sup>. Fran. Sourton, thence ejected.

AXMINSTER. 32. M<sup>r</sup>. Barth Ashwood, thence ejected.

MUSBURY. 33. M<sup>r</sup>. Rich. Farrand, thence ejected.

UPLYME. 34. M<sup>r</sup>. Josias Wyat.

SAMPFORD COURTNEY. 35. Tho. Maynard, inoffensive.

EXBORNE & BARNSTAB. 36. Thomas Triney, ejected  
 from Exborne.

JACOBSTON. 37. Tho. Bridgman, inoffensive & poore.

ASBERRY. 38. Dan : Moreton, thence ejected, lives still  
 in y<sup>e</sup> Pars. house, but not inoffensively.

308 CLAWTON. 39. M<sup>r</sup>. Hump. Sanders : temporall estate,  
 quiet.

HOLSWORTHY. 40. Nich. Taylor, quietly.

TAVISTOCK. 41. Tho. Larkeham, thence ejected, stands  
 Excommunicate.

- PLIMMOUTH. 42. Geo. Hughes, B.D. & M<sup>r</sup>. Thomas Martin. Private perverters.  
 43. Sam. Austen. 44. Nich. Sherwill. Notoriously disaffected.
- WEST ALLINGTON. 45. Leonard Hyne. A temporall estate.
- TOTNES. 46. Tooker, a Conventicler. }  
 47. M<sup>r</sup>. Fran. Whiddon. } Peaceable  
 48. M<sup>r</sup>. Bickley } livens.  
 49. M<sup>r</sup>. Mortimer. }
- STOKE FLEMMING. 50. M<sup>r</sup>. W<sup>m</sup>. Bayley. }  
 DARTMOUTH. 51. M<sup>r</sup>. Kempster. }  
 DARTMOUTH. 52. M<sup>r</sup>. Jam. Burdwood. 53. M<sup>r</sup>. Joh. Flavell. Conventiclors. }
- BARNSTAPLE. 54. Jonathan Hanmer, A.M. Privately & peaceably.
- ILFARNCOMBE. 54. M<sup>r</sup>. Bifeild, privately.
- COMB-MARTIN. 55. M<sup>r</sup>. Stokes. Preacheth abroad sometimes.
- GR. TORRINGTON. 56. John How, A.M. peaceably.  
 [2. Cornwall].
- LANCESTON. 57. M<sup>r</sup>. Oliver, he is resid<sup>t</sup>, some<sup>t</sup>imes at Plimmouth.
- SALTASH. 58. M<sup>r</sup>. Tomes. 59. Tyash. 60. M<sup>r</sup>. Hicks. 61. M<sup>r</sup>. Wyne. 62. M<sup>r</sup>. Leadstone. 63. M<sup>r</sup>. Tavers. All notoriously disaffected to K. & Ch.
- ST. MABYN. 64. Jonathan Wills. Keepes frequent Conventicles.
- NEWLYN. 65. M<sup>r</sup>. W<sup>m</sup>. White, lives peaceably.
- FOWEY. 66. Nathan. Tincomb, peaceably.
- HELSTON. 67. Joseph Halsey, thence ejected. But peaceable.
- FOWEY. 68. Joh : Tutchin.
- HELSTON. 69. M<sup>r</sup>. Rob. Jagoe
- GUENDRON. 70. M<sup>r</sup>. Rog. Flamock. }  
 CONSTANTINE. 71. M<sup>r</sup>. Joh. Langford. } peaceable  
 PERANARWORTH-ALL. 72. M<sup>r</sup>. Joseph Allen. }
- BUDOCK. 73. M<sup>r</sup>. Tho. Tregose. a Great Conventicle keeper.  
 Per D<sup>num</sup> Sethum Exoñ Epuñ 1665.

310 III. Diocese of BRISTOL.

315 6. Concerning Non Conformist Ministers.  
 There are many Non Conformist ministers in the County of Dorset within my dioces, who neither hath nor wil



take the oath enjoyned them by the late Act of Parliament, but have gotten them private habitations 5 miles from any Corporate towne, where they often meet together (about what, noe man knowes) And holds Conventicles frequently in divers places, viz<sup>t</sup> :

- M<sup>r</sup>. Benn, late Rector of Alsaints in the towne of Dorchester, is now Resident at Maiden Newton.
- M<sup>r</sup>. Thorne, late Rector of Radipole, is now Resident at Compton Valence<sup>4</sup>.
- M<sup>r</sup>. Churchill late Vicar of Fordington is now Resident at Compton Valence aforesaid.
- M<sup>r</sup>. Lawrence, late Rector of Winterborne Came, is now Resident at Frampton.
- One M<sup>r</sup>. Swessell, late of the dioces of Sarum is now Resident at Frome Vawchurch.
- M<sup>r</sup>. Fuoward<sup>5</sup>, late of Bubbourne<sup>6</sup> is now Resident at Woolcomb in the same pish.
- M<sup>r</sup>. Secheverell, late Rector of Tarrant Hinton is now Resident at Winterborn Zelston.
- M<sup>r</sup>. Moore, late Rector of Hammoone, is now Resident at Milton Abbas.
- 316 M<sup>r</sup>. Hallett, late Rector of St. Peters in Shaston, is now Resident at Helton.
- M<sup>r</sup> Lambe, late Rector of Beer Rs., is now Resident at Alton.
- M<sup>r</sup>. Rowe, late Rector of Litchet Matravers, is now Resident at Hampleston<sup>7</sup>.
- M<sup>r</sup>. White, late Curate of Beer Rs., is now Resident (at) Helt nere Wimborne.
- M<sup>r</sup>. Martyn, late Rector of Tarrant Munckton is now Resident at Wimborne.
- M<sup>r</sup>. Dummer late of.....hath taken the oath required by the late Act of Parliament, and is Resident at Dorchester.
- M<sup>r</sup>. Hammond, late Rector of the holy Trinitie in Dorchester, hath taken the oath required by the said Act of Parliament, And is Resident at Dorchester aforesaid.
- M<sup>r</sup>. Way, late Rector of West Staffor hath alsoe taken the said oath, and is now Resident at Dorchester aforesaid.

<sup>4</sup> i.g. East Compton.

<sup>5</sup> i.e. Forward.

<sup>6</sup> i.g. Melbury Bubb.

<sup>7</sup> i.g. Hampreston.

M<sup>r</sup>. Hodder, late of Hawchurch, in the County of Dorset & Dioces of Bristoll. Resided there till of late, but is now removed, as I am informed into the County of Devon.

317 Endorsed :—NONCONFORMISTS AT BRISTOLL. T. C. 1666.  
A list of the names of such Nonconformist Ministers whoe are now Inhabiting w<sup>th</sup>in the Cittie of Bristoll, contrary to the late Act of Parliament, vizt. :

M <sup>r</sup> . Chroughton	M <sup>r</sup> . Hibbert
M <sup>r</sup> . Ewins	M <sup>r</sup> . Jennett
M <sup>r</sup> . Hazard	M <sup>r</sup> . Brock
M <sup>r</sup> . Taylor	M <sup>r</sup> . Griffin
M <sup>r</sup> . Voyle	M <sup>r</sup> . Paule
M <sup>r</sup> . Blindman	

IV. Diocese of St. DAVID'S.

321 Diocess Menevensis  
extracted from the archives 1668.

336b To the 6 Article Concerning Non Conformist Ministers.  
Daniel Higgs, Clerke, was ejected out of the Rectory of Portynon in the Deanry of Gowre & County of Glamorgan and Diocess of St. Davids for non-subscripcōn, hee is removed from my diocesse.

John Griffith, Clerke was ejected out of the Rectory of Oxwich in the Deanry of Gowre in the County of Glamorgan & Diocesse of St. Davids for non-subscripcōn, and for all I heare, hee lives very peaceably in the Countrey in Relation to both Church & State.

Thomas Freeman clerke was ejected out of his benefices in the County of Pembroke for non-Subscripcōn, but since, hee conform<sup>d</sup> and enjoys one Benefice againe & lives peaceably in the Countrey in Relation to both Church & State.

Adam Hawkins clerke was Ejected out of the Vicaradge of St. Ismaels in the County of Pembroke for non Subscripcōn, and now lives quietly and peaceably in the Countrey in relacōn to both Church & State.

337 Rice Powell clerke was Eiected out of the Vicaradge of Llampedder pont Stephen in the County of Cardigan for non Subscripcōn, but since

hath subscribed and does conforme and live very peaceably and quietly in the Countrey in relacōn to both Church & State.

John Harries clerke was a Non Conformist, but since he did subscribe and conforme and preached a Recantation Sermon, and my L<sup>d</sup> Chancello<sup>r</sup> gave him a Benefice in Cardiganshire, and now hee lives very quietly and peaceably in relacōn to the Church and State.

Richard Swaine clerke was Ejected out of the Vicaradge of Clifrowe in the County of Radnor, for non-Subscripcōn and has now left the Diocesse.

John Dennis, clerke, was Ejected out of the Vicaradge of the Hay in the Countie of Brecon for non Subscripcōn and hath now left the Diocesse.

Thomas Vaughan, clerke, M.A. was Ejected out of the Rectory of Llansanffread in the County of Brecon for non Subscripcōn and left the Diocesse.

Thomas Edwards clerke Master of Arts was Ejected out of the Rectory of Llandevayllogge in the Countie of Brecon for non-Subscripcōn, hee lives in Hereford diocesse.

M<sup>r</sup>. Littleton clerke was Ejected out of the prebend of Llandugroie in the Collegiate Church of Brecon for non Subscripcōn, hee lives out of this Diocesse.

Thomas Evans, clerke, was Ejected out of the Vicaradge of Llanbister in the Countie of Radnor for non Conformity, but since Conformed and now lives very quietly and peaceably in the Countrey in relacōn to both Church and State.

Concordat : cum Archivis Reverendi in xpo pris ac dnē diñ Gulielmi Meneven Epī.

308 [Another handwriting].

6. Nonconformists.

1. Dan Higgs. 2. John Griffith. 3. Tho. Freeman. 4. Adam Hawkins. 5. Rice Powell. 6. John Harries. 7. Richard Swayne. 8. John Dennis. 9. Thomas Vaughan. 10. Tho: Edwards. 11. M<sup>r</sup>. Littleton. 12. Thomas Evans.

Per D<sup>num</sup> Epūm Meneven sub sigillo Epāli suo. 1665.

354 BP OF NORWICH—HIS CERTIFICATE 1665 1666.

Nothing Concerning Non Conformists.

III. Diocese of EXETER.

- 396 Anno D. 1665  
 An Account of  
 Hospitals & Almshouses  
 Clergymen holding pluralities  
 Scholemasters  
 Lecturers  
 Physicians  
 Ejected Non-Conformist Ministers  
 Bp of Exons Certificate of the things above written.
- } in the Diocesse  
of Exeter.

- 398 Archdeaconry of EXON.  
 Decanatus CHRISTIAN<sup>TS</sup> EXON./  
 Concerning Non Conformists.  
 Item I present

That there are inhabiting w<sup>th</sup>in the City and Suburbs  
of the Cittie of Exeter 12 Presbyterian Ministers who  
above 3 years since have laid down the publique exercise  
of their ministry & functions, and 3 Independents. But  
I think never were in Orders.

They are M<sup>r</sup>. Thomas Ford, M<sup>r</sup>. John Bartlett, M<sup>r</sup>.  
Robert Snowe, M<sup>r</sup>. Thomas Trescott, M<sup>r</sup>. Downe, M<sup>r</sup>.  
Atkins, M<sup>r</sup>. Tickle, M<sup>r</sup>. Caryll, M<sup>r</sup>. Tapper, M<sup>r</sup>. Hill,  
M<sup>r</sup>. Hollett, and M<sup>r</sup> Jordayne, besides M<sup>r</sup>. Robinson who  
is come out of the County of Somerset. I do not know  
that any of these have kept any Conventicles, but only  
these Independants M<sup>r</sup>. Lewis Stukeley, M<sup>r</sup>. Powell,  
and M<sup>r</sup>. Mall.

- Decanatus KENNE.  
 Non-Conformists

398b There are 3 Non-Conformist Minist<sup>rs</sup> in the Deanery.  
one in Trusham named W<sup>m</sup> Stooke Bach<sup>r</sup> of Arts, he  
liveth upon a Tenem<sup>t</sup> of his owne as a husbandman,  
and cometh sometymes to that Church and heareth  
divine service as well as preaching & behaveth himself  
Quietly and peaceably as to the Church as Comonwealth.

Another in Kenn, is named Richard Hering M<sup>r</sup> of  
Arts who liveth upon a Tenem<sup>t</sup> of his owne. He cometh  
sometime to y<sup>e</sup> neighbour Church Eu and behaveth  
himself Quietly and peaceably.

A 3<sup>rd</sup> in St. Thomas Parish, named Edward Hunt,  
but whether he hath taken any Degree he cannot learne.  
But is informed that he liveth peacably.

- 399 WESTBEARE Deanery  
 Practitioners in Phisick  
 399b John Symonds Practitioner in Phisick in Faringdon, is

a person of no note or Learning, an Anabaptist, and one that keeps Conventicles, he is neither Licenced nor Conformable.

Non-Conformist Ministers.

M<sup>r</sup>. Robert Collins, sometymes Rector of Tallaton & ejected for inconformity lives now in Ottery St. Mary in his owne house neare the Church where he keeps Conventicles frequently, but especially upon Sundayes in tyme of divine Service to the Scandall of many ; but, for want of a Justice of Peace, the Churchwardens, or Constables, dare not enter the house to take them, and their privacy is such that they cannot yet proove enough ag<sup>st</sup> them to convict them by Lawe. I am told he was never at Church in y<sup>e</sup> tyme of Co<sup>m</sup>on prayer since the Act of Conformity, and is a very pertinacious Nonconformist.

One M<sup>r</sup>. Mawditt of Exeter a Minister & Nonconformist is lately come thither, where as yet he carryes himself peaceably.

M<sup>r</sup>. Ambrose Clare sometymes Rector of Poltimore lives in the same Parish still upon his owne meanes and carryes himself peaceably as farre as I can learn.

M<sup>r</sup>. Groves sometyme an Intruder into Pinhoee & ejected thence for his Nonconformity wanders up and downe, sometymes in one place and one while in another. I knowe not where to find him nor how he lives.

400b The Deanery of PLIMTREE.  
Nonconformists.

No Non Conformist Minister in y<sup>e</sup> Deanery.

401 Decanat CHIVERTON.  
Non Conformists.

M<sup>r</sup>. Theophilus Polewheelee, sometyme a minister in Tiverton, but ejected for non Subscripcōn, yet still remayneing in that Towne, & (as I am informed) drawes seditious persons in Conventicles to him ; so doth

M<sup>r</sup>. Richard Saunders, sometyme Rcor of Loxbeare ejected for inconformity, sometymes lurking in Tiverton, sometymes in Loxbeare, & other places for like ends.

There is also one M<sup>r</sup>. James Haddridge ejected out of Halberton, remaynes still in y<sup>t</sup> parish & acts in like manner. And also one Stephen

Coven sometye of Sampford-peverell, who goes about from place to place teaching sedition, but where his Constant abode is we cannot learne.

402b HONYTON Deanery.

Non-Conformists.

M<sup>r</sup>. John Hodder, sometyes minister of Hawkchurch in Dorsett, now living in Thornecomb on his owne demeeasne.

M<sup>r</sup>. Branker, sometyes minister of Sturminster Newton in Dorsett, teaching Schoole in Thornecomb.

M<sup>r</sup>. Wakeley, sometyes minister of Lawrence Lydiat in Somersett, now liveing in Thornecomb on his owne demeeasnes.

M<sup>r</sup>. Trottle, sometyes minister in Dorsett, now liveing in Thornecombe.

M<sup>r</sup>. Francis Sourton sometyes minister of Honyton, now liveing in Honyton.

M<sup>r</sup>. Bartholomew Ashwood sometyes minister of Axminster, now liveing in Axminster.

M<sup>r</sup>. Richard Farrand, sometyes min<sup>r</sup> of Musbury, now liveing in Musbury.

M<sup>r</sup>. Josias Wiat, sometyes minister of Podimore in Somersett, now liveing in Uplime.

403 TOTNES Arch<sup>ry</sup>.

OKEHAMPTON Deanery.

403b Schoolmasters.

In Sampford Courtney one Drake teacheth Schoole without Licence.

Non-Conformist Ministers.

Thomas Maynard who left Northtawton for Non-Conformity, now liveth inoffensively in Sampford Courtney on a tenem<sup>t</sup> he holdeth in right of his Children.

Thomas Finney who left Exborne for y<sup>e</sup> like liveth sometyes at Exborne & sometyes at Barnstable.

Thomas Bridgman who left Inwardley for want of Tytle, liveth in Jacobstow inoffensively and poorely.

Daniel Moreton who left Asberry for Nonconformity lives still in y<sup>e</sup> Parsonage house, but not altogether inoffensively.

404 HOLSWORTHY Deanery.

Conc<sup>e</sup> Non Conformist Minist<sup>rs</sup>.

M<sup>r</sup>. Humfry Sanders was eicted out of y<sup>e</sup> Parish of

Holsworthy for Non Conformity who liveth now in y<sup>e</sup> parish of Clawton upon his Temporall Estate, and behaveth himself peaceably and Quiet to y<sup>e</sup> Church & State.

M<sup>r</sup>. Michael Taylor was eicted out of Pyworthy for Nonconformity who liveth now in Holsworthy Peaceably and Quietly.

TAVISTOCK Deanery.

Concerning Non Conformists.

At Tavistock liveth M<sup>r</sup>. Thomas Larkeham sometye minister of Tavestock and stands at psent excomūicated for Contempt of Ecclicall Lawes.

TAMERTON Deanery.

One Non-Conformist minister liveth in this Deanery, viz : Theophilus Wines M<sup>r</sup> of Arts, eicted of Tamerton Foliot for inconformity.

PLIMPTON Deanery.

Schooles.

M<sup>r</sup>. John Williams Resident in Plimpton Morris keepeth a private schoole and preacheth there, a person disaffected to y<sup>e</sup> Governm<sup>t</sup> & Discipline of y<sup>e</sup> Church of England & unlicenced.

Phisitions.

M<sup>r</sup>. Richard Bithog B.A. practiseth Phisick, he was, as I am informed turned out of All Souls Oxford for inconformity, he is a person wholly disaffected to y<sup>e</sup> Government of y<sup>e</sup> Church of England & unlicenced.

M<sup>r</sup>. Thomas Spencer a Chirurgion sometyes practiseth Phisick, a person notoriously disaffected to the Governm<sup>t</sup> of his Ma<sup>tye</sup> & y<sup>e</sup> Discipline of the Church of England.

405 Non Conformists.

There are Resident in y<sup>e</sup> Towne of Plimouth

M<sup>r</sup>. George Hughes B.D. and M<sup>r</sup>. Thomas Martyn sometyes Publique now private perverters in this Towne.

M<sup>r</sup>. Samuel Austin turned out of Minkinnett y<sup>e</sup> Right of D<sup>r</sup>. Hall y<sup>e</sup> Bishop of Chester.

M<sup>r</sup>. Nicholas Sherwill Episcopally Ordained as he saith But notoriously disaffected to y<sup>e</sup> Church of England in her discipline, and two yeares since endited at y<sup>e</sup> Towne Hall for a disturbance made by him at a funerall whiles the Comon Prayer was read.

WOODLEY Deanery.

Phisitians.

M<sup>r</sup>. William Hingston liveing in West Allington, an open and knowne Quaker, and hath frequently (as I am informed) unlawfull meetings and Conventicles in his house.

Nonconformists.

There are two in this Deanery liveing in the parish of West Allington, viz :

M<sup>r</sup>. Leonard Hyne liveing in a Temporall Estate of his owne.

And one Tooker who hath as I am certainly informed frequent and unlawfull meetings.

TOTNESS Deanery.

Schoolmast<sup>rs</sup>.

Edward Manning and William Ball teach an English Schoole at Dartmouth, but not licenced nor well affected.

Non Conformists.

In TOTNESS. M<sup>r</sup>. Francis Whiddon, M<sup>r</sup>. Bickley, & M<sup>r</sup>. Mortimore,

in STOKE FLEMMING. M<sup>r</sup>. William Bayley ;

in DARTMOUTH. M<sup>r</sup>. Kempster,

all of them liveing upon their owne & behaving themselves peaceably & Quietly.

In DARTMOUTH, there are also M<sup>r</sup>. James Burdwood and M<sup>r</sup>. John Flavell ; who are reported to have private meetings.

406 IPPLEPEN Deanery.

Practition<sup>rs</sup> of Phisick.

M<sup>r</sup>. Smith practiseth Phisick at Woolborough, not Licensed sometymes of Wadham Colledge & afterwards of Hart Hall B.A.

One Gabriel Pridham professeth phisick at Little hempston, who is not licenced, but is conformable in frequenting prayers.

MORETON Deanery.

Non Conformists.

John Nosworthy a Non Conformist liveing in Manaton, formerly Rector of that place.

Jonathan Bowden a Non Conformist liveing in Moreton, formerly Rector of Littleham.

407 Archdeaconry of BARUM.

BARUM Deanery.

408 Non-Conformist Ministers.

Jonathan Hanmer A.M. lives a private life in Barnstable,



- no way disturbing y<sup>e</sup> Peace of Church or State.
- 408b SHERWELL Deanery.  
Non-Conformists.  
One M<sup>r</sup>. Bifield lives privately at Ilfardcombe, but from whence came, or whether he were eiected, I knowe not.  
Also one M<sup>r</sup>. Stokes y<sup>t</sup> lives at Comb-Martin & preacheth sometymes abroad, but whether he is in orders or hath any Lycence is not knowne.
- 409 TORRINGTON Deanery.  
Non Conformists.  
M<sup>r</sup>. John Howe, A.M. inhabiting in great Torrington who behaves himselfe peaceably.
- HARTLAND Deanery.  
Non-Conformists.  
M<sup>r</sup>. W<sup>m</sup> Bartlett }  
M<sup>r</sup>. Jo: Bartlett } Liveing in Bideford.  
M<sup>r</sup>. Anthony Downe in Northam.
- 409b Architus Cornub.  
Deanery of TRIGG MAJOR.  
Non-Conformists.  
There is one M<sup>r</sup>. Oliver sometymes a Preacher of Lanceston, was eiected for non-Subscription, and that he sometymes resides in Plimouth, as he hath heard.
- Deanery of EAST.  
Non-Conformists.  
There are residing in y<sup>e</sup> Towne of Saltash. Six Non-Conformist Ministers, viz :  
M<sup>r</sup>. Tomes, M<sup>r</sup>. Tiack, M<sup>r</sup>. Hickes, M<sup>r</sup>. Wine, M<sup>r</sup>. Leadstone and M<sup>r</sup>. Travers, who are reported to be notoriously disaffected to y<sup>e</sup> Government of y<sup>e</sup> Church established in y<sup>e</sup> Kingdome of England.
- Deanery of TRIGG MINOR.  
Non-Conformists.  
411 There is one Jonathan Wills who never tooke any degree in the Schooles yet in y<sup>e</sup> tyme of sequestracōn intruded himself into y<sup>e</sup> Rectory of Mabyñ, and from thence removed to y<sup>e</sup> Rectory of Lanteglos nere Camelford, from whence being eiected he returnes to the house of Anne Silly in St. Mabyñ where he still shelters himselfe where as is strongly

reported, he keepes great & frequent Con-  
venticles.

412b Deanery of POWDER.

Non-Conformists.

M<sup>r</sup>. Nath. Tincomb eicted out of Laselles liveth upon  
his Temporall Estate in Fowey peaceably.

M<sup>r</sup>. Joseph Halsey eicted of Michael Penkevell liveth  
now in y<sup>e</sup> parsonage house there which he  
renteth of y<sup>e</sup> present Incumbent and is  
peaceable and Quiet.

413b Deanery of PENWITH.

Non Conformists.

M<sup>r</sup>. Joseph Sheawood eicted out of St. Hillary for  
Non-Conformity lives usually in y<sup>e</sup> parish of  
St. Earth in y<sup>e</sup> Quality of a Husbandman he  
was lately imprisoned for presuming to  
preach publiquely in y<sup>e</sup> Church there  
Contrary to y<sup>e</sup> Act of Uniformity.

Deanery of KERRIAR.

Concern<sup>d</sup> Non-Conformists.

In HELSTON. M<sup>r</sup>. Robert Jago A.M. and M<sup>r</sup>. Tobias  
Butcher.

In CONSTANTINE. M<sup>r</sup>. John Langton.

In PERANARWORTHAL. M<sup>r</sup>. Joseph Allen.

All these have been eicted for in Conformity, but as  
farre as I can learne do behave themselves  
Quietly in Reference to y<sup>e</sup> Church & State.

In BUDOCK. M<sup>r</sup>. Thomas Tregosse lately imprisoned  
for holding a Conventicle.

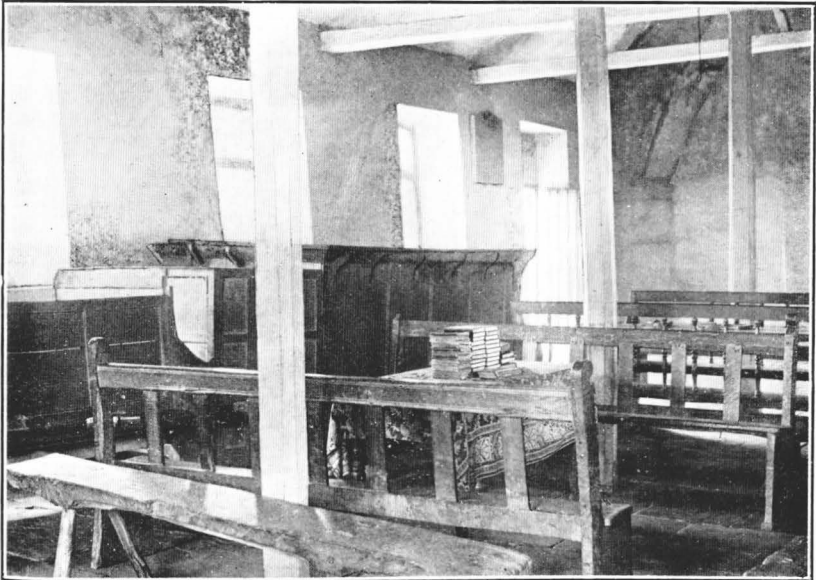
## The Oldest Chapel in Wales

THIS honourable distinction is assigned by common consent to the ancient chapel at Maesyronen—the name may be translated “Field of Ash Trees.” Its location is near the southern corner of Radnor county, about two miles from Glasbury-on-Wye, and at a considerable distance from any village. The church undoubtedly represents the religious movement initiated by the itinerant labours of Walter Cradock (1606-59) and Vavasor Powell (1616-70); and its origin is usually dated 1640, that being the year in which Powell’s itinerancy commenced. The church in its earlier years was a large and widely scattered community, having its headquarters at Llanigon, near Hay; but dispersed over the country from Hay, on the borders of Herefordshire, to Cefn Arthen in Carmarthenshire, and from Troedrhiwdalar in Brecon to Merthyr Tydfil in Glamorgan. Its first pastor was Richard Powell, whose ministry extended from the early days of the Long Parliament to 1668. He was assisted by lay preachers; the most conspicuous being Lewis Prytherch, and Henry Williams of Merthyr. These local men kept up the interest until 1672, when Henry Maurice was called to the pastorate, who laboured till his death in 1682.

The meetings were necessarily held in private houses. One of these, near Maesyronen, was called “The Bendy”; and there is a firmly established tradition that in it, on one occasion, at least, Oliver Cromwell attended divine service. Soon after the



MAESYRONEN CHAPEL, 1696



MAESYRONEN CHAPEL, INTERIOR  
*From photographs by the Rev. D. M. Lewis, M.A.*

passing of the Toleration Act (1689) the scattered church divided into several local societies; nine are named altogether in the four counties of Brecon, Carmarthen, Glamorgan, and Radnor, which branched off from the Llanigon fellowship.

All these, Maesyronen, Tredwstan, Brecon, Llanwrtyd, Troedrhiwdalar, Beilihalog, Gwenddwr, Cefn Arthen, and Merthyr (Congregational), and Maesyberllan near Brecon (Baptist), still subsist. The site of Maesyronen chapel was given by Lewis Lloyd, Esq., Maesllwch, who was probably a member of the church. About the date there is a little uncertainty; a local tradition says 1689, and Beriah G. Evans names it as one of the chapels built between 1689 and 1735; but Dr. Rees, a very careful inquirer who made investigations on the spot, fixes the date as 1696. (This is not really inconsistent with B. G. Evans, but only with a traditional story).

When the present minister endeavoured to set in order the history of this venerable sanctuary, he found "MSS. and church records in a deplorable state." He has been able, however, to furnish an approximately complete list of the pastors from the beginning of the eighteenth century:

David Price, 1700-1742; Lewis Rees, 1745-1748; James Davies, 1749-1759; Walter Bevan, -1762; William Llewellyn, -1775; Thomas Bowen 1781-1796; David Jones, 1797-1846. (A memorial tablet within the chapel says of Mr. Jones: "He began early, continued late, met with enemies of a most malignant type, but he overcame them all, and in the end did cry Hallelujah!")

Thomas Havard, a student of Cheshunt college, was at this time pastor of Tredwstan, a few miles distant in Brecon county. On the death of Mr. Jones Maesyronen was united with Tredwstan under his single pastorate until 1861. In 1863 M. A. Harvey became pastor of Maesyronen only; and three years later a new and commodious chapel was erected in the neighbouring village of Glasbury, where

there is a more numerous population. The two congregations have ever since constituted a single pastorate. Mr. Harvey retired in 1867, and was followed in 1868 by J. R. Lewis from Brecon college, who removed to Dorrington, Salop, in 1871, and still ministers there. He was succeeded by H. B. Shankland, 1872; who in 1877 removed to Domgay, Salop. Then came J. Thomas from Brecon college in 1878, who removed to Trecastle in 1881. After him came D. Watkins from Carmarthen college in 1882, and left in 1884. The church met with considerable trouble during these two pastorates, through the misconduct of some of the members. In 1885 came W. Fairhurst from Ystalfera, he removed to Barrow in 1891, and was succeeded by the present minister, D. C. Lloyd, who came from Shipley, Yorkshire, in the same year.

The statistics of the ancient church, last year, shewed 32 church members, and 25 Sunday scholars, with 4 teachers. But with these ought in all fairness to be reckoned the 49 church members and 30 scholars with 4 teachers at Glasbury; who, though now separately organized, are historically a branch of the ancient church.

Most of the above particulars have been furnished by the Rev. D. C. Lloyd.

## Broadway Meeting, Somerset.

**B**ROADWAY Meeting owes its existence to a split between the Trinitarian and Socinian sections of the old chapel at Ilminster, about 1739. The former section, living in localities of which Broadway was a convenient centre, and recognizing the need of further spiritual provision for it and the district round about, took steps for the erection of a chapel. A suitable piece of land was purchased there by the Rev. John Lavington, of Exeter, and the Rev. John Walrond, formerly of Ottery St. Mary, who conveyed it to a regularly constituted trust; whereupon the chapel was built. The original trustees consisted among others of the principal members of the Standerwick, Hayes, and Horsey families; and the foundation stone was laid by Isaac Standerwick the younger, then a child, whose grandson in later years exercised the pastoral office. The first pastor was the Rev. John Lavington, junior. It is not known how long his ministry lasted; but in July, 1763, the Rev. John Samuel was, and apparently had been for some time, the minister. At that time George Betty, a labourer, of Hatch Beauchamp (a place some four miles off), charged his property with an annuity of ten shillings, payable to Mr. Samuel and his successors; which is paid unto this day. By March, 1765, Mr. Samuel had been succeeded by the Rev. John Peacock, whose sermon on the death of Mr. William Johnson, preached in Paul's meeting, Taunton, in 1768, reached a second edition. In

1776 he published a collection of hymns designed to supersede those of Dr. Watts, which however they have not yet done, either at Broadway or elsewhere. Many of them are however of considerable merit, fully up to the average of those in use nowadays, and might well take a place in the present service of the sanctuary. About 1777, the Rev. T. Lewis became the pastor, and added to this duty the conduct of a superior school for young gentlemen in the house which, until it was burnt down, was practically, though not formally, the parsonage. From April, 1792 (and perhaps earlier), to Lady Day, 1793, a Mr. Allen received £40 salary as minister. On June 30th, 1793, Mr. Crook commenced his ministry, which terminated about the close of the last century; this pastorate was notable for the establishment of the Sunday school, which was founded in 1797. It was followed by an interregnum, during which Mr. Thorn, of Grilston, near Crediton, and others supplied the church, though without pastoral charge. In 1803 the Rev. Thomas Pyke was called to the pastorate. He was by birth and behaviour a gentleman of the old school, and his ingenuity was witnessed by (among other things) his invention of a machine for calculating the mileage of coaches; which, however, was never formally adopted. Towards the close of his life his mental powers failed, and although he retained his position he was practically laid aside, the death of his only child (a daughter) having largely contributed to this result. It may, perhaps, be mentioned without offence after this lapse of time, that on dark nights he used to place a lantern in his shrubbery, in order that his daughter if she came down to visit him might not break her wings among the laurels. In consequence of Mr. Pyke's incapacity, the Rev. William



Standerwick became co-pastor in 1837. He had been minister at Dulverton, and built the chapel there, the cost of which was mainly paid out of his own pocket and that of Mr. Heudebourck, of Taunton. During his ministry Mr. Pyke had been largely assisted by his gifted sister, Sarah Leigh Pyke, who under the pseudonym of "Serena" had published *Israel, a Poem, The Triumph of Messiah*, and *Eighty Village Hymns*, all of which enjoyed an extensive popularity. The last of these works was written in the very plainest style; but was by just so much the better suited for the rural community among which her lot was cast, and much good may be traced to its publication. The year 1843 was a noteworthy one in the annals of Broadway; it witnessed, with other significant events, the deaths of Mrs. Standerwick, mother of the junior pastor and the last surviving subscriber to the clock, "the young people's gift," which still forms a striking feature of the meeting; Mr. Robert Collins, of Horton, an important and invaluable supporter of the cause; and of Mr. Pyke himself; also the destruction by fire of a large part of the village, including the parsonage house. During Mr. Standerwick's ministry the church attained its highest measure of success, the gallery and pulpit stairs being habitually occupied by persons who could not find seats elsewhere; and in the end the chapel was considerably enlarged, although the work was not completed until after Mr. Standerwick had been compelled by ill health to resign his charge. He emigrated to America, but subsequently returned to England and died in 1876, within a stone's throw of the building with which he had been connected from his birth. After his retirement the church was supplied by the Rev. Richard Penman, the Rev. J. S. Underwood, Mr.

Victor Herschell (uncle of the late Lord Chancellor), who as a clergyman of the Church of England lost his life in the Jamaica disturbances; and by students of the Western college, notably Mr. Chapman, subsequently of Montreal and Plymouth, and Mr. Bryan Dale, since of Halifax. In 1855 the Rev. Stephen Ross was called to the pastorate, during his tenure of which the present parsonage was built. Failing health, however, necessitated his retirement in 1865; and he was succeeded by the Rev. William Lang, during whose ministry the church fabric underwent extensive restoration. Mr. Lang was succeeded in 1872 by the Rev. George Osborne, also previously of Dulverton, who died in 1906.

The principal features of interest in the history of Broadway Meeting are, first, that its foundation was the direct outcome of the Trinitarian Controversy of 1719, and second, that it has never received a penny of assistance from outside sources. It has had from time to time a complete church organization, mission stations at Donyatt, Windmill Hill, and Buckland St. Mary (near "the Hare and Hounds"), a Bible Society auxiliary, Dorcas, maternity, and tract distributing societies, and a flourishing Sabbath school. This was founded in March, 1797, with a stipendiary teacher, retained to conduct school three times on a Sunday and attend two services with the children at a remuneration of 1s. a week. Many of that teacher's pupils remained to their dying day earnest members of the church, and adorned during the course of long lives the Christian profession. The original rules are appended, and will doubtless be of interest, if only by way of contrast with modern Sunday school methods.

Articles and Rules for the Establishment of a Sunday School,  
in the parish of Broadway, March, 1797.

1. That this school shall be supported by voluntary subscriptions.

2. That a Treasurer shall be appointed by a majority of the Subscribers, who shall receive the subscriptions, and therewith pay the Salary of the Master, and defray all other Expenses attending this Institution.

3. That Mr. Bennet be, and he is hereby, appointed Treasurer of the said School, for the year ensuing.

4. That a Master shall be appointed for this school by a Majority of the Subscribers, who shall instruct the Scholars in Spelling and Reading, at his own House, and shall regularly attend them to and from the Place of Worship, on every Lord's Day, agreeably to the rules of this Institution: and the said Master shall receive for his care and Trouble the sum of Two Pounds and twelve shillings a year, to be paid Quarterly.

5. That Thomas Whitfield be, and he is hereby, appointed Master of the said School.

6. That no Child shall be admitted into this School, who is less than seven years of age, or more than Fourteen.

7. That no Child shall be admitted into this School, without the Recommendation of a Subscriber; and any Parent who is desirous to have a child admitted into it may apply to the Master, who will give the necessary information as to the Names of the Subscribers.

8. That the Name of every Child admitted into this School shall be entered in a Book to be kept for that purpose by the Treasurer; in which Entry, the Age of the Child shall be specified, and the Name of the Subscriber, at whose Recommendation the Child was admitted.

9. That the Subscribers be requested to visit the said school, in Turn, as often as they can make it convenient, for the Purpose of observing the manner in which the Children are instructed, and the Progress they make, as well as to inquire into their general Conduct and Behaviour.

10. That from Lady Day to Michaelmas, in every year, the children of this school shall attend at the House of the Master precisely at eight o'clock, in the morning of every Lord's Day, and from Michaelmas to Lady Day, precisely at nine o'clock in the morning, to be instructed in Spelling and Reading, till the time of Divine Service, when they shall go in decent order to the Place of Worship, conducted by their Master.—And on every Lord's Day throughout the year, they shall attend at the Master's House, precisely at one o'clock, to be further instructed till the Time of

Divine Service in the Afternoon when they shall again go in decent order to the Place of Worship, conducted by their Master. And from Lady Day to Michaelmas, in every year, when Divine Service in the Afternoon is ended, they shall return, in the same decent order, to the House of their Master, to be further instructed till Six o'clock.

11. That if any Child shall fail to attend at the Place and Time before appointed, without sufficient reason (of which sufficiency the Master shall judge), such child shall, for the first default, be admonished and reprimanded by the Master, and for the Second Default, shall be confined in a dark and solitary place, for the space of one Hour, after the other Scholars are dismissed ; and for every other the like Default shall suffer such further Punishment as the Treasurer, or any Visitor of the School shall order the Master to inflict.

12. That the Parents of the Children shall send them to School, as neat and decent as their circumstances will permit, with their Hands and Faces washed clean, and their Hair combed.

13. That if any Child shall come to the School, whose Hands and Face are not washed clean, and whose Hair is not combed, such Child shall, for the first, second, and every other Default of the like Kind, be punished in the manner directed by the Eleventh Rule for the punishment of those who fail to attend at the Place and Times before appointed.

14. That if any Child belonging to this school shall be guilty of cursing, Swearing, or Lying, or of talking in an indecent manner, or of Pilfering and Stealing, or of any other Misbehaviour, the Master shall, on the first offence, point out the Evil of such Conduct ; and if, after his reproof and admonition, the Child shall be guilty of either of the said offences a second Time, every Child, so offending, shall be confined in a dark and solitary Place, for the Space of One Hour, after the other Scholars are dismissed ; and if the said Child shall offend a third Time, then the Master shall make a particular Report of such Offender to the Treasurer, who shall order such Punishment to be inflicted, as he, in his Discretion, shall think proper.

15. That a Book shall be provided for the Master, which shall be called the Black Book, and the Master shall enter therein a regular Account of the Misbehaviour of any of the children of this School, mentioning the particular Nature of every offence ; which Book shall, from Time to Time, be laid before the Visitors of the School, that they may have an opportunity of publicly reproofing those children who shall in any respect misbehave themselves, and of encouraging those who behave well.

16. That proper Books for the Instruction of the Children shall be provided by the Treasurer ; and the said Books shall be carefully kept in a Box by the Master of the School.

17. That at the end of every year, The Black Book shall be opened and examined by the Treasurer, and other Visitors of the School, in the Presence of the Master and Scholars; and those children whose Names shall seldom or never appear in the said Book, and who shall be found to have made a good Progress in Spelling and Reading, shall receive some mark of Approbation and Encouragement.

18. That a copy of these Articles and Rules shall be delivered to the Master of this School, to be by him read over to the scholars, on the first Lord's Day, in every Month.

---

The above narrative has been furnished by J. W. Standerwick, Esq., son of the Rev. William Standerwick, and one of an old Nonconformist family, some of whose members fought "for faith and freedom" under the blue flag in 1685. Mr. Standerwick served the nation for many years in a public office; and also served the Church and the world as secretary to the society which has printed the Latin works of John Wiclif, previously existing only in MS. On retiring from the public service he settled at Broadway; where he now ministers to the congregation with which his ancestors have been associated from its commencement.

[ED.]

## London Conventicles in 1683

**T**HE following list is of interest, as an enumeration of Nonconformist meetings at the time when the Rye House plot furnished a pretext for renewed persecution. The pamphlet seems to have been printed as a guide to constables and informers. Its press mark in the British Museum is 491, K4. No. 12.

A List of the Conventicles or Unlawful Meetings within the City of London and Bills of Mortality Humbly presented to the Lord Mayor, Recorder and Aldermen, the Justices of the Peace of Westminster, Middlesex and Surrey; and all Constables, Church wardens, Overseers, and all other Officers and Ministers of the Peace.

Lond. Printed by Nat. Thompson, 1683.

CONVENTICLE.	FACTION	PREACHER (if given)
<i>In City and Liberties.</i>		
Leadenhall St., near Creech ...	Independ.	Dr. Owen
Bishopsgate Street within, Crosby House ...	Presbyt.	
Bishopsgate Street without, Devonshire Buildings ...	Independ.	
A Quakers' Meeting at the same House Meeting-House Alley, near Bishopsgate Church ..	Anabap.	Griffis
A Meeting-house in Petit. France ...	Independ.	
Pin-makers' Hall, near Broad Street ...	Presbyt.	
Near All-hallows the Wall ...	Independ.	
Whites Alley in Little Moor-fields ...	Presbyt.	
Another in the same alley ...	Independ.	
Ropemakers' Alley near Whites Alley	Presbyt.	
Lorimers Hall near the Postern, between Moor-gate & Cripple-gate ...	Presbyt.	

Between White Cross Street & Red Cross Street, near the Peacock Brew-House ... ..	Independ.	Cockin
Paul's Alley in Red Cross Street at the Old Play-house ... ..	Anabap.	Plant
Beech Lane at Glovers Hall ... ..	Presbyt.	
Another in the same lane, near it ... ..	Independ.	
Jewin Street ... ..	Presbyt.	Jenkins
Westmoreland House in Aldersgate Street ... ..	Independ.	
Bartholomew-close ... ..	Presbyt.	
St. Martin's le Grand, Bull & Mouth ... ..	Quakers	
Embroiderers' Hall in Gutter Lane near Cheapside ... ..	Presbyt.	S. Smith
Near Cripplegate ... ..	Presbyt.	Doelittle
Staining Lane, near Haberdasher's Hall	Presbyt.	Jacomb
High Hall, near S. Sepulchre's ... ..	Presbyt.	
Cow-lane, in a School-house ... ..	Independ.	
Stonecutter Street near Fleet Ditch ... ..	Presbyt.	
Wine Office Court in Fleet Street ... ..	Independ.	
Goldsmith's Court in Fetter Lane ... ..	Presbyt.	Turner
Blackfriars, near the King's Printing House ... ..	Scotch	
Another near Scotch Hall ... ..	Presbyt.	
Broken Wharf, George Yard ... ..	Anabap.	Knowles
Three Cranes, in Thames Street, near Dowgate, over Stables ... ..	Presbyt.	
Joiners' Hall near Dowgate ... ..	Independ.	
Chequer Yard on Dowgate Hill ... ..	Anabap.	
Bell Inn in Walbrook ... ..	Presbyt.	Leigh
Exchange Alley, at a Coffee House ... ..	Independ.	
Bartholomew Lane, by the Exchange	Presbyt.	
Freemans Yard, near the Exchange ... ..	Presbyt.	Cruyo
Grace-Church Street, near Lombard St.	Quakers	
Grace-Church Street, Talbot Court ... ..	Independ.	
40] S. Martins Hill, near Crooked Lane	Anabap.	

*For the out-parts of Middlesex and Westminster within the Bill of Mortality.*

Lower end of Limehouse, next the fields	Presbyt.	
Near Stepney Church ... ..	Independ.	Mead
School-House Lane, near Ratcliff Cross	Presbyt.	
A Quakers' in the same place ... ..		
Near Shadwell Church ... ..	Anabap.	Collings
Meeting House Alley between Shadwell and Wapping ... ..	Presbyt.	

In a Carpenter's Yard near the Hermitage ... ..	Anabap.	
At a Ship-Chandler's, near it ...	Presbyt.	
Looking glass Alley in Westsmithfield	Anabap.	
In Bell Lane, near Spittle-fields ...	Presbyt.	
Quaker's Street in Spittle-fields ...	Quakers	
Windford Street ... ..	Anabap.	
Near the Spittle ... ..	Presbyt.	D <sup>r</sup> . Ansloe
At Hackney, near 3 or 4 but at present are all suppressed.		
Near Hog Lane in Shoreditch ...	Presbyt.	
Old Street ... ..	Presbyt.	Partridge
S. John's Lane near Hicks's Hall the Peel	Quakers	
Greys Inn Lane, in Red Lyon Yard ...	Presbyt.	
Near Montague House in Bloomsbury	Presbyt.	Read
In Swallow Street, St. Martin's in the Fields ... ..	Presbyt.	Lobbs
Near Tothill Street, Westminster ...	Presbyt.	Alsop
In the same place ... ..	Quakers	
Savoy, near the Church ... ..	Quakers	
23] Clare-Market at the Old Playhouse	Presbyt.	Farindon

*In Southwark & County of Surrey, within the Bill of Mortality.*

Farthing Alley ... ..	Presbyt.	Vincent
Little Maze Pond ... ..	Anabap.	
Horse-ly-down, Fare Street ... ..	Quakers	
Horse-ly-down, Free School Street ...	Anabap.	
Horse-ly-down ... ..	Millinar	Wheeler
New Shad Thames ... ..	Anabap.	Clayton
Near Horse-ly-down, New Street ...	Presbyt.	Flavel
Unicorn Yard near Stony Lane ... ..	Presbyt.	Castle
Globe-Alley, near the Bear Garden ...	Presb. Ind	
In Street in Winchester Park	Quakers	
11] Winchester Park, near Lownands Pond ... ..	Anabap.	



## The Pastoral Letters of Thomas Maidwell

THE Congregational church at Kettering is widely known on account of the ministry of the Tollers, father and son, who together held the pastorate nearly a hundred years. But apart from its association with these honoured worthies, the church has a history of which it is justly proud, and which is given with much interesting detail in Coleman's *Memorials of the Independent Churches in Northamptonshire* and in Stephens's *Album of the Northamptonshire Churches*. Its first pastor was the Rev. Thomas Maidwell; who was ejected from the parish church by the Act of Uniformity, and continued his ministry (with some interruptions) till his death on 9th January, 1692, at the age of 83.

Amongst the most cherished possessions of the church are three letters written by Mr. Maidwell in 1683, when, by reason of the renewed persecution, for which a pretext was found in the Rye House plot, he was compelled to remove to a distance. They are supposed to have been written from the house of H. Barwell, Esq., of Marston Trussell, about 12 miles N.W. of Kettering. The first of these letters was printed, with some inaccuracies, in Palmer's *Nonconformists' Memorial*; but by the courtesy of the deacons we are enabled to place before our readers the entire series.

By the kindness of Mr. C. A. Percival, of Gold Street, Kettering, we are also able to give two prints of Hazlewood House, otherwise called the Conventicle House, where Mr. Maidwell

and his flock were accustomed to meet for worship in times of persecution. Under the Indulgence of 1672 he was licensed to preach "at Widow Cooper's"; but at other times he preached "in his own and other people's houses," as might best afford safety or secrecy. One of the most frequently used meeting-places was the house here represented, situated in an alley called Hazlewood Lane, and then the property of Mr. Maidwell's granddaughter, Mrs. Hazlewood. At the back of the house was a small window, of which only the framework now remains; and the tradition is that several times when the congregation were assembled for worship, and constables or informers—local tradition says soldiers—were forcing an entrance, the minister and his followers escaped by this window to the adjoining roof, and so over the fields towards Rothwell.

The historic house being for the time untenanted, an interesting memorial service was held within its walls on Wednesday evening, 11th March, of this year. The room was lighted with candles in ancient candelabra and brackets, and adorned with engravings illustrating incidents of Puritan history. Mr. C. A. Percival first conducted a short service for the children; and afterwards the Rev. D. Stephens, pastor of Toller church (and so the lineal successor of Mr. Maidwell) read the eleventh chapter of Hebrews from a Bible dated 1612; which was followed by the reading of one of Mr. Maidwell's pastoral letters. A devotional service was held in the same place on the following Sunday evening.

I.

My dear friends,

July 31<sup>st</sup> 1683.

Grace and peace be multiplied.

Since I heard of the great distress you are in on several accounts, it cannot but affect and afflict me; and the rather because my present danger and sufferings add to yours, which makes the



THE "CONVENTICLE HOUSE," HAZLEWOOD LANE, KETTERING

## The Pastoral Letters of Thomas Mäidwell 369

burden heavier to us both : but if our God who directs, helps us to "cast our burden on him," he will sustain it and us under it ; as at present he doth, blessed be his name : for though we are troubled on every side, yet we are not distressed ; tho' perplexed, yet not in despair ; tho' persecuted, yet not forsaken ; tho' cast down, yet not destroyed. Tho' we bear in our outward man the dying of the Lord Jesus ; yet if the life, spirit, and vigour of Christ be exercised in our inward man, we shall (live) to him eternally hereafter as spiritually here : but the want of that divine vigour and true christian magnanimity fill most souls with despondency, bowels with sighs, and tongues with complaints. Yet we have no reason to murmur against, or complain of our God, who doth all things justly, wisely, and well ; but of ourselves, who neither know, do, nor suffer as we ought ; but "in many things we offend all" and therefore all suffer justly. It's true, you will say, What is to be done under present sufferings ? what ?

(1) Let every one search and try his and her ways, and say seriously ; what have I done to kindle so great a fire of God's indignation against myself, and the church of God ? The sin of any one of His may provoke him against every one ; as of Jonah, David, and Hezekiah. God is calling the sin of his people to remembrance and shall not they do it, as he to afflict them so they to repent them ?

(2) Let not self examination be common, (superficial) inaffectionate ; but special, thorough, affectionate, heart-melting, soul-afflicting, extraordinary ; becoming so dark a day. Judgment is more than begun at the house of God ; and therefore it becomes God's house to be a house of mourning indeed, for their own and others sins, like that of Hadadrimmon in the valley of Megiddo.

(3) Let us not now take up with a formal search, confession, and humiliation as heretofore, but press after a personal, relative, and thorough reformation of what is amiss in Heart, Tongue, and Life. Let us forsake sin confessed, that we may obtain mercy ; and let us indeed so turn from all our sins of life actually, of heart affectionately : and so turn to the Lord our God, that he may turn to us in mercy to heal our hearts, lives, church, and land.

(4) Let us indeed have a daily, vigorous recourse, by a lively faith unto Christ and his blood of sprinkling, that by virtue thereof all the blessings of the new covenant may more powerfully, effectually, and experimentally be conveyed into our hearts and lives, more to assimilate both to the heart and life of our dearest Lord Jesus, in grace here, and glory hereafter.

(5) Let that faith, in the reality and eminence of it, be daily more and more manifested in our new obedience, especially in our united affections of love to and delight in our God thro' Christ, and thro' him in each other ! Oh ! where is that fervent love to God and each other with purity of heart ! Is not the love of many

waxen cold in this day wherein iniquity abounds? Where is that union of hearts and ways Gods covenant promises and calls for? Enemies are one to destroy us, studying all artifices imaginable to do it, and shall not we be one for mutual edification, confirmation, and consolation? By what strength of arguments, what holy and fervent passion is this often argued by the apostle, 1 Cor: 13 Ephes: 4 Phil: 2<sup>d</sup>. He saw the excellency and necessity of it in the church of Christ in his day, and is it not so at this day? O God let us be found in the spirit of it!

(6) Whatever you do in the worship and service of God, carefully see that your chief motives therein, and thereto, be not the examples of others, slavish fear of men, and persecution by men; this will not bear you out before God: but let them be obedience to a divine precept, general or particular; a persuasion of God's spirit with yours, that the way of worship you walk in is agreeable to God's revealed will, (for what ever is not of faith is sin) and that love to God in Christ engages you so to worship and walk.

(7) Wherein you differ in your opinion and practice from others, take heed of contemning or reproaching each other; of animosity and bitterness of spirit against one another; but rather pity each other, and in love, counsel, instruct and pray one for another, waiting patiently for God's blessing on these counsels and prayers: in the meantime 'forbearing one another in love' until God by his spirit shall reveal his mind to them that differ from you. If any be overtaken in a fault, you that are spiritual, restore such a one with the spirit of meekness, considering thyself, lest thou also be tempted.

(8) Take heed of all sinful compliances and mixtures of human inventions with divine institutions in the worship of God. Will worship will prove vain worship. We must not be men's servants, but Christ's; not seek to please them but him. We must not lift our tool on God's altar, lest we defile it, nor set our post by His, our Dagon by his ark, lest we be broke in pieces.

(9) Take heed of a spirit of estrangement from each other but maintain a holy christian communion as you can. God promises his presence to the meeting of two or three. When you meet, let it be for the better; for mutual edification, (Mal. III. 16). Strengthen one another's hands in God as Jonathan did David's when he was in the wood.

(10) Sit loose to the creatures, and all creature-enjoyments. Sit near and cleave close to your dear Lord Jesus. Seek not great things here for yourselves, but seek the things above, where Christ sits at the right hand of God; Let your affections and conversation be in heaven, and lay up your treasures there where thieves cannot break through nor steal. Many Demas's there are who do and will forsake Christ's interest, to embrace the present world. What is written aforetime is written for our learning.

## The Pastoral Letters of Thomas Maidwell 371

(11) Really and frequently in your thoughts resign up yourselves with all that you are and have to the sole and sovereign disposal of the only wise God, and Almighty Creator and Governor of all ; and seeing our times, our all, are in his hand, a hand so good, so powerful, so tender, so safe, let us humbly, quietly, and contentedly leave all there with all patience and long-suffering ; verily believing that he will order all for His glory and for the good of His.

(12) Give all diligence to make your calling and election sure ; to get assurance of God's love and favour in Christ to your souls in particular. All we have is now going ; there is no assurance of liberty, estate, relations, or life to any. O that this might awaken us to assure God in Christ to us ! that while evil men are devising and endeavouring to take all from us, we may on good grounds say, The Lord is our portion, and he being ours, in him we inherit all things.

(13) Get and maintain in your souls an inward spiritual joy and peace in believing. In every thing give thanks. Rejoice in the Lord always. Again I say rejoice. This will be your strength, to mortify corruptions, resist temptations, perform all duties absolute and relative, and with courage to undergo the worst of sufferings you can meet with ; to persevere to the end in doing and suffering God's will, that therein being faithful unto death, you may obtain a crown of life ; That you may embrace the counsel given O pray, pray, watch and pray ; pray for your selves, for me, and for all that love Christ in sincerity, that I, you, they, may be accounted worthy either to escape those dismal things that are coming upon us, or if not, yet may stand before the Son of Man, when he comes to judge the world in righteousness, with courage, confidence and comfort.

Thus my dear hearts, I have answered your desires in your last I received, heartily letting you know, that though I am absent in body from you to my great grief, yet I am present with you in Spirit, daily praying for you, longing to see you, which I should have done once and again, had not Satan hindered ; which he will do till Christ comes and binds him in chains and removes him, out of the way and gives his people a quiet and full enjoyment of himself in each other. Which that he may is the earnest prayer of your unworthy pastor, solicitous for your soul's good.

T.M. Senr.

Communicate this to ours.

### II.

October 19, 1683.

Mercy unto you and peace and love be multiplied.

My dearly beloved and longed for in the bowels of Jesus Christ, in whom I bless God for you that you yet stand fast in the faith, and in the Bible where with Christ hath made you free and are not yet entangled in that Yoke of Bondage again in which you

## 372 The Pastoral Letters of Thomas Maidwell

formerly were ; and that my last contributed to that freedom as your last I thankfully received testified to my no little refreshing in my banished wandering state which is such that unfits me for converse with you either personally or literally. However I cannot but sometimes overcome myself to express my mindfulness of you in my inforced absence from you, which separation is, as soul from body, a Death to me being a forerunner of my Final Departure which cannot be long, having more than filled up the days of my years and being disabled to serve you those few that yet remain, I conceive it advisable to choose some other who may not be under my circumstances, may be resident with you, and be more capacitated for your edification than I possibly at present can. I propose this not to grieve or discourage any, or to give you the least room to think that I am about to desert you in your present sufferings. No, no for God strengthening me, its in my heart to live and die with you, but I understanding to my great grief what sad breaches there are among you, some going off one way, some another, is it not the best expedient to preserve the remainder in their present station, to have one among you in whom you may cordially unite. However know and consider that you who yet stand, stand by faith and dependence on Christ. If he withdraws you fall, therefore be not high minded but fear ; humble yourselves to walk with God for he will give more grace unto, and will save the humble person. Hath the way ye have walked in been God's way or no ? Have ye had any comfortable meeting with God thro' Christ in that way ? If so, what reason have ye to leave it ? Are not ordinances divine appointments in which He communicates Himself graciously to His people far beyond what the things of themselves can do, and have you experienced this and will you desert this and try some other you are doubtful of wither God be in it or no ? If you judge it the right way, its the counsell of Jehovah to his people (Ezekiel 46 : 9) relating to gospel times that when they went to worship before the Lord, if they went in at the North gate, they must go out at the South ; they must go forward and not back again. Job. 17 : 9 tells us that the righteous shall hold on his way and they that have clean hands shall be stronger and stronger. Those that are gone off, is it their strength or weakness ? If this, follow not others in their infirmities. Did you not promise to endeavour a reformation according to God's word and have you not in some measure done it accordingly ? And is not God's word the same it was and will not you be the same likewise ? Will you begin in the spirit and end in the flesh, will you build again that you have destroyed ? In so doing will not you make yourselves transgressors ? Deal plainly and truly with me and your selves. Who do you verily think have most freedom and boldness with God at the throne of grace, have most sweet communion with the Father and Christ, have most comfort in holy

performances, have most interest in the heart's prayers and affections of the most strict and powerful Godly; wither those who backslide from reformation begun, or those who resolutely persist therein? If these then see you be found in their number.

Further consider, whither a compliance at present with the prevailing interest in the worship of God in all the parts of it, doth not justify all the impositions and human inventions in God's worship and all those who willingly submit to them, as if they were divine institutions, and whither such compliances doth not harden the hearts of grossly ignorant atheistical profane persons who being regenerate in baptism, confirmed therein in the Lord's Supper, and assuring them of rising to life at the last day and that they are the only people of God and their way of serving God is the only and best way because those that had left it are turned again to it upon second thought as the best. [*Sic. Sense rather obscure.*]

Again consider whither this practice doth not grieve the hearts of many truly pious ones, laying a stumbling block in their way to endanger their ruin, and whither it doth not condemn themselves in departing so long from them to whom they are returned. If their way of worship was good, why did they leave it? If evil, why do they return to it again.

Let such consider how they will avoid that reproachful brand of hypocrisy and levity, pretending conscience in following God's word and counsel yet now desert that out of slavish fear of men, or inordinate love of the world. Lastly consider what sad wounds many have made upon their spirits by so doing, to the loss of their peace, and the endangering of the loss of their reason, their lives, their souls, grieving God's spirit, dishonouring his name, reproaching the gospel, which things are not easily repaired. These considerations well weighed may prove effectual, if not to reduce those that are backsliders, yet to preserve those who stand from falling. Take notice further Are you indeed willing to be one bread and one body with the most ignorant and profane, as those are said to be who partake with them in that one bread of the Lords Supper. 1 Cor: 10: 16-17, and would you have your souls gathered together with them in the great day of the Lord? If not then put away such wicked ones from your communion now.

Objection: "But its not in our power to do it."

Answer: Do you do your utmost in order to it? If not, you contract guilt. Or doth the church you join with own a power in themselves to put from them such wicked persons upon complaint? If not there is a great defect in discipline. If there be and not executed there is a great neglect to Christ's dishonour and discouragement to them that join with them, seeing little probability of real reformation.

Objection: "The matters we differ in are but little and not worth our contest."



## 374 The Pastoral Letters of Thomas Maidwell

Answer : That we call little God may call great. Adam's eating the forbidden fruit. Uzziah's touching the Ark with a good intention. The Bethshemites looking into the Ark. Nadab's and Abihu's offering of strange fire. Annanias and Saphira's telling a lie, seemed small things in man's eyes, but how great and offensive in God's the dreadful punishment thereof demonstrated. His command is thou shalt not add to or diminish from his word. Deu. 12.32, Rev. 22, 18.19, especially in his worship for he is a jealous God. He will not bear an Idol set up in the heart. He is a Great God and there is not properly any little sin against a Great God.

Objection : "If we comply not we are undone."

Answer : Had that been a good argument there never had been a martyr. Christ says : "He that will save his life shall lose it, but he that shall lose it for my sake and the Gospel's, shall find it and shall have a hundred fold here with persecution, and hereafter life eternal." If that believed, will not satisfy you, I know not what will.

Objection : "But many professors do or will comply."

Answer : God's word, not the example of others is our rule. God's flock is a little one and that of slaughter. You hear [*Paul*] himself complain all men forsake him and prays God it may not be laid to their charge. However things be my counsel is that you choose suffering rather than sin. Suffer not when you can avoid it without sin and sin not to avoid suffering.

(2) Whoever reproaches you let not your hearts reproach you. Maintain Job's resolution, Job 27 : 6. Do nothing doubtingly, especially in religious worship lest you contract guilt. Let every one be fully persuaded in his and her own mind, Rom. 14 : 8, 21, 23, and wisely consider though any of you can freely hear a gifted person declare the truths of the gospel to you, yet whither you can with a clear and good conscience join in a complete and constant communion with that church in all her appointments, whose constitution, matter, officers, practices, order and government is disagreeing with the word of God, and that wants power in itself or willingness to reform according thereto.

(3) As for those who differ from you, follow the apostle's counsel, 2nd Thess. 3, 14, 15 ; Gal. 6, 1, 2 ; Rom. 14 and 15, 1 to 7 ; 1 Thess. 5, 11 to 15 ; James 3, 3, 14, 15 and 5, 19, 20 ; Gal. 5, 13, 14 ; Heb. 11, 14, 15. I know sorrow will fill your hearts for the departure of your brethren, yet count them not as enemies, but admonish mildly as brethren. Make the breach no wider than needs must ; Satan and his agents, the sowers of discord among brethren, will do that. As what you see evil in them you disallow and shun, so what you see of good in them commend and cherish. Outstrip them in acts of kindness and condescension, which you will find the nearest and best way to win them to Christ and you in a nearer conjunction. Use candid words void of passion, manifesting bowels

## The Pastoral Letters of Thomas Maidwell 375

towards them when you use the strongest arguments. If nothing will do, cry to God on their behalf, and in the meantime say to your souls "wait on the Lord and keep his way, be of good courage and he shall strengthen thine heart, wait I say on the Lord" and if you cannot this present day have and enjoy what you would, in everything give thanks to God for what you have.

(4) Grow in grace daily and in the knowledge of and acquaintance with Christ. The more you trust and love him, the more you shall enjoy his love shed abroad in your hearts, which will render your joy in him more unspeakable and glorious. A little strength will hardly enable us to keep his word as not to deny his name. Therefore press after greater measures, after Christ, stature and fulness, that through him you may be more than conquerors. Methinks when Christ is on the throne in the heart, all the evils and glories of self and the world vanish at his appearance, and fall before him as those wicked ones did that came to take him.

(5) Look to your relative duties; slumber not over secret prayer; mind the matter more than the manner; its not length, but strength; mind what God says to you as well as what you say to God.

(6) Disquiet not yourselves with imaginary evils which oft times are more distressing than real. Inure yourselves to do God's precepts and will daily, then you will more easily suffer his afflicting will.

Lastly: Live what lies in you in the believing view of heavenly glory, so as to be transformed from glory to glory, which I find by experience a great help to sweeten present sufferings. Christ for the joy that was set before him, endured the cross, despised the shame and is set down gloriously on the right hand of the majesty on high. Was it the best for Christ? Is it not the best for us? Let's overcome with him, and we shall sit in the throne with him. Now to Him that is able to keep you from falling and present you faultless before the presence of his glory with exceeding joy, to the only wise God, our Saviour be glory, majesty, dominion and power, now and ever Amen.

Yours unfeignedly,

### III.

January 24:

My Dearly Beloved in our dearest Lord,

I had visited you long ere this, either personally or literally, or both, had not the severity of the season and my own illness prevented so that I could not comfortably either hold my pen to write or my bridle to ride, and truly its no little affliction of soul to me that our sins should be such and so provoking our God as to separate us so much from our God and each other. Oh the many

## 376 The Pastoral Letters of Thomas Maidwell

miseries and calamities that the sins of God's people have brought on themselves and others this day, for their sins being acted against most light, strength and love are most God-provoking, therefore his controversy is chiefly with them everywhere and with us amongst others which cries aloud to us for our awaking from our carnal security more strictly and severely than ever, so to search our hearts and ways. Wherefore our God contends with us as to reform whatever is discerned amis that God may turn to us with ordering and healing mercy. And may we not fear that there are some sins lurking in us and amongst us which are little notified by us and make least noise in the world, as sinful self love, inordinate love of the world, spiritual pride in gifts and graces, crying sins, insensibleness of God's severe hand stretched out amongst us, of the departing of gospel glory from us and of too many from it. What secret distrust of God's care for us and ours ; what unthankfulness for mercies ; what unfruitfulness under means ; what formality in God's worship and quiet resting in outward forms in the want of life, spirit, and power, and that in such a day as this is hath much provocation in it ; these and the like evils I see myself too much guilty of and is matter of great rebuke to me. I believe its so to you, but this I hope we can all say, its our daily burden and grief and that we have frequent recourse to Christ in a covenant of grace for pardon of it and power over it, and that we are returning to our first love, our first works, our first husband, for then it was better with us than now. For all that love Christ in sincerity shall by experience find that suitable to their drawing nigh to God in religious worship and walking, He will draw nigh to them as He hath said James 4.8, And the Lord is with you while you are with him but if you forsake him he will forsake you. 2 Chron. 15.2. When He is less sought, slightly and formally, He is less found and the soul hath less communion with Him, is under much darkness, distress, and unquietness ; but when He is vigorously sought and the heart makes near approaches to Him by the lively actings of faith and love then usually God makes his near approaches to that soul in tastes of his goodness and manifestations of his love to the soul as he promised John 14.21. Now I am jealous over you as over myself with a Godly jealousy lest you are fallen under some spiritual decay. Some under more who thro' slavish fear of men, or loss of creature comforts are gone out of the inward court to the outward, to the condemning reproach of their own hearts and grief of others. Some under less who tho' they kept their standing in the work of reformation engaged in, yet through unwatchfulness, and embracing the present world slightings of spirit in holy performances, and many discouragements from themselves and others, may grow remiss and lukewarm and thereby lose their sweet communion with God. Oh my friends how bent are our hearts to backsliding, tho' the backslider in heart shall be



THE "CONVENTICLE HOUSE," KETTERING  
shewing at X the window by which the preacher escaped

## The Pastoral Letters of Thomas Maidwell 377

filled with his own ways, therefore let's all take up the resolution and practice of the church Jeremiah 3, 22. Behold we come unto Thee for Thou art the Lord our God. And Hosea 2, 7. When the church cannot find contentment and quiet in seeking other lovers, saith, I will go and return to my first husband for then it was better with me than now ; which words have of late left some impressions upon my heart and I wish they may upon yours in which you may observe :

(1) Seeking after other lovers rather than after God in Christ who is love, we shall meet with great disappointments. They shall seek them but shall not find them.

(2) That we may weary ourselves in byways and find no rest until we return to God. I will return to my first husband. Return to thy rest O my soul.

(3) A heart effectually touched by God resolves to return unto God, as before verse 5, She said I will go after my lovers, now resolves, I will return to God.

(4) There's nothing got by departing from Christ. The church confesses it was best with her when she was nearest Christ Job. 27.8. A man that backslideth from Christ may think to gain riches, credit, freedom from troubles, but what will he gain saith Job when God takes away his soul. Demas.

(5) There must be a conviction of sin and shame for it before the sinner will return from it to God. The Prodigal.

(6) Sometimes its better, sometimes its worse with God's people. Better when they are nearer in union and communion with God in Christ their husband. Worse when they thro' their backsliding are distance from Christ and Christ from them.

(7) The main thing as one observes in those words is that a clear sight,—how much better it was when the heart did cleave to Christ over it was now since its departure from Christ—is an effectual means to cause the heart to return to him. This Christ advises Rev. 2.5, and this we may understand by experience wither our present departure be it more as in some or less as in others, may not Gods people now under spiritual decay say as one observes :—

(1) Heretofore when I did cleave to God in Christ and walked close with him, I could thro' God's mercy behold the face of God with joy thro Christ, shining on me, but now there is a cloud over that face, the light of his countenance is darkness to me to my great grief. Oh then it was better with me than now !

(2) Then I had free access to the throne of God's grace and could pour out my heart to him with a holy and humble boldness and confidence. Oh but now I am filled with slavish fear. I have sad apprehensions of God as an enemy and its rather dictates of conscience than earnest desire of communion with God that puts me upon duty. Oh then it was better with me than now !

### 378 The Pastoral Letters of Thomas Maidwell

(3) Then I could look on the precious promises, lay claim to them, take hold of them, rejoice in them as my own, my own legacies and inheritance ; but now I question my interest in them and good title to them. They are not precious to me as heretofore. Oh then it was better with me than now !

(4) Then Christ and His spirit made frequent and gracious visits to my soul which had then sweet communion with him. The glimpses of God's face and seals of His loving kindness was sweeter than life to me, but now its far otherwise. He scarce looks thro' the lattice to me. He stands behind the wall. My beloved hath withdrawn himself and is gone. Oh then it was better with me than now !

(5) Then the ordinances of God was indeed divine ordinances unto me. I met with God in them. I heard God speaking to me in the word. I had sweet intercourse with him in prayer. The sacrament was a seal of God's pardoning love in Christ to me, but now its far otherwise. Having changed my pastor, I want the green pastures which formerly my soul fed in and tho' the pasture of itself be good, yet I find not the sweet incense of Christ refreshing my soul thereby. Oh then it was better with me than now !

(6) Then all grace was vigorously acted as Faith, Patience, Humility and God in the creatures comfortably enjoyed. The company of saints was dear to me and mine to them. I sat under the shadow of God's care and protection with great delight. The thoughts of death and suffering for Christ was rather desirable than terrible to me. Then I had much joy and peace of conscience in believing and doing God's will, but now its far otherwise with me. Grace if any is at a very low ebb. Many mercies are enjoyed but I want the God of those mercies. I have sometimes the company of God's people but methinks they look shy on me. Its not so delightful as heretofore. God is not such a sun and shield to me as he hath been. The thoughts of death and suffering for Christ are rather terrible than desirable and that inward peace and tranquility I had is turned to dissatisfaction, unquietness and trouble so that I may truly say that it was better with me then than now. If so let this be a forcible argument to me and you all to turn to our first husband Christ from whom we have in the least revolted and let it be considerate, rational, speedy, unfeigned, effectual, and persevering, and then it will be better with us in poverty than in abundance, in a prison than at liberty, under the wrath and rage of a wicked world and devils than under all their smiles and commendations, in sickness than in health, in adversity than in prosperity, in the worst of deaths for Christ's sake than in the best of lives without Christ. Which that it may be to me and you all is and shall be fervent and daily prayer of your souls friend and servant in Christ.

T.M. Sen.

## John Penry in Scotland

**A**FTER the printing of the last of the Marprelate tracts, the *Protestatyon*, we learn from Matt. Sutcliffe that Penry "lurked here and there" in the Midlands; but always in touch in Job Throkmorton; by whose directions Jenkin Jones was able to find him in a certain odd ale house eighteen miles from Fawsley (*Ans. to Job Throk. 73*). Sutcliffe goes on to say that Throkmorton still kept in touch with Penry "when the sun began to shine so hot in England that Penry could not abide it, but must seek for a colder region." One definite trace of this journey to Scotland occurs in the statement of John Udall before the Privy Council on January 13th, 1590. For the previous twelve months Udall had been labouring at Newcastle-on-Tyne.<sup>1</sup> "A quarter of a yeere" earlier, that is, in the beginning of October, Penry called at his door. It was a hurried visit. The fugitive did not pass the threshold nor even receive any refreshment. (*Wall's New Discovery*, 93). Early in 1590 we begin to find evidence of Penry's residence in Scotland.

Robert Waldegrave, the well known Puritan printer, after printing *Hay any Worke* at Coventry relinquished his dangerous post as Marprelate's printer and escaped to Rochelle. He and Penry were present at the Haseley conference, which we assign to the interval between the printing of

---

<sup>1</sup> Udall preached before the king and court on the occasion of his visit to the General Assembly at Edinburgh in June, 1589.—*Reg. of the Priv. Council Scot.* IV, 518. Dr. Masson's note.

Marprelate's *Protestatyon* and Penry's appearance at Udall's door at Newcastle. Waldegrave brought with him to Haseley the editions he had printed, presumably at Rochelle, of *M. Some in his coulcers* and Penry's *Appellation*, desiring Throkmorton's instructions as to their disposal. (*Answers to Job Throk.* 72 rect. 73 rect.) These dangerous commodities were not allowed to stay at Haseley. The stock of both tracts and almost the entire edition of the *Protestatyon* were taken to the house of Henry Godley of Northampton; and the natural conclusion is that they were carried thither by Penry and Waldegrave. Then the two men would continue their journey north. That Waldegrave did not call at Udall's door (Udall does not say that he did not) need not surprise us. Waldegrave was as circumspect and as cautious as Penry was risky in his movements. In any case Waldegrave was in Edinburgh early in 1590, established as a printer. *The Confession of Faith* printed by him at Edinburgh has the authorization of the Lords of the Council dated March 13th, 1590. In the following month, as seems probable, he printed Penry's *Reformation no Enemie*, and on the 16th May Robert Bowes, the English ambassador, formally complains to king James that Penry is in his realm publishing books against the government of England (*S. P. Scot* [Eliz.] 45.44). Bowes points out to the king that Penry had "falne w<sup>th</sup> in the case of treason," and asks that he should be banished from Scotland. The king appears favourable to the request and promises to enquire into the matter and to give orders accordingly.

We hear nothing further of Penry until Bowes' letter to Burghley on August 1st (*Ibid.* 46.22) which reports that "The k. at this convencion hathe giuen order for the banishm<sup>t</sup> of Penrie, and directed the Chancelor to see the same executed at his



returne hither from Dunfermling on Mondaie next." The chancellor appears to have lost no time in taking up the case. On the following Thursday, August 6th, the writ of banishment was issued by "The Kingis Majestie with advice of the Lordis of his Secretit Counsall" (*Reg. of Priv. Council of Scot.* IV. 517f). Officers of arms and sheriffs are to proclaim "John Pennerie, Inglisman," at the "mercat croces of the head barrowis [burroughs]" charging him to depart from the realm "within ten dayis nixt eftir he be chargeit thairto," under severe penalties. The king's lieges are also warned under similar penalties not to have intercourse with him "or furneis him meit, drink, hous or herbery." The proclamation was doubtless made in due form at the market crosses, but as the months went on the information which reached the ears of Elizabeth's government was to the effect that Penry was still in Scotland and that Waldegrave was openly working at his craft. Moreover there was evidently a suspicion that Robert Bowes, who belonged to Berwick-on-Tweed, was not as zealous as he might be in seeing that the decree of banishment was actually carried out. It is certain that neither at Berwick nor at Edinburgh was there any excess of zeal in pursuing a man whose treason consisted in opposing Elizabeth's episcopal system and in appealing for the evangelization of Wales. Robert Bowes, however, is at great pains as her Majesty's representative to clear himself of any such suspicions; writing to that effect on November 20th, 1590 (*S. P. Scot.* [Eliz.] 46.64). He had duly informed his Majesty that "it was merveiled in England" that Penry should still be suffered to remain in Scotland, or that "Walgrave the printer" should be "permitted freelie to print seditiouse bookes against his natiue countrie"; his Majesty was urged to carry out the

order of banishment. The king and the chancellor both disavow any knowledge that Penry is still in Scotland, having been "credibly informed that he was departed"; but they promise that a search shall be made. With regard to Waldegrave the case is different. The reason is that Scotland "standeth nede of a printer"—there had been no king's printer appointed since the departure of Vautrollier. Besides, "Walgrave with submission had acknowledged his fault in printing . . . a booke set forth by Penry," and had entered into a "great bonde" only to print in the future by permission and allowance of the king. As for Bowes himself he had truly thought that Penry had departed. He was so informed by "some of good credit," and "sondry godlie ministers in the Towne" still held that opinion. As for his zeal in the matter, and his statement on this point is important, he says that:—

"Sundry ministers here haue m<sup>ue</sup>iled to behold the earnestness of my course herein, and left my company for the same. Whereupon I haue not thought it profitable for her Ma<sup>ty</sup> seruice in my charge (w<sup>ch</sup> I respect more than my life) so sharpelie to prick the rest, as I should chaise them also from me, together with the losses of the best affected in the nobilitie. All w<sup>ch</sup> haue no litle regard to the course of the ministry, as in all services I haue had good experience."

Over against these lines there is a note in the margin in Burleigh's hand: "I wrote S<sup>oe</sup> what rōdly to Mr bowes not to be ledd away w<sup>t</sup> the unruly ministers." At the close of the year, December 18th, Bowes again refers to Penry and Waldegrave. Concerning the latter the news is that he has been appointed king's printer. But the king has been informed "by persons very honest" that Penry had departed. And we are given the interesting information that "his wife

contineweth in this Towne supported by benevolence of his friends here. Whereof some of them have assured me that he departed indede from her a good while past, and hath no repaire to her, nether is it knowne where he is." This concludes the references to Penry in this collection of MSS. We may now draw out the significance of one or two of the statements.

First, we have plain proof how the ministers generally regarded the decree of banishment issued against Penry and the zeal manifested by Bowes in seeking to get it executed. They boycotted the ambassador. He had to deal very timidly with those with whom he had had hitherto no intercourse about Penry, lest the whole of the ministry should hold aloof from him. The nobility, barons and burgesses had such regard for the ministry that they also would in all likelihood follow their example. The ministers could not stay the promulgation of the order of banishment against Penry, but they regarded with resentment the too careful enquiries of Bowes into the carrying out of the order. The information sent by spies in Scotland to Burleigh, and the espionage of the Penry-Throkmorton correspondence by Bancroft's minions (Sutcliffe's *Answer*, 73 vers., and Baker MSS. [Camb.] Mm. 1.47[28]) may have convinced Burleigh and Whitgift that Penry was in Scotland. It was clear, however, that the ministers meant to shield him against the operation of decree of expulsion from Scottish soil. True, it was the autumn of 1592 before Penry finally left his harbourage among the Presbyterians; but apparently until the last they shielded him. In proof of this let us turn to the deposition of John Edwards concerning his journey from Scotland in company with Penry. (Mr. Gasquoine has recently drawn particular attention to the

discrepancy between the date given for this journey by Edwards and that given by Penry in his companion deposition). The document is itself a rudely penned record of Edwards's examination, and Edwards himself was only imperfectly acquainted with the inwardness of the facts about which he is led to speak. His words on the point of the decree of banishment are:—

“Penry was not banished out of Scotland, but there was Banishment decreed against him and the mynisters ever stay the proclaiming thereof.”

The testimony though incorrect in form is amply sufficient for our purpose. This is the information which Edwards brought out of Scotland at the close of Penry's sojourn in that country. It explains why, after the issuing of the decree of banishment on the 6th of August, 1590, Penry remained in Scotland until September (or November), 1592. This is not to say that Penry never paid a furtive visit across the border during this period. It would be unlike this daring spirit to be confined to Scotland by a sense of danger, if his chivalrous heart believed that a journey into England were required in the interests of the cause of Christ. What is sufficiently plain from the letters of Robert Bowes, the complaints of Burleigh, the testimony of John Edwards, as well as the facts concerning the intercepted correspondence passing between Haseley and Edinburgh, is, that Scotland was the general residence of Penry from October, 1590, to the autumn of 1592.

But there is a second point in the Scottish letters which demands a further brief notice. It is that concerning Mrs. Penry. On December, 18th, 1590, Bowes reports that she “contineweth in this Towne supported by benevolence of [Penry's] friends.” The assumption was that Penry was gone and had left his wife destitute to depend upon the

generosity of his Presbyterian friends. We know there was a little child born before this date. Penry was married in September, 1588, and was hanged in May, 1593. Four daughters were born to him, and before his death he wrote them a final message, to be read to them when they should attain to years of discretion. He charges them to be kind to "all strangers, and unto the people of Scotland, where I, your mother, and a couple of you, lived as strangers and yet were welcome and found great kindness in the name of our God." Thinking pathetically of their helpless infancy he says "the eldest of you is not yet four years old and the youngest not yet four months." We have to arrive at some reasonable theory why Penry should mention only two of his children as having received kindness from the people of Scotland.

The youngest child was clearly born in London. When Edwards and Penry reached Stratford-by-Bow they found Mrs. Penry already there. She had a chamber at "y<sup>e</sup> sign of the Cross Keys." The imminence of the birth of her child may have dictated her earlier departure from Scotland. The eldest child was the Deliverance Penry whose marriage with Thomas Whitaker the bombazine worker, on May 14th, 1611, is happily recorded in the Amsterdam register (see *Transactions*, vol. ii, p. 165). She was then 21 years old and stated to be native of Hamptonshire (that is, Northamptonshire). To make the round figure 21 years quite exact we should have to add or to deduct a certain number of months. Let us suppose she were born in July, 1589. She would then be 3 years 9 months old when her father described her as "not yet four years," and 21 years all but two months at her marriage. This we may regard as satisfying the chronological data. The little Deliverance would be a year and five months old when Bowes reported

that Mrs. Penry continued to reside in Edinburgh. But the ambassador mentions no child. Indeed by all reckoning a second child was soon to be born. And from the particularities of Bowes' reports we cannot help the conviction that if he knew there was a child he would undoubtedly have mentioned it in his report to Burleigh. Nor is it any easier to believe that in so small a community as Edinburgh was in 1590, there was a child as well as the wife of Penry, without Bowes knowing the fact. No hypothesis therefore meets so well the requirements of the case, as to suppose that the Northamptonshire child should have remained in the house where it was born, in the charge of its grandparents, when the mother felt it her duty to undertake the journey to Scotland to join her husband. She was at the time in delicate health, and the care of a baby on that journey would have added enormously to her burden. This leaves us free to believe that the two children to whom the people of Scotland shewed such kindness were the second and third daughters. The fourth we know was born in (or near) London early in December, 1592. Since we have such strong reasons for believing in Penry's continuous residence in Scotland between October, 1590, and the autumn of 1592, and since it is necessary to exclude one of the three oldest children from the kind ministrations of the Scottish people, the remaining of the eldest child with its grandparents, when Helen Penry went on her hazardous journey to dwell with her fugitive husband among strangers, is the most natural hypothesis that suggests itself to us.

WILLIAM PIERCE.

## Early Nonconformist Academies : Sheriff Hales

### II

ONE of the most important of the provincial academies was that at Sheriff Hales, near Newport in Shropshire, conducted by the Rev. John Woodhouse. Unfortunately our information respecting him is very incomplete ; we know neither the place nor the date of his birth, nor his college, nor the time of his entering or leaving the University. He must, however, have been at Cambridge during the period of Puritan ascendancy ; having previously, it would seem, experienced a spiritual awakening in very early life. Dr. D. Williams, who preached his funeral sermon, says that "he was so remarkably serious as to be admitted into the intimate society of some of the gravest divines of that place." But he removed thence while still young, and became private chaplain to one Lady Grantham in Nottinghamshire. He held this post for several years, devoting much time to study, but also, as occasion offered, preaching and visiting the sick. Calamy says "God was pleased to give a signal blessing to his ministry. About the Vale of Belvoir he diffused saving light, and was an instrument in the conversion of great numbers." Not holding any ecclesiastical benefice he cannot be strictly counted among the ejected ministers ; but the Act of Uniformity effectually prevented him from taking office in the Established Church. Conformity, says Dr. Williams, "he disallowed upon maturest thoughts, and few were so well qualified to manage that controversy as he was."

He seems to have resided in Nottinghamshire or Leicestershire till 1667, when he married Mary, daughter of William Hubbard of Rearsby who had been a major in the army under Monk. She is described as "a lady of singular piety, as well as handsome fortune." It is probable that soon after his marriage he became tenant of the manor house at Sheriff Hales, which was vacated in 1667 by the death of Francis Fowler, the adopted son and heir of the last of the Levesons—the old family to whom it formerly belonged. It is not, however, certain when Mr. Woodhouse took up his residence there. There are indications that he was at Saxleby, Leicestershire, in 1669, and at Wartnaby in the same county in 1670, 1672, and 1675; but these may have been temporary visits. On the other hand the first *certain* evidence of his presence at Sheriff Hales is in 1676.

It was presumably about this time, or a little earlier, that he commenced his academy. "He piously managed his house as a nursery for heaven, as well as a school for promoting learning; and the many excellent ministers in the church, and eminent gentlemen both qualified and disposed to serve their country, who were educated by him, were sufficient proofs of his ability for his office and fidelity in it. Many of his pupils owned him as their spiritual father. Possessed of an ample fortune, he educated several students entirely at his own expense, and was liberal to his brethren who stood in need of relief." We are told of threatenings, losses, fines and imprisonments which he endured, but which failed to divert him from the course which he had adopted only after ample consideration; of these persecutions, however, no details have come down to us.

In Toulmin's *History of the Protestant Dissenters*



may be found a full account of the course of study pursued at Sheriff Hales, with the names of the authors read in each department. This was derived from papers furnished to Dr. Toulmin by a descendant of Mr. Woodhouse. It may suffice to say that, in addition to Latin, Greek, Hebrew and mathematics, instruction was given in history, geography, and natural science, logic, rhetoric, ethics and metaphysics, as well as in anatomy, law and divinity. *All the students* were required to read Grotius *De Veritate Religionis Christianae*, Wilkins's *Principles of Natural Religion*, Baxter's *Reasons of the Christian Religion*, Bates *On the Existence of God, Immortality of the Soul, &c.*, Fleming's *Confirming Work*, Stillingfleet's *Origines Sacrae*, with parts of Bochart. The divinity students also read the *Westminster Confession of Faith* and *Larger Catechism*, Corbet's *Humble Endeavour*, Ruffonius's *Compendium of Turretin*, Calvin's *Institutes*, Pareus on Ursinus, Baxter's *End of Controversy* and *Methodus Theologiae*, Williams's *Gospel Truth*, Le Blane's *Theses*, and Dixon's *Therapeutica Sacra*. Once a week the tutor was accustomed to read to the senior class a didactic or polemical lecture either on Wollebius's *Compendium Theologiae*, or on Ames's *Medulla Theologiae*; and on Sunday mornings, at the time of family prayer, the junior class were expected to give an account of some part of Vincent's *Exposition of the Shorter Catechism*. The students were accustomed to hold "disputations after a logical form"; and were practised in English composition in the form of letters and speeches. The divinity students were also exercised "in analysing some verses of a psalm or chapter, drawing up skeletons or heads of sermons, and short schemes of prayer and devotional specimens according to Bishop Wilkins's method; and were called on to pray in

the family in the evening of the Lord's day, and to set psalms to two or three tunes."

It may be worth while to enumerate the author chiefly studied in the arts course at Sheriff Hales

- In Mathematics. Galtruchius, Gassendi, Gunter, Leybourn Moxon, "and Euclid's Elements, which were read late."
- In Natural Science. De Carte's *Principia*, De Stair, Heereboord Magirus, Rhegius, Rohault.
- In Logic. Burgedicius, with Heereboord's commentary Sanderson, Wallis, Ramus, and his commentator Downam for private perusal.
- In Rhetoric. Quintilian, Radeau, Vossius.
- In Metaphysics. Baronius, Facchaeus, Frommenius; also Blank's *Theses* and Ward's *Determinationes*.
- In Ethics. Eustachius, Heereboord, More, Whitby.
- In Geography. Eachard.
- In History. Puffendorf.
- In Anatomy. Gibson, Bartholine, and Blancardi *Anatomia Reformata*.

The law students read *Doctor and Student*, Littleton's *Tenures*, and Coke upon Littleton.

The Hebrew text books used were Bythner's grammar, and his *Lyra Prophetica*.

A leading characteristic of Mr. Woodhouse's tuition seems to have been thoroughness. Each day an account of the preceding day's lecture was required before a new lecture was read; most authors were read over twice; and on Saturdays the business of the past five days was reviewed. To the lay students various practical exercises were occasionally assigned, such as land surveying, constructing dials, or dissections. To the divinity students "a plain and familiar way of preaching" was constantly recommended, as best suiting "a faithful diligent aim at usefulness in saving immortal souls."

The last appearance of Mr. Woodhouse's name on the parish register of Sheriff Hales is in 1691, when his daughter Mary was married to a Mr. Oliver Cromwell. The identity of this gentleman

is not clearly ascertained ; but he was probably the son of the Rev. John Cromwell, of Magdalen College, Cambridge ; who was born at Barnby Moor, Notts., settled first at Royston, then at Claworth, Notts., and occasionally preached before the court of the Protector. He returned to his benefice in 1660, but was ejected in 1662 ; was imprisoned at Newark for some years without trial for an alleged share in the "Yorkshire Plot" ; was afterwards the guest of Bishop Reynolds at Norwich ; and died at his birthplace in April, 1685.

Oliver the son of John Cromwell had by his wife Mary a son John, born at Basford, 2nd June, 1696, and voted in a Nottinghamshire election in 1698. Whether these Cromwells were at all related to the family of the Protector is uncertain ; if so, the connection was remote.

It is *supposed* that Mr. Woodhouse was assisted in the work of tuition by the Rev. Samuel Beresford. He was a native of Shrewsbury, and a student at King's College, Cambridge, where he graduated B.A. in 1651, and M.A. in 1656. He was ordained at Wirksworth 21st July, 1652 ; and ministered at St. Werbergh's, Derby, from May, 1657, to the ejection in 1662. On the passing of the Five Mile Act he removed to Shrewsbury ; where he commenced a school, but failed owing to his lack of disciplinary power. He then took up his abode at Weston, near Shiffnal, under the patronage of Lady Wilbraham ; and died there 16th October, 1697.

Not long before this Mr. Woodhouse was constrained by "some unhappy circumstances" to break up the academy. The facts are not clearly stated ; but indications point to bodily enfeeblement by some painful distemper. This compulsory retirement occasioned him keen distress. "Now," said he, "every field is unpleasant,

for I fear I shall live to no purpose." The break-up of the academy was presumably late in 1696 ; for on the 15th February, 1697, a lease of the manor was granted to the Rev. Edward Aston, rector of Kemberton.

The fear of uselessness which distressed Mr. Woodhouse was of no long continuance. In a short time he was invited to succeed Dr. Annesley as pastor of a congregation in Little St. Helen's, Bishopsgate, of which he took charge before the end of 1697. His ministry there, though of short continuance, was abundantly fruitful, and ended only with his life. A few days before his death he "took a kind of solemn farewell of his people in a sermon which he preached with his usual warmth." The date of his death is not recorded ; but it was toward the end of 1700.

As a theologian he appears to have been sound without narrowness. Dr. Williams says : "In disputed articles of faith . . . he was . . . skilful as well as orthodox ; though disallowing extremes, particularly as to the Extent of the death of Christ, and Conditionality of the Covenant, with several things depending thereupon." His only published works are *A Sermon on the death of Mrs. Jane Papillon*, 1698 ; *A Sermon before the Society for Reformation of Manners*, 1697 ; and *A Catalogue of Sins, highly useful for Self-Examination, &c.* 1699.

The following list of ministers trained by Woodhouse at Sheriff Hales is chiefly derived from the Wilson MSS. at New College ; but is supplemented from other sources. As there is no evidence on which to found a chronological arrangement, it seems best to place the names alphabetically.

Benjamin Bennett, Newcastle-on-Tyne : author of *The Christian Oratory, &c.*, died 21st September, 1726, aged 52.

Chewning Blackmore : son of W. Blackmore, M.A., ejected from St. Peter's, Cornhill ; minister at Worcester ; died 1742.



SHERIFF HALES MANOR HOUSE

*Photo kindly lent by the Rev. A. T. Michell, M.A., F.S.A.*

- Richard Carver : minister at Stretton-under-Fosse ; still living in 1745.
- Matthew Clark : son of Matthew Clark ejected from Narborough ; minister at Miles Lane ; died 27th March, 1726.
- Mr Doughty* (name added in another hand at the foot of the list among the Wilson MSS.)
- George Flower : domestic chaplain to Mr. Foley, afterwards first dissenting minister at Stourbridge ; ordained 14th April, 1698 ; died 1st June, 1733, aged 60.
- Daniel Greenwood : minister at West Bromwich, afterwards at Birmingham and Oldbury ; died about 1730.
- Jonathan Hand : assistant to Chewning Blackmore at Worcester ; ordained 30th May, 1699 ; died December, 1719.
- Hayley : minister at Leominster ; died 1719.
- John Newman : minister at Salter's Hall ; ordained 20th October, 1697 ; died 25th July, 1741.
- John Norris : minister at Welford, Northants ; died 8th February, 1738, aged 63.
- Edward Oasland : son of Henry Oasland ejected from Bewdley, minister in the same town ; died 1750.
- Samuel Philips : minister at Bromyard ; died 1721.
- John Ratcliff : minister at Jamaica Road, Rotherhithe ; ordained 1705 ; died 16th February, 1728.
- Benjamin Robinson : ordained at Findern, October, 1688 ; opened a grammar school there ; removed to Hungerford 1693, and trained a few students there for the ministry ; removed to London 1701, succeeding Mr. Woodhouse at Little St. Helen's ; died 30th April, 1724.
- Paul Russel : itinerant in Staffordshire and Worcestershire ; associated with work at Coseley, but usually lived at Gnossall.
- Ferdinando Shaw : son of S. Shaw, ejected from Long Whatton, Leicestershire ; minister at Derby from 1697 ; died 1743, aged 72.
- John Southwell : nephew of Richard Southwell ejected from Baswick, Staffordshire, successively chaplain to Ph. Foley, Esq., assistant to Mr. Woodhouse, schoolmaster at Kidderminster, and minister at Dudley and Newbury, where he died about 1694. [See below.]
- John Spilsbury : son of J. Spilsbury, M.A., ejected from Bromsgrove ; minister at Kidderminster. He was nephew and executor of Dr. John Hall, bishop of Bristol ; died 31st January, 1727, aged 60.
- Joseph Stokes : minister at Dudley, 1701-43.
- James Thompson : minister at Bromsgrove from 1699 ; died 1729.
- William Tong : (also studied under Frankland at Natland), ordained 1687, minister at Knutsford, Chester, Coventry, and London ; died 21st March, 1727, aged 65.

Robert Travers : native of " Laniboy" (? Llanboidy), Carmarthen-shire ; studied also under James Owen at Oswestry ; minister at Longdon and Lichfield ; ordained 27th September, 1692, still living in 1747.

James Warner : minister at Tewkesbury to 1737, afterwards at Walsall ; died 1741.

John Warren : chaplain to Ph. Foley, Esq., near Kidderminster ; then for nearly fifty years at Coventry, as assistant, co-pastor, and sole pastor ; died 1742, aged 70.

Edward Warren : his brother ; minister at Birdbush, Wilts. ; living in 1736.

Wm. Willets : minister at Dudley from 1694 ; died Mar. 2, 1700.

William Woodhouse : son of John Woodhouse, is not mentioned in the list, but most likely received tuition from his father. He was ordained for Rearsby, Leicestershire, 21st August, 1702.

The lay students were very numerous, the total number in residence being at one time above forty ; but only the following names have been preserved :

Robert Harley, afterwards Earl of Oxford ; political celebrity, and collector of the *Harleian MSS.* ; died 1724, aged 63.

Edward Harley, his brother.

Henry St. John, afterwards Viscount Bolingbroke, political adventurer ; died 1751, aged 79.

Thomas Foley, afterwards Lord Foley.

Thomas Hunt of Boreaton ; friend of Philip and Matthew Henry. T. Winnington.

— Leechmere.

— Yates of Deanford ; living in 1764, the last survivor of the Sheriff Hales academy.

NOTE.—Toulmin gives a tradition that the academy was carried on for some time by Mr. Southwell, and mentions Dr. Wm. Harris of Poor Jewry Lane (died 1740) and Thomas Leavesly of Little Baddow, afterwards of Old Jewry (died 1737), as among his students. But Southwell died before the removal of Mr. Woodhouse, having left the neighbourhood at least ten years earlier. If he "carried on" the academy it must have been as *locum tenens* during the absence—perhaps imprisonment—of Mr. Woodhouse ; at which time Dr. Harris would be a boy of ten years old or less. He and Mr. Leavesly *may* perhaps have been pupils of Southwell at Kidderminster or Dudley ; but the statement is most likely to be a mistake.

[For several of the facts above related we are indebted to the Rev. A. T. Michell, M.A., F.S.A., vicar of Sheriff Hales.]

[With reference to the London academies, the Rev. G. Lyon Turner furnishes the following additional information :

Charles Morton (p. 278) obtained licences for himself as a Presbyterian teacher, and for "a room in his dwelling-house at Kennington, in Lambeth" as a Presbyterian meeting-place, on 11th April, 1672; and for his house at St. Ives on 22nd July. In each case the application was made three times before the licence was issued. [These dates make it probable that the academy at Newington Green was not commenced before 1673].

William Wickens (p. 282) was licensed on 16th May, 1672, "to be a Pr. teacher in the house of John Forth in Hackney in Middlesex"; the house was also licensed as a Presbyterian meeting-place.

Thomas Doolittle (p. 286). In Sheldon's *Return of Conventicles*, 1669, he is reported as having a congregation of 300 every Sunday, in Mugwell Street, in a house built on purpose. On the issue of the Indulgence he was one of the first to obtain a licence. It is dated 2nd April, 1672; and is recorded in the Entry Book as "allowing a certain Room adjoining the dwelling house of Thomas Doelittle in Mugwell Street to be a place for a Presbyterian teacher. Desired by Mr. Ja. Innes, & sent to him 4 Apr. 72." This Mr. Innes was the ejected minister of St. Breok, Cornwall; he now lived in London, had some interest with Lauderdale, and enjoyed the personal favour of the king.

Thomas Vincent (p. 289) is represented in the Conventicle returns of 1669 as having a congregation of 500 "in Hand Alley, in Bpsgate Street, in a spacious Roome new built with galleries." He seems also to have occasionally visited Wiltshire; where he figures as one of several preachers "at St. Lawrence Chapel, & at Mr. Buckley's house" at Warminster, to a promiscuous congregation of 200 or 300 Presbyterians, Independents, and Anabaptists; also to a meeting of 400 or 500 in a barn at Hornington.

Edward Veal (p. 289) is mentioned both in the Conventicle returns of 1669, and in the licence documents, in such a way as to suggest that there was something unusual about him. In the former we have, written across the page, disregarding the columns, "Also one Mr. Veale an Independent hath lately set up a meeting in this parish, and first solicited for subscriptions before he would come." By 1672 he had evidently made himself a name in Wapping; for the notice in the Entry book reads :



Wapping Congr.	{	The howse of . . . . near the hermitage by Wapping licensed to be a Congr. Meeting-place. 13 Apr. 1672.	
Veale Pr		{	Licence to Edmund Veale to be a Pr. Tr. in the howse known by all in Globe Alley in Wapping
Wapping			13 Apr. 1672.

It will be seen that there is a little discrepancy between these entries ; but Globe Alley was "near the Hermitage," and no place was licensed as Presbyterian.

Some additional facts of interest are furnished by the controversial pamphlets of Samuel Wesley against the Nonconformist academies, and those of Samuel Palmer in their defence.

Wesley, then aged about 16, came to London in March, 1678, intending to study under Gale ; but finding him "newly deceased" was placed under the tuition of Veal. With him he was for two years "reading logic and ethics." After which, "being prosecuted by the neighbouring justices, he broke up his house, and quitted that employ." This fixes the commencement of Veal's academy some years earlier than is commonly stated ; and its termination in 1680 or -81.

Wesley then removed to Morton's academy at Newington Green, where he remained nearly two years longer ; proceeding to Oxford in August, 1683. Of Morton's house he says it had a fine garden, with bowling green and fishpond ; and within a laboratory and all kinds of mathematical instruments and scientific apparatus. "We had a list of all who had been entered of our society—some hundreds it amounted to, but I cannot be precise in the number—with a distinction of the faculties and employments of everyone, whether law, divinity, physick, or what else." "Our tutors, having no power, could use but little discipline ; we having besides, for what order we had, a sort of democratical government amongst us ; every one having power to propose a law, and all laws

carried by the ballot as the greater number determined, and pains and pecuniary mulcts accordingly inflicted, as it seemed best to our own discretion. We had two houses at Newington, our number 40 or 50, over or under." It is not quite clear whether this means that Morton's students occupied two houses, or that they and Gale's together numbered 40 or 50.

It is to be regretted that Wesley gives no intelligible account of the curriculum or of the text books employed. He says indeed that among the books recommended were Ames's *Medulla*, *Altare Damascenum*, *Bellarminus Enervatus*, *Charnock*, and Baxter's books of controversy and devotion; adding that most of the students had Milton's *Defence* and *Eikonoclastes*, which the tutors did not direct them to, and other books "which the tutors knew not of." When pressed for further details, he strung together in doggerel Latin verse the names of several obscure writers, adding that he could give more if necessary.

If Wesley's statements are at all reliable we may gather that two or three students out of the 40 or 50 were men of loose morals: also that many of them cherished advanced liberal if not republican sentiments. In this, he acknowledges, they were not encouraged by the tutors. Mr. Morton always rebuked language implying disaffection to the government, and taught that "it was none of their business to censure such as God had placed over them."

Mr. Morton was much harassed in the renewed persecution which broke out in 1682. He was formally excommunicated, "and a *capias* issued out against him, on which he was taken; but while he was in custody of an officer, before he was actually committed to prison, the officer in whose house he lay accidentally died during his stay

there ; on which, there being none to detain him, he returned home."

Being in danger of a second *capias* he concealed himself some time in the house of a friend, "leaving the senior pupils to instruct the juniors" — a course which Mr. Wesley evidently thought highly improper, for he speedily disassociated himself from the academy and from Nonconformity ; and did not feel any obligation to refund the exhibitions he had received from Gale's trustees.

The property which Gale had put in trust was to furnish exhibitions of £10 each for young students designed for the Nonconformist ministry. So strong was his confidence "that times would speedily alter," and that learning acquired at a private academy would, ere long, be allowed to qualify for degrees in the national universities, that he wished the exhibitioners to enter their names at some Oxford or Cambridge college, but not actually to matriculate or take the prescribed oaths. This statement rests on the authority of S. Wesley ; who says that an exhibition was offered to him by "Dr. O." (? Owen) on such conditions.

Concerning Rowe's academy S. Wesley writes, "Mr. R. lived, when I first knew his people, at Hackney. After that he removed with his pupils to London and lodged in Rowse's house, who was executed in West's plot for high treason ; whither his pupils used to come daily, and he read to them, as well as afterwards in other parts of the town. Since . . . I hear that he lived in Jewin Street ; and now or very lately (1703) in Ropemaker's Alley, in Moorfields."

It should be observed that Wesley's three pamphlets are characterized by intense bitterness against the party which he had deserted.]

# List of Members

399

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

- Adeney, W. F., Rev. Prof., M.A., D.D.  
 Andover (U.S.A.) Theological  
 Seminary
- Andrews, William, Esq.  
 Ashworth, W., Esq.  
 Astbury, F. T., Rev.  
 Atkinson, S. B., Esq., M.A., M.B., J.P.  
 Avery, John, Esq., F.S.S.  
 Baptist Union, The  
 Barrett, Geo., Rev., A.T.S.  
 Bartlet, J. V., Rev. Prof., M.A., D.D.  
 Basden, D. F., Esq.  
 Bate, Frank, Rev., M.A.  
 Bax, A. Ridley, Esq.  
 Beaumont, E., Esq.  
 Bell, J. Barton, Rev.  
 Boag, G. W., Esq.  
 Bragg, A. W., Esq.  
 Brown, J., Rev. Dr., B.A.  
*H* Brown, W. H., Esq.  
 Brownen, G., Esq.  
 Burrage, Champlin, Esq.  
 Cater, F. Ives, Rev., A.T.S.  
 Chevalier, J., M.  
 Clapham, J. A., Esq.  
 Clark, J. H., Esq., J.P.  
 Clarkson, W. F., Rev., B.A.  
 Claydon, George S., Esq.  
 Cocks, J., Esq.  
 Congregational Library, Boston, Mass.  
 Crippen, T. G., Rev.  
 Dale, A. W. W., Esq., M.A.  
 Davies, J. Alden, Rev.  
 Davis, C. H., Rev.  
 Davis, J. E., Esq.  
 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. W., Esq.  
*L* Dore, S. L., Esq., J.P.  
 Durant, W. F., Rev.  
*H* Ebbs, A. B., Esq.  
 Ebbs, W., Rev.  
 Ellis, C. W., Esq.  
 Evans, A. J., Esq., M.A.  
 Evans, G. Eyre, Rev.  
 Evans, Jon. L., Esq.  
 Evans, R. P., Esq.  
 Firth, C. H., Prof., M.A., LL.D.  
 Flower, J. E., Rev., M.A.  
 Forsyth, P. T., Rev., Dr.  
 Friends' Reference Library  
 Galloway, Sydney V., Esq.  
 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, C. W., Rev.  
 Hall, W. H., Esq.  
 Harris, W. J., Esq.  
 Harrison, G. W., Esq.  
 Harwood, W. Hardy, Rev.  
 Hawkins, F. H., Esq., LL.B.  
 Henderson, A. D., Esq.  
 Hepworth, Frank N., Esq.  
 Hepworth, J., Esq.  
 Hepworth, T. M., Esq.  
 Heslop, R. Oliver, Esq., M.A., F.S.A.  
 Hewgill, W., Rev., M.A.  
 Hitchcock, W. M., Esq.  
 Hodgett, C. M., Esq.  
 Holt, Edwyn, Esq.  
 Hooper, A. E., Rev.  
*L* Hounsom, W. A., Esq., J.P.  
 Huckle, Attwood, Esq.  
 Iliff, John S., Esq.  
 Jackson, S., Esq.  
 James, Norman G. B., Esq.  
*H* Johnston, W., Esq.  
 Jones, A. G., Esq.  
 Keep, H. F., Esq.  
 Key, James, Rev.  
 King, Jos., Esq., M.A.  
*H* Lancashire Independent College  
 (Goodyear, C., Esq.)  
 Lawrence, Eric A., Rev.  
 Lester, E. R., Esq.  
 Lewis, D. Morgan, Prof., M.A.  
 Lewis, Geo. G., Esq.  
 Lewis, H. Elvet, Rev., M.A.  
 Lewys-Lloyd, E., Esq.  
 Linell, W. H., Esq.  
 Lovatt, J., Esq.  
 Low, G. D., Rev., M.A.  
 Macfadyen, D., Rev., M.A.  
 Mackintosh, R., Rev. Prof., D.D.  
 Manchester College, Oxford  
 Manchester Free Libraries  
 Massey, Stephen, Esq.  
 May, H. A., Esq.  
*H* McClure, J. D., Dr.  
 Minshull, John, Esq.  
 Mottram, W., Rev.  
 Mumford, A. A., Esq., M.D.  
 Musgrave, B., Esq.  
*H* New College, Hampstead, N.W.  
 (Staines, Howard, Rev.)

- New College, Edinburgh  
 Nightingale, E., Rev.  
 H Palmer, C. Ray, Rev. Dr.  
 Palmer, W. M., Esq.  
 Parnaby, H., Rev., M.A.  
 Phillips, Maberley, Esq., F.S.A.  
 Pierce, W., Rev.  
 Pitt, Walter, Mrs.  
 Powicke, F. J., Rev., Ph.D.  
 Poynter, J. J., Rev.  
 Pugh, Mrs.  
 Rawcliffe, Edwin B., Rev.  
 Reed, E. P. S., Esq.  
 Rees, J. Machreth, Rev.  
 Richards, D. M., Esq.  
 Ritchie, D. L., Rev.  
 Robinson, W., Rev.  
 Rollason, Arthur A., Esq.  
 Rudge, C., Rev.  
 H Rylands, Mrs., D.Litt.  
 Scamell, J., Esq.  
 Sell, H., Esq.  
 Serle, S., Esq.  
 Shaw, H., Rev.  
 Silcock, P. Howard, Esq., B.A.  
 Simon, D. W., Rev., D.D.  
 Smith, Norman H., Rev.  
 H Smith, W. J., Esq., M.A.  
 Smyrk, C. Walt, Rev.  
 H Spicer, Albert, Sir, Bart., M.P.  
 H Spicer, George, Esq., M.A., J.P.  
 Standerwick, J. W., Esq.  
 Stanier, W. H., Esq.  
 Sutton, C. W., Esq.
- Sykes, A. W., Esq.  
 H Thacker, Fred. S., Esq.  
 Thacker, Henry, Esq.  
 Thomas, D. Lleufer, Esq.  
 Thomas, John, Sir.  
 Thomas, Wm., Rev.  
 H Thompson, J., Esq.  
 Thorpe, F. H., Esq.  
 Titchmarsh, E. H., Rev., M.A.  
 H Toms, C. W., Esq.  
 Turner, G. Lyon, Rev., M.A.  
 Tyson, R. G., Esq.  
 U.S.A. Congress Library.  
 Wallis, R. B., Esq., J.P.  
 Walmsby, L. S., Esq.  
 Watkinson, J., Esq.  
 H Webster, Isaac, Esq.  
 Whitebrook, J. L., Esq.  
 L Whitley, A. W., Esq.  
 Whitley, W. T., Rev., LL.D.  
 Wicks, G. H., Esq.  
 H Wilkinson, W., Esq.  
 Williams's Library.  
 Williams, Mrs.  
 Williamson, David, Esq., J.P.  
 Williamson, David, jr., Esq.  
 Wilson, T., Esq.  
 Windeatt, E., Esq.  
 Wing, Lewis, Esq.  
 Winterstoke, The Rt. Hon. Lord  
 Wontner, A. J., Esq.  
 Wood, Leonard B., Esq., M.A.  
 Woodall, H. J., Esq.  
 Young, Hugh P., Rev.