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Editorial

The ninth Annual Meeting was held in the Council Room of the Memorial Hall on Wednesday, 12th May; the Rev. John Brown, D.D., in the chair. The Rev. W. Pierce offered prayer.

After the transaction of routine business a discussion took place on the best method of increasing our membership. It was resolved: (1) That a circular be drawn up, setting forth the work already done by the Society, and that which is still desirable; and that copies be sent to all our members for distribution. (2) That our President be requested to bring the Society *officially* to the notice of the Congregational Union through its Secretary. Resolved on the motion of the Rev. W. Pierce, seconded by Mr. Avery, that the officers of the Society be re-appointed, with thanks for past services; and that steps be taken for the constitution of a practicable committee to meet for consultation once or twice a year; the officers meantime to act as executive.

A letter was read from Professor D. Courtenay Kenny, of Cambridge, asking for an expression of opinion as to the proposed removal from a place which is now private property to the ground attached to Emmanuel church, Cambridge, of the bones of Joseph Oddy and William Holcroft, both ejected ministers, and the founders of the "old dissent" in Cambridgeshire. The project was unanimously approved.

* *

In accordance with the first of the above mentioned resolutions, our members will receive with the present issue several copies of a circular letter, which they are earnestly requested to give or send to friends likely to be interested in the objects of our Society.

* *

We have pleasure in very heartily congratulating one of our members, the Rev. B. Nightingale, M.A., of Preston, on the degree conferred on him by the Manchester University for original research. For nearly twenty years the world has been indebted to him for the labour expended on his monumental *History of Lancashire Nonconformity*; and we trust he may long be spared to increase our obligations by unfolding new stores of hidden knowledge.

The Yorkshire United College is also to be congratulated on the appointment of the Rev. A. J. Grieve, M.A., B.D., to the professorial chair lately vacated by the Rev. G. Currie Martin, M.A., B.D. Professor Grieve is well known to the members of our Society for his admirably edited reprint of Penry's *Aequity*; we hope he will have opportunity hereafter to do other work of the same kind and of equal excellence.

* *

We are glad to announce that the late Rev. Bryan Dale's posthumous book on *Yorkshire Puritanism and Early Nonconformity* is in the press, and will shortly be ready for issue. It will contain a map and six or eight other illustrations, including an as yet unpublished portrait of Richard Frankland.

* *

The centenary of Queen Street Congregational church, Wolverhampton, has been appropriately commemorated by the publication of a memorial volume written by Mr. H. A. May. It is a notable record of Christian work well and faithfully done by a long succession of ministers and deacons, several of whom attained to eminence. It contains above thirty portraits, and numerous other illustrations.

The Puritan Family of Wilmer: their Alliances and Connections

IN the year 1480 a certain William Wyllmer, of Withybrooke and Ryton-on-Dunsmore, near Coventry, and his wife Johanna, were members of the Guild of Knowle, in the county of Warwick. On 20th September, 1486, Sir John Weston, Kt., Prior of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem, granted to this William Wyllmer the manor or farm of Ryton for a term of years at an annual rental. Richard Wylmer, the son of William, married Joan Goodere or Goodyere, of a very ancient family of that name at Bagington, near Coventry. He died at Ryton on the 24th May, 1527; and portions of his original sepulchral brass are in the possession of the present writer, his lineal descendant.

A great-grandson of this Richard Wylmer, by name George Wilmer, was living at West Ham, co. Essex, in the last quarter of the sixteenth century. He was a wealthy esquire, who had made a considerable fortune in trade; and contributed £25 towards the defence of this country at the time of the Spanish Armada. This George Wilmer, who died on 30th January, 1593/4, appears to have been married four times. By his *first* wife he had an eldest son, Andrew Wilmer (1567-1624) of Stratford-le-Bow and Totteridge; who in early life had evidently come under the influence of Thomas Cartwright, Job Throckmorton, and other eminent Puritans—presumably when visiting his uncle John Wilmer of Shrewley in Hatton parish, co. Warwick, in which county he possessed property. While the father, George Wilmer, was probably on friendly terms with the Puritan party, the terms of his will—in which he leaves the enormous sum (for those days) of £500 for the “necessaraye expenses to be disbursed in the Christianlike accomplishment of my funerall”—are wholly inconsistent with Puritan traditions.

Andrew Wilmer, however, made up for his father's deficiencies in this respect, by his marriage, about 1595, with Mary, daughter of Thomas Cartwright¹ (1535-1603), master of Lord Leicester's hospital at Warwick, the distinguished scholar, author, and pious divine: “Father of the Puritans.”

¹ D.N.B., ix., 226.

Cartwright's wife Alice, whom he married in 1577, was a daughter of John and Elizabeth Stubbs of Buxton, Norfolk; and sister to the famous Puritan zealot, John Stubbs² the younger (1543?-1591), who in 1579 sacrificed his right hand for writing *The Discoverie of a Gaping Gulph wherinto England will be swallowed up by another French marriage, if the Lord forbid not the Banes by letting her Maiestie see the Sin and Punishment thereof*.

Andrew Wilmer, who was one of Cartwright's executors, left a distinctly Puritan will, dated the year of his death, 1624. He names his stepmother, Dame Anne Needham, the now wife of Sir Robert Needham, Kt. (later first Viscount Kilmorey); his cousin, John Wilmer of Norrell, co. Bedford, the Puritan incumbent there, of whom hereafter; and the Puritan ministers and preachers of Hatton, co. Warwick, Totteridge, Redborne, North Mymms, and Braintree; also Mrs. Rogers, widow of the Rev. Rogers of Stratford-le-Bow, Mr. Robert Smith, dwelling near to Moorgate, London, preacher, Mr. Wyng, preacher, etc.

Of Andrew Wilmer's family, his younger son, John Wilmer (1605-1655), of London, Stratford-le-Bow, Copredy (co. Oxford), and of the Inner Temple, married in 1625 Mary Sadler of Chilton Foliatt and Wroughton, co. Wilts., of the family of that notorious divine, Anthony Sadler³ (fl. 1600-1680), son of Thomas Sadler of Chilton, and of whom A. Wood gives an account in his *Athenae Oxonienses* [vol. ii. cols. 675-6, edn. 1721].

Moreover, John Wilmer's wife, Mary Sadler, was sister to Bridget, second wife of Anthony Luther, Esq., of Kelvedon, Essex, of kin to the Reformer; and John named his sixth son Luther (1650-1679). His fifth son was Cartwright Wilmer (1649-1721/2), who was vicar of Shotteswell, co. Warwick, and rector of Ellesborough, Bucks. His son Cartwright Wilmer (1701-1765) resided at St. Michael's, Cornhill, an interesting link with his great namesake and great-great-grandfather Thomas Cartwright.

George Wilmer's *second wife* was Susan Cole, by whom he had two sons and three daughters. Of these sons the first, George Wilmer, junr., was born about 1583, being nearly 17 years younger than his brother Andrew. He was a pensioner of Trinity College, Cambridge, where he graduated B.A. In the *Liber Memorialis*, in the famous library of this college, is an account of a valuable collection of books and manuscripts presented by him. Several of these still remain, having the Wilmer arms, crest, and motto handsomely embossed upon their covers. In 1601-2 this George Wilmer was admitted of the Inner Temple, and in 1616 obtained from the king a grant of the office of collector of the petty customs imposed on the goods of merchant strangers, and on foreign hops, in the port of London; the former of which offices he resigned in 1625.

² D.N.B., iv., 118.

³ *idem*, i., 109.

About 1606 he married Margery Thwenge, daughter and heiress of Marmaduke Thwenge, Esq., lord of the manor of Upper Helmsley, co. York, and a representative of the junior branch of the ancient baronial house of Thwenge of Kilton Castle, co. York. Of this family, descended from Peter de Brus, allied to Robert Bruce, king of Scotland, was the celebrated Sir Robert de Thweng, or Thwing⁴ (1205?-1268?), the opponent of Henry III's foreign ecclesiastics; he joined Richard of Cornwall's crusade in 1240, and was the champion of the oppressed and starving poor. Marmaduke Thwenge died 1589, aged about 29; and his widow Anne, daughter of John Reddish, Esq., of Reddish, co. Chester, remarried with Alvery Birkby, gent., of York, who died 1618.

Wilmer's connection, through his mother-in-law, with the Reddish family, introduced him to a notable member of the Puritan party. John Reddish was nearly related to—probably a brother of—Master Alexander Redich, a religious gentleman of Reddish, near Stockport, and New Hall, near Burton-on-Trent, who, with his excellent wife, Mrs. Katharine Redich, was the intimate and much loved friend of William Bradshaw⁵ (1571-1618), the distinguished and pious Puritan divine, and the warm friend and admirer of Cartwright. Arthur Hildersham⁶ (1563-1602), another distinguished Puritan divine, who was disinherited by his Romanist father for becoming a Puritan, was an intimate friend of the Reddishes, and of the Cartwright, Bradshaw, and Wilmer clan. He was fellow of Christ's College, 1586, and vicar of Ashby-de-la-Zouch in 1593. He, as well as Bradshaw, have full biographies in Clarke's *Lives of Thirty-two English Divines*.

Upon the marriage of George Wilmer and Margery Thwenge, she being then a girl of about 18, their friend William Bradshaw preached the wedding sermon. It was published in 1620 by Bradshaw's friend and biographer, Thomas Gataker⁷ (1574-1654) of Rotherhithe, the Puritan divine, and one of the most learned men of his day. It forms a quarto pamphlet, a copy of which is in the present writer's possession. The title is as follows:—*A Marriage Feast. A sermon on the former part of the second chapter of the Evangelist John; by that learned and judicious divine, Mr. William Bradshaw, sometime fellow of Sidney College in Cambridge. London, printed by Edmund Griffin for Fulke Clifton. 1620.* The sermon occupies 18 pages, and has prefixed a dedication of 6 pages "To the worshipfull and Religious Mr. George Wilmer Esquire and Mrs. Margeret Wilmer his wife, increase of spirituall grace, and mutual comfort in Christ Jesus." It is signed "yours in Christ, Thomas Gataker." The editor says: "Worshipfull and beloved in Christ; At the solemne knitting of you together was this Sermon preached by that worthy servant of God, and our common friend,

⁴ D.N.B., lvi. 362.

⁵ D.N.B., vi., 182.

⁶ D.N.B., xxvi., 362.

⁷ D.N.B. xxi., 60.

now with God ; then first (as I have heard him say) performing that office that then he did. Which of late lighting upon among other his loose papers, I thought it would not be amiss rather to send it abroad than to suffer it (as it might soon perhaps do otherwise) to miscarry and so perish."

George Wilmer died 6th May, 1626, aged 42 $\frac{3}{4}$ years ; and was buried "by the chancel side" of West Ham church ; where was formerly "a gravestone of grey marble, at the head an escutcheon of two parts," with a Latin inscription which informs us that he was "a man most excellent and beloved." By his will of 1626 he appoints as executors his friends Abraham Jacob and John Jacob, esquires ; the latter was afterwards known as Sir John Jacob, knight and baronet, a distinguished Royalist. The witnesses to his will were his brother-in-law, Sir Anthony Weldon, and Edward Smith, Esq., of the king's household ; also Edmund Layfield, B.D. The latter married Bridget, half-sister to Archbishop Laud ; and was father to a celebrated ritualist, Dr. Edward Layfield, M.A., of whom Walker gives a long account (*Sufferings of the Clergy*, part ii. pp. 48-9, 1714).

Mistress Margery Wilmer, formerly Thwenge, remarried prior to 1630, and as his first wife, the Hon. Henry Fairfax of Bridlington, co. York, second son of Sir Thomas first Viscount Fairfax of Elmley, co. Tipperary. She died 1632, aged 44, and was buried in Stratford-le-Bow church.

Amongst many distinguished persons who were descended from George and Margaret Wilmer may be named Mary Field, wife of Sir William Parsons, third Earl of Rosse (1800-1867), the celebrated astronomer.

[After the death of Margery Wilmer, Henry Fairfax had by a second wife a daughter Frances, who married David Erskine, ninth Earl of Buchan. Her daughter Frances was the wife of the celebrated and pious Colonel James Gardiner, killed at Preston Pans, 1745.]

The youngest son of George Wilmer, senior, was Thomas Wilmer, J.P., of Stratford-le-Bow, Bromley St. Leonards, and Stifford, co. Essex. He was baptized at St. Mary Aldermanbury in 1589/90 ; and was of Christ's College, Oxford, apparently 1615-16. He married, about 1615, Elizabeth Jacob, third daughter of the above named Abraham Jacob, Esq., of Gamlingay, co. Cambridge, and Bromley St. Leonards, and sister to Sir John Jacob. Thomas Wilmer, who was a farmer of the customs, died 1624/5, aged 35, and was buried "in a coffin of stone by the wall of the church" at West Ham ; where was formerly a fine monumental slab of Purbeck marble, with armorial bearings and a Latin inscription "commemorating his virtues."

Among descendants of Thomas Wilmer was his great-granddaughter, Sarah Wilmer, who before 1709 married John Shore,

Esq., of Mansell Street, Whitechapel (son and heir of Sir John Shore, Kt., M.D., of Derby). Their grandson, John Shore (1751-1834) was the first Baron Teignmouth, governor-general of India, the friend of Warren Hastings and of Sir William Jones, a man of great gifts and piety, a member of the evangelical coterie nicknamed "the Clapham sect," and the first president of the Bible Society.

A sister of Andrew, George, and Thomas Wilmer (daughter of George Wilmer, sen., and Susan Cole), was Eleanor (1587-1622), who in 1604 married Sir Anthony Weldon, Kt.⁹ (1583-1648), lord of the manor of Swanscombe, Kent, a distinguished and bigoted parliamentarian, and the author of the *Court and Character of James I* (at which court he was Clerk of the Kitchen and Clerk of the Green Cloth), a work often quoted by historians.

Sir Anthony's eldest son, Ralph Weldon⁹ (1605-1676), was an active parliamentarian like his father, and a colonel in the army. In 1644 he commanded a regiment in Sir William Waller's army, and a brigade at the relief of Taunton and siege of Bristol in 1645.

Anthony Weldon (1610-1654 or later)¹⁰ was the fifth son of Sir Anthony. He also was a colonel in the parliamentary army, and published his autobiography in 1649.

George Weldon (1620-1676 or later), the eighth son of Sir Anthony, married Susanna Shackstone, widow of Sir John Child, governor of Bombay. Their son Ralph Weldon (1674-1713) abjured Protestantism in 1687, became a Benedictine monk, and compiled *A Chronicle of the English Benedictine Monks, 1554-1701*, (published 1882), and died in Paris.

Ellen or Ellenor Weldon (1615-1678), the second daughter of Sir Anthony, and named after her mother—*née* Eleanor Wilmer—married at Lullington in 1642 William Say, Esq., and had issue. Him we take to be the notorious William Say (1604-1666?),¹¹ the regicide. Say was one of the members of the High Court who tried King Charles I, and was required to peruse the proceedings before they were presented to the House. He attended the trial regularly, and occupied a prominent position there, as may be seen in the famous engraving in Nalton's *A True Copy of the Journal of the High Court of Justice for the Tryal of King Charles I*, printed 1681. He is there depicted seated on the left of the president, John Bradshaw, whilst John Lisle sits on the latter's right, as assistant with him to the president. Say is attired in broad brimmed hat and lawyer's gown. In front is the table with the Commonwealth mace and sword of state lying upon it, with the two clerks sitting thereat; and immediately facing them is seated the solitary and pathetic figure of "King Charles the Martyr."

⁹ D.N.B., ix. 162.

⁹ D.N.B., ix. 162.

¹⁰ D.N.B., ix. 162.

¹¹ D.N.B., i. 389.

William Say's signature to the king's death warrant of 29th January, 1648/9, is the 48th out of a total of 58 regicides. Say, who occupied Lenthall's place as Speaker of the House for ten days in 1660, was excluded from pardon at the Restoration; fled the country, joining his friend and fellow regicide Edmund Ludlow (1617-1692) at Lausanne; and was last heard of in 1666 at Amsterdam.

Of George Wilmer the elder it remains to be said that he married *thirdly*, in 1592, Esther Fuller; and *fourthly*, in 1593, shortly before his death, Mrs. Anne Townsend, widow of Thomas Townsend, Esq., of the Marquis of Townsend's family. She was daughter and heiress of Henry D'Oyley, Esq., of Shottisham, co. Norfolk, of a most distinguished family. She married later (as we have seen), as her third husband, Sir Robert Needham, Viscount Kilmorey.

We now turn to John Wilmer, of Shrewley, in the parish of Hatton, co. Warwick; brother of the first named George Wilmer of West Ham (whose executor he was); and uncle of Andrew, George and Thomas Wilmer, and Eleanor Weldon, already mentioned.

This John Wilmer was born about 1552, probably at Sherborne or some neighbouring village in the county of Warwick. His mother's maiden name was Hills; his father's name was presumably Andrew Wilmer, but positive evidence as to the Christian name is not forthcoming.

Early in life, and certainly before his first marriage, he had come under the potent influence of the indefatigable Cartwright, the Throckmortons of Haseley, and other distinguished Puritans. At Haseley, which adjoins Hatton, where Wilmer lived, was the manor house of Clement Throckmorton; he was the third of eight sons of Sir George Throckmorton, of Coughton Court, Kt.; the next elder brother of the famous diplomatist, Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, whose daughter Elizabeth married the illustrious Sir Walter Raleigh; and first cousin of the half-blood to the virtuous Queen Katharine Parr, the last wife of King Henry VIII of execrable memory. By this good queen's influence before her marriage with the king, her uncle Sir George Throckmorton (who was a Catholic) was in 1543 released from the Tower, where he was a prisoner; and several of his sons, including Sir Nicholas and Clement, were introduced at court, the latter becoming Queen Katharine's cupbearer. The eldest brother, Sir Robert Throckmorton, who succeeded his father at Coughton, retained the ancient faith. Clement (with others of his brethren) was present at the martyrdom of the saintly Anne Askew in 1546; and, through the benign influence of good Queen Katharine, he became a thorough-going Protestant, and later a Puritan.

Clement Throckmorton married Katharine, the eldest daughter



GRIZELL GURNELL, *née* WILMER

of Sir Edward Nevill, knt., of Aldington, co. Kent; who was beheaded in 1538—as most eminent men were at that period—on the charge of “devising to maintain, promote, and advance one Reginald Pole, late Dean of Exeter, enemy of the King, beyond the sea, and to deprive the King.” She was a great-great-granddaughter of Sir Ralph Nevill, first Earl of Westmoreland, K.G., who died in 1425, by Joane de Beaufort (d. 1440), daughter of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, K.G. (d. 1399), fourth son of King Edward III. She was also descended from Edmund of Langley, Duke of York, K.G. (d. 1402), fifth son of Edward III; and was connected by a family marriage with Lionel of Antwerp, Duke of Clarence, K.G. (d. 1368), third son of that king; and likewise with King Edward IV.

The pious esquire of Haseley and his wife, on rebuilding their manor house, inscribed over the porch their initials, C.T. & K.T., surrounded by true lovers' knots and olive leaves, with the date 1561 and the following inscription from the Vulgate (Hebrews xiii, 14):—“*Non habemus hic manentem civitatem, sed futuram inquirimus.*” This characteristic memorial may still be seen on what little remains of the old manor house at Haseley.

The life story of Clement Throckmorton is interesting, but too long to be narrated here. For our present purpose it may suffice to emphasise the friendship that subsisted between him and his neighbour, John Wilmer of Shrewley, though the latter was many years his junior. He died in 1573. His son, Job Throckmorton (1545-1601), was the intimate friend, correspondent, and protector of the Puritan martyr John Penry (1559-1593); and is now generally believed to have had a considerable—perhaps the chief—share in the authorship of those world-famous satires which were published under the name of Martin Marprelate. A good biography of this eminent Puritan is much to be desired. Of Katharine Throckmorton, third daughter of Clement, and sister of Job, something is to be said hereafter.

John Wilmer of Shrewley appears to have first married about the time of his friend's death, 1573, or a little earlier. By his wife Agnes (?) whose maiden name is unknown, he had issue (1) Clement Wilmer, named after the esquire of Haseley, of whom more anon; (2) Katharine Wilmer, born and baptized at Hatton in 1579, named after Katharine Throckmorton, who was probably her god-mother; when barely 16 she married William Thorowgood, citizen and merchant-tailor of London; (3) George Wilmer, named after his uncle at West Ham, and baptized 1580; he went to reside with his brother Clement at Stratford-le-Bow, married, and had issue.

Clement Wilmer, the eldest son of John, became resident at Stratford-le-Bow with the family of his uncle, George Wilmer, to whose will he was a witness in 1594. He married, first, at St. Mary's, Stratford-le-Bow, Elizabeth Gowge, or Gouge, who died in

September, 1603, and had issue ; his eldest son being John Wilmer, gent., baptized 1599-1600. Either this John, or one of his near relations, was instituted in 1620 as "John Wilmer, clerk, A.M.," perpetual curate of St. Mary, Stratford-le-Bow, where he was succeeded the same year by the above mentioned Edmund Layfield, A.M.

Elizabeth Gouge, the wife of Clement Wilmer, was without doubt a near relation to that most distinguished Puritan divine Dr. William Gouge¹³ (1575-1653), whose portrait and instructive biography have a place in Clarke's *Lives*¹⁴. "William Gouge, the son of Thomas Gouge, was christened the 6th of November 1575" at St. Mary's, Stratford-le-Bow. Dr. Gouge was connected through his mother with several eminent preachers ; among whom were the Culverwells ; and his two maternal aunts married respectively Dr. Lawrence Chadderton¹⁵ (1536-1640), the first master of Emmanuel College, and Dr. Thomas Whitaker¹⁶ (1548-1595), regius professor of divinity and master of St. John's College, Cambridge. Dr. Gouge was instituted minister of St. Anne's, Blackfriars, in 1608, and remained there in the indefatigable discharge of his ministry for 45½ years—until his death.

From 1609 to 1612 he had for his curate John Wilmer, A.M., of Sherborne, co. Warwick, a nephew of George Wilmer of West Ham, and first cousin of Clement Wilmer. We shall have more to say of him hereafter. No doubt the marriage of Clement Wilmer to Elizabeth Gouge brought about the introduction of his cousin to her distinguished kinsman.

Dr. William Gouge was an active member of the Westminster Assembly. His eldest son was the eminent philanthropist and divine Thomas Gouge¹⁶ (1605-1681), who was ejected from St. Sepulchre church, London, by the Act of Uniformity. He was a man greatly beloved by all sections of society for his sterling character and amiable manners ; and few men have accomplished more lasting good in the world than he.

Agnes Wilmer, the mother apparently of Clement, having died in 1603, John Wilmer of Shrewley married as his second wife Katharine Throckmorton, the daughter of his old friend the esquire of Haseley, now for the second time a widow. She was already connected with the Wilmer family ; her first husband (she was his third wife), Thomas Harby, Esq., of Adston, co. Northampton, and Hillingdon, Middlesex, being a son of William Harby of Canons Ashby by Emma Wilmer of the same. By him she had three sons and six daughters ; an account of whose posterity and connections would be deeply interesting but would require a separate paper. It must suffice to say that her eldest son, Francis Harby, married in 1597 Elizabeth D'Oyley of Chiselhampton, co. Oxford ; who was

¹³ *D.N.B.*, xxii., 271.

¹⁴ *D.N.B.*, xxii., 269.

¹⁵ pp. 204-24, ed. 1677.

¹⁶ *D.N.B.*, ix., 430.

¹⁷ *id.* lxi. 21.

great aunt by marriage to Dorothy D'Oyley, *née* Michel, afterwards the second wife of the learned theologian, Dr. John Owen, and of whom more anon.

Her second son, Clement Harby, married *first*, a granddaughter of Thomas Poyntz, of Antwerp, and North Ockenden, Essex, the zealous friend and host of the ever memorable William Tyndale, translator of the English Bible, and martyr; and *second*, a daughter of Robert Barker, the king's printer. Her eldest daughter, Emma, married Robert Charlton, merchant and goldsmith, of London; became the mother of Sir Job Charlton, bart. (1614-1697), an upright judge who had the honour of being removed from the bench in 1686 for opposing the claims of James II's "dispensing power"; and was also the ancestress of the Earls Tylney, and the Brydges, Dukes of Chandos.

Her daughter Katharine married Daniel Oxenbridge, M.D., of Christ Church, Oxford, Daventry, etc., son of John Oxenbridge, B.D., rector of Southam, co. Warwick, and of Coventry, a learned and pious Puritan divine and friend of the Throckmortons. Their son, John Oxenbridge¹⁷ (1608-1674), a distinguished Puritan divine, was a fellow of Eton College in 1652, whence he was ousted at the Restoration; and in 1662 was silenced at Berwick-on-Tweed. He had formerly ministered in the Bermudas, and was an intimate friend of the patriot and satirist, Andrew Marvell¹⁸ (1621-1675). After his ejection he emigrated to Surinam, and finally to Boston. His second wife was Frances, only daughter of the Nonconformist divine Hezekiah, *alias* Ezekiel, Woodward¹⁹ (1590-1675).

Katharine Throckmorton's second husband was George Dryden, Esq., of Adston, who was also distantly connected through his mother with the Wilmer family. His brother, Sir Erasmus Dryden, was grandfather to John Dryden, the poet.

The date of this good lady's third marriage, to John Wilmer of Shrewley, is uncertain, except that it was between 1603 and 1616. She died in 1621, and her husband in 1623. Both were buried at Haseley, probably in the vault of her parents, Clement and Katharine Throckmorton, whose altar tomb and handsome monumental brasses remain to this day.

We now come to the most distinctly Puritan branch of the Wilmer family. During the last decades of the sixteenth century there was living at Sherborne, a small village on the river Avon, 3½ miles south-west of Warwick, a colony of Wilmers, mostly occupied as yeoman farmers. There were one or more brothers, and their families, named by George Wilmer of West Ham in his will of 1594, who were also brothers of John Wilmer of Shrewley

¹⁷ D.N.B., xlili., 7.

¹⁸ D.N.B., xxxvi., 324.

¹⁹ Palmer, *Nonconf. Men*, I., 229; and D.N.B. lxii. 422.

in Hatton. They were all great-grandsons of Richard Wilmer of Ryton-upon-Dunsmore, who died in 1527, by his wife Joan Goodere, or Goodyere, and were descended from either John or Richard, his younger sons.

Of this Sherborne family was John Wilmer, born about 1583-4; of whose baptism, and that of his sister Mrs. Elizabeth Joyce of St. Albans, no record is found, owing to *lacunae* in the Sherborne registers. He was brought up under strong Puritan influences; and was doubtless well acquainted with Cartwright, through his cousin and near friend Andrew Wilmer, who was Cartwright's son-in-law. Through his uncle John Wilmer of Shrewley—who was probably his godfather—he would become acquainted with the Throckmortons of Haseley, that village being only six miles or less distant from Sherborne.

Whether his father was able, unassisted, to give him a college education we know not; but if not, his uncles George and John were capable of assisting; or the county family of Rogers of Sherborne, with whom the Wilmers had intermarried, may have been partly responsible for his upbringing. However it was, he was sent to Trinity College, Cambridge, the scene of Cartwright's former successes, and graduated B.A. in 1605, and M.A. in 1609. On 14th September of that year he succeeded John Handcler, A.M. (appointed 14th February, 1604-5) as curate of St. Anne's Church, Blackfriars, London; where—as we have seen—Dr. William Gouge had lately been appointed as principal minister. John Wilmer held this post about three years, and was succeeded on 4th April, 1612, by Theodore Crowley, and later, in 1627-8, by Thomas Gouge, already referred to.

On leaving Blackfriars the Rev. John Wilmer was presented to the benefice of Northill, otherwise Norrell, co. Bedford. His signature appears in the registers with varying orthography—as was not uncommon in those days; Wilmer, Willmer, Willmor, Wilmore, and Wyllmer. He signs as "curate" in 1611-12, "vicar" in 1613, and at other times as "minister" and "clerke." Northill is a parish situated four miles W.N.W. from Biggleswade, containing the hamlets of Caldicott, Ickwell, Thorncote with Brookend and Hatch, and part of Beeston. It is on the Bedford road, and has at present a population of about 1,350. The very beautiful collegiate church is of iron sandstone, and dates from the latter half of the fourteenth century.

At the time of Wilmer's earlier labours the benefice (a donative) was in the gift of Edward Osborne, Esq., of Northill and London, a bencher of the Inner Temple; whose father, Sir Edward Osborne, Kt., Lord Mayor of London in 1580, was the founder of the family of the Dukes of Leeds. Since 1620 the patronage has been held by the Grocers' Company, to whom it passed by purchase through the terms of the will of Dame Margaret Slaney (wife of Sir

Stephen Slaney, Lord Mayor in 1595), who was buried in St. Swithin's Church, London, in 1608, aged 84. Dame Margaret's will provided that the minister of Northill should always reside in the parish, and should not be a pluralist; a proviso which shews that the good lady was possessed of sound sense. It is not quite clear, however, whether the Puritan curate of Northill was not himself a pluralist for a few months in 1620. As already mentioned, a "John Wilmer, Clerk, A.M.," was appointed perpetual curate of St. Mary's, Stratford-le-Bow, on 29th May in that year, giving place to a successor on 20th December. If not the same man, he was a near relation.

There is preserved in the churchwardens' books at Northill an interesting inventory of the church's belongings in 1612—the year of Wilmer's institution. It includes *Erasmus: his paraphrase upon y^e Evangelists and y^e Actes of the Apostles*. As Queen Katharine Parr was at the sole cost of the original edition, it is not unlikely that this volume was the gift of the curate's uncle, John Wilmer of Shrewley, whose wife was so nearly allied to the good queen.

Soon after his settlement at Northill, John Wilmer married a Miss Hoggett, sister to John Hoggett, named in the will of Wilmer's son Elisha Wilmer of London in 1661. She was apparently the daughter of the Rev. Anthony Hogget or Hoget, a former incumbent, who signs the registers and churchwardens' accounts from 1580 to 1604.

One Mary Hoget was baptized at Northill in 1596; John Wilmer was married in 1613, so if she were his wife she would be many years his junior. But a Marie Hoget, perhaps she of 1596, was married at Northill in 1624 to the Revd. Nathaniel Lawrence, the Puritan vicar of Keysoe, co. Bedford, a village four miles S.W. of Kimbolton, and eleven miles directly N.W. of Northill. By this marriage Lawrence became nephew to John Wilmer; and he is named in the will of Captain Nathaniel Wilmer of Cashel, John Wilmer's son, in 1654, as "my welbeloved cozen Nathaniel Lawrence," to whom he bequeathed "my guilt and silvier rapier, and to his child one silver spoone." This Nathaniel Lawrence succeeded Gervase Falconer as vicar of Keysoe, being nominated by the Puritan authorities in 1647. He died there in 1656, leaving a widow, and probably a child.

John Wilmer is named in the will of his Puritan cousin Andrew Wilmer of Bow and Totteridge in 1624 as "my cozen John Wilmer of Norrell." He is also named in 1643 in the will of his sister Mrs. Elizabeth Joyce (formerly Wilmer) of St. Albans, as "my deare and loving brother John Wilmer, preacher of Norrall in the county of Bedfordshire." This good lady also, as the first item of her will, made a bequest of 40s. to the poor of Sherborne, doubtless her native place. She names her "cozen Elizabeth Wilmer (daughter of her late cousin Andrew Wilmer)"; and her "cosin Mrs. Mary

Vause (Vaux) of Whipsnade, co. Bedford," another daughter of Andrew, and wife of John Vaux, Esq., of a county family long resident at Whipsnade Hall, near Dunstable—in the priory church of which parish Mrs. Vaux was buried in 1657, as were other members of the Wilmer family. Finally, Mrs. Joyce names her cousin John Wilmer of Cropredy, one of the two sons of Andrew Wilmer, and her friend Edward Smith of Bow, a brother-in-law of the same Andrew Wilmer.

The Rev. John Wilmer held the parochial charge of Northhill for the lengthy period of forty-three years, the most eventful years of England's history ; labouring among his parishioners and bringing up a pious offspring. We have no details of his long incumbency ; but he lived in stirring times, and must have heard the arguments both of cavaliers and roundheads well thrashed out by his relations and friends. On the one side were Sir William Wilmer of Sywell and Sir John Jacob of Bromley St. Leonards, both royalists ; on the other Sir Anthony Weldon and the two colonels, his sons, and William Say, all parliamentarians. And no doubt he lost kinsfolk and friends in the sanguinary struggle long spoken of as "The Great Rebellion."

Of his wife—not once mentioned in the existing transcripts of the Northhill registers (the originals being lost)—we know nothing, not even her Christian name. The only mention of her is in the will of her sister-in-law, Elizabeth Joyce of St. Albans, who in 1643 left her "my best Bever hatt, my Damaske Gowne and Damaske petticoate of a sea green colour"! We may however believe that she seconded her husband in the pious upbringing of their children, and in the faithful discharge of his pastoral duties. Certain it is that four sons of this worthy couple became Puritan clergymen, and one was a captain in Cromwell's army.

In 1655, as we may read in the transcript of the Northhill register, upon "November 20th Mr. John Willmer, minister of God's Word," was buried, aged about 72 years. We want no better epitaph nor more fitting summary of his life than is comprised in this pithy phrase, "minister of God's Word."

John Wilmer of Northhill had nine sons and three daughters, viz. : (1) John Wilmer, baptized 1613/4. He graduated M.A. of Trinity College, Cambridge, 1639 ; and upon the presentation of that college became Puritan vicar of Hitchin, 1643-4, where he was succeeded by Benjamin King, later the ejected vicar of Oakham. We next find Wilmer rector of Blunham, a village some three miles north of Northhill, where he died 1650, aged 36. He had by his wife, Mary Lered of Acton, a daughter Mary, baptized in 1646 as daughter of John Wilmer, "Person of Blunham," and who was living in 1660.

(2) Andrew Wilmer, baptized 1616. He was, like his father and brother, of Trinity College, Cambridge ; M.A. 1640. He was "in

holy orders," but was deceased before 1660. Of him we know nothing further.

(3) Mary, baptized 1618/9 : living, apparently unmarried, in 1660.

(4) Phebe (1620-21).

(5) Nathaniel Wilmer, baptized 1621 ; of him anon.

(6) Samuel Wilmer, baptized 1623 ; of Trinity College, Cambridge, B.A. 1644, M.A. 1648. He succeeded Henry Nye (one of the Sussex members of the Assembly of Divines) as rector of Clapham, co. Sussex, about 1645 ; and was a zealous and "painful" preacher. He was so much beloved by his congregation at Clapham, and by the ministers of the neighbouring district, as well as by the parishioners of the adjoining village of Patching, that on petition he was presented by Cromwell to the vacant rectory of Patching in 1654 ; and the living has ever since been a dual one as "Clapham-cum-Patching." An interesting series of papers on this appointment is in the Public Record Office. The petition of the Clapham congregation, signed by 52 parishioners, states "That Mr. Samuell Wilmer, Pastor at Clapham, hath byn zealous for and successfull in the gathering and uniting of scattered saints into one body, That they might enjoy the ordinances of god according to gospel order in faith & love." The certificate from the ministers is signed firstly by Dr. Francis Cheynell, then minister of Petworth ; and by four others, including John Tredcroft, the (subsequently) ejected rector of West Grinstead, and John Bulkley, the (subsequently) ejected curate of Shipley. They say "Mr. Wilmer pastour of Clapham is studious and pious, zealous in prayer, diligent in preaching, sound in the faith, proffitable in his conversation, and well affected to y^e present government of this Common-wealth, In wittnesse whereof we subscribe our names for the satisfaction of others and encourag(e)ment of him in the maintenance of truth and practice of holinesse." The Patching petition is signed by thirteen parishioners, in which they state that it was the dying request of their late pastor that the living of Patching should be bestowed upon Willmer, which they record "because we hope his ministry may be as successfull amongst us as it hath bin to others." Then there is a "Certificate of the Justices touching y^e uniting of Clapham and Patching," addressed "To the Right Hon^{ab}le the President of the Councell" in response to the request from the "Councell" for information. This is dated Steaninge in Sussex, 1653 ; and is signed by John Fagge, Esq., of Wiston and Mystoll, Kent (later a baronet), by William ffreeman, Esq., and Thomas Ballard, maior of Arundel ; and they state that "we jointly Concurr with those Pious and able ministers in their Judgment declared in there (*sic*) Certificate Concerning the Piety and gifts of Mr. Wilmer for y^e work of the Ministry." After three meetings of the Council, at one of which—31st December, 1653—the Lord Protector was

present, who was "desirous to encourage Mr. Wilmer in his Ministry," he was finally appointed on 26th January, 1653-4, "Rector of the rectory of Patching."

Samuel Wilmer was, as we have seen, a friend of Dr. Francis Cheynell²⁰ (1608-1655), chaplain to the parliamentary army, and member of the Westminster Assembly; a man of great learning but intense bigotry; whose memory is deeply stained by his treatment of the "incomparable" Chillingworth. Wilmer was ejected in 1660, and in 1669 was labouring at Arundel, where his son Andrew had settled, and preached to a Presbyterian congregation; also at Storrington and Thakeham, both in co. Sussex. Calamy says of him that "he was a person of a strong constitution of body and great presence of mind. He was unjustly imprisoned by one justice and bailed out by another; upon which, to avoid the Five Mile Act, he removed to Havant in Hampshire, where he died 7th October, 1671, in his 48th year: it was thought his troubles shortened his days."²¹

Samuel Wilmer had issue by Mary Baxhill (?), his wife, a family of four sons and four daughters. The youngest daughter Anne joined the Society of Friends (as did probably one of her brothers), and married in 1700 William Ridgeley, a Quaker citizen and pewterer of London, and had issue.

(7) George Wilmer (1625-28).

(8) Edward Wilmer, baptized 1626; he was living in 1660, perhaps at Reading or London.

(9) Thomas Wilmer, baptized 1628. He was in "holy orders," but the place of his education is unknown. He was admitted, 9th June, 1654, as vicar of Pagham, Sussex; his patron being Thomas Owen, clerk. Wilmer is named by Dr. Shaw, in his *History of the English Church under the Commonwealth* (ii. 596), as receiving, in 1659, as Puritan vicar of Pagham, an "augmentation" of £30 for 1¼ years to Lady day, 1659. He was ejected in 1662; and in 1669 we find him ministering to a "conventicle" at Sidesham, co. Sussex, as well as in his own parish at Pagham. In 1672 he was licensed to preach to a Congregational meeting held in the house of Barnard Tully of Shipley, Sussex, who issued a farthing trade-token in 1668.

The Rev. Thomas Wilmer finally retired to St. Pancras, Chichester, where he was buried 9th February, 1678, aged 50 years. By his wife Ann, whose brother or brother-in-law was Thomas Melleish of Thakeham, gentleman, of an influential family, he had issue. From him or his brother Samuel descended the present family of Wilmer or Willmer of county Sussex, and the influential family of Willmer of Liverpool and Birkenhead, long known as

²⁰ *D.N.B.*, x. 222.

²¹ *Nonc. Mem.*, ed. 1803, iii. p. 317.

S.W. View of NORTHILL Church, BEDFORDSHIRE.

Gent. Mag. March 1798. Pl. II. p. 205.



journalists and newspaper proprietors. The late Mr. Alderman Charles Willmer should be remembered as having established in 1853 *The Northern Daily Times*, the first daily newspaper published in the provinces; and also the *Events*, said to be the first halfpenny newspaper published in Great Britain: certainly two notable performances. The Willmers of Birkenhead are Unitarians, in common with so many of those who belonged to congregations originally Presbyterian, and founded by the ejected ministers.

(10) Elisha Wilmer, baptized 1630; later of London, citizen and ironmonger; also of Wapping, where he died in 1661, aged 31. By his second wife Mary he had an only daughter of the same name, the only member of her family who survived the Great Plague of 1665. Like children of her uncles Nathaniel and Samuel, she joined the Society of Friends. Her descendants, bearing the names of Mackett, Peirie, and Willett, were influential London Quakers. The Willetts deduce their pedigree from the celebrated Dr. Andrew Willett²² (1562-1621), tutor to Prince Henry of Wales, and author of the once renowned and ponderously learned treatise *Synopsis Papismi*. The family is now represented by the Rev. Wilmer Mackett Willett, a clergyman of the Church of England.

(11) Jane, baptized 1632/3; died young.

(12) Isaac Wilmer, baptized 1636; was in "holy orders," but we do not know the place of his education. He seems to have been curate to his brother Samuel at Clapham-cum-Patching in 1656; for we find him contributing as "Mr. Is. Wilmer" 2s., and his brother 10s., towards the sum of £3 10s. 5d. collected for the Promoting and Propagating the Gospel of Jesus Christ in New England."

Isaac Wilmer was admitted rector of Coombes, Sussex, 28th May, 1658, upon the presentation of Sir Charles Shelley, Bt. He succeeded "John Wurth, minister of this gift," who was buried 27th January, 1657-8. He is mentioned in the first edition of Calamy as ejected in 1662 from Preston, Sussex, where Dr. Cheynell is said to have been buried in 1665. How Wilmer's name was associated with Preston we cannot say unless he was at some time residing with Cheynell. The second edition of Calamy informs us that Wilmer had died previously, which is correct, as his will was dated and proved in 1660. He died young, like the rest of his family, only reaching the age of 25.

We now revert to Nathaniel Wilmer, the third son of the Rev. John Wilmer of Northill. He was apprenticed to Master Lewis Bicker, citizen and grocer, of London; and while he is himself described as "citizen and armourer," he had certainly at the time of his marriage, 1646, settled in the parish of St. Dionis Backchurch

²² *D.N.B.*, lxi. 289.

as a "citizen and a grocer." He had a number of Wilmer kinsfolk at Reading, several of whom had held important municipal and other positions there. Of this Reading family was John Wilmer who at the age of 19 matriculated at Trinity College, Oxford, in 1623; commenced B.A. at St. Edmund's Hall 1627, M.A. 1630. Him we take to be the Rev. John Wilmer mentioned by Calamy as ejected from Ham, a parish in co. Wilts., on the borders of Berks., $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles south-west of Hungerford; but who afterwards conformed.

It is probable that the residence of these kinsfolk at Reading accounts for Nathaniel Wilmer finding a bride in Constance Sherwood of East Hendred, near Wantage, Berks. She was of an old county family, several of whose members served the office of high sheriff; and was allied by marriage to the families of Bulstrode Whitelocke, Dr. Robert Plot, Admiral Benbow, and other interesting people. In 1650, immediately after the return of Cromwell from Ireland, he gave Wilmer a captain's commission empowering him to raise a hundred men for transportation to Ireland either by way of Bristol or Chester. But he was to enter into recognizances in the sum of £200 not to take free quarters, nor oppress the country on his march. So Captain Nathaniel Wilmer entered heartily into the work of "pacifying" Ireland—as it was called—and settled at Cashel, which had peacefully surrendered to Cromwell; and there he died in 1654. Wilmer's superior officer and friend was the celebrated Colonel Richard Le Hunte, whose descendant to-day is the excellent governor of South Australia, Sir George Ruthven Le Hunt, K.C.M.G. Captain Wilmer bequeathed to his wife landed property given him by the Protector for his services in Ireland. Soon after his death, in 1658, Constance Wilmer, his widow, joined the Society of Friends, and in conjunction with her friend and fellow countryman, Joseph Coale of Reading, a well known Quaker minister and confessor, wrote in 1661 a pamphlet in defence of Quaker principles. This was addressed to Thomas Fuller, the then recently appointed Archbishop of Cashel. Constance Wilmer and her two sons were on terms of intimacy with William Penn; she was living in 1684, then aged about 62, but the date of her death is uncertain.

Nathaniel and Constance Wilmer had two sons; John Wilmer, baptized at the church of St. Dionis Backchurch, London, in 1647; and Nathaniel, probably born in Ireland about 1650. The latter is described as "bachelor, of St. Giles-in-the-Fields"; and was a merchant and shipowner. He was not an exemplary character; was in trouble with the government of William and Mary for corresponding with the enemy, and was ultimately disowned by the Society of Friends. He died in his trading ship on the high seas about 1711.

His elder brother, John Wilmer, was apprenticed to his uncle, William Sherwood of London, a silk merchant; to whose business

he succeeded, and became a wealthy citizen and merchant tailor of Friday Street, London. In 1685 he purchased of Dorothy Owen aforesaid, widow of the eminent Dr. John Owen, her copyhold premises at Ealing, where he went to reside, and where he died in 1723, aged 76. He was thrice married; into the pioneer Quaker families of Lamboll of Reading (1671) and Knight of Godmersham (1684); and finally in 1691 his bride was Mary Myers of Aldingham in Lancashire, whose uncle, "prophet" Richard Myers, and her mother (or possibly aunt) Elizabeth Myers, find an interesting place in George Fox's *Journal*, as do also George Lamboll, Wilmer's father-in-law. Mary Wilmer's parents, Thomas and Elizabeth Myers, were married according to Quaker usage as early as 1652. Her father and two uncles, James and Walter Myers, were Quaker pioneers in Lancashire, Cornwall and Devon, and London respectively.

By Mary Myers, who died at Ealing in 1720 aged 63, John Wilmer had surviving issue one son and two daughters. The elder daughter, Grizell Wilmer (1692-1756), married in 1711 Jonathan Gurnell (1684-1753) of Cartmel Fell, London, and Ealing, a wealthy Quaker merchant and banker, and founder of the once great mercantile house of Harman & Co. He was the friend and bill discounter of William Penn, who attended his wedding; and friend of Thomas Story, the Quaker minister and recorder of Philadelphia.

Jonathan and Grizell Gurnell had ten children, several of whom died young, and only four left issue. Their youngest son, Thomas Gurnell, married his mother's kinswoman, Mary Willett; several of his descendants were interesting people, and some of them still remain. Of the daughters, Hannah married Jeremiah Harman, a wealthy merchant of London. Many descendants of this marriage have held prominent positions and formed aristocratic connections; among whom may be named Canon H. M. Birch, tutor and friend of King Edward VII; Sir Arthur N. Birch, K.C.M.G.; John William Birch and Jeremiah Harman (tertius), governors of the Bank of England; etc.

Mary Gurnell, the second daughter, married Joseph Green, silk merchant, of Spital Square, of an ancient Quaker family of Yorkshire and London; whose great-grandfather had died in York Castle in 1676, a prisoner for his belief. Many of their descendants, bearing the well known Quaker names of Green, Robson, Neave, Littleboy, Tuckett, etc., still retain the Quaker faith. Some members of these families were conspicuous for their Puritan leanings. We may especially mention Priscilla Green (1802-77) of Saffron Walden, a prominent Quaker minister, who was an ideal Puritan in dress and character. She happily however had few of the failings traditionally associated with the roundhead character, being greatly valued for the sweetness of her disposition. She it

was who, when travelling in America on religious service in 1857, is alluded to by Longfellow in his diary in such appreciative terms. Indeed it has been several times affirmed that the poet, who was then writing *The Courtship of Miles Standish*, introduced "Priscilla the Puritan maiden" from the ideal he had seen realised in Priscilla Green.

Grizell Gurnell, the youngest daughter of Jonathan, married Samuel Hoare, of Cork, London, and Stoke Newington, a wealthy Quaker merchant in partnership with her father. From this marriage are descended the well known family of Hoare of Hampstead and Lombard Street, bankers; Canon Edward Hoare of Tunbridge Wells; Joseph Hoare, treasurer of the Bible Society; Grizell Hoare, wife of William Allen, F.R.S., chemist and philanthropist, who, under the will of the Duke of Kent, was trustee for Queen Victoria; and the family of Bradshaw, of whom were Henry Bradshaw, M.A., University librarian of Cambridge and bibliographer, and Sarah Bradshaw, wife of Ashton Oxenden, D.D., Bishop of Montreal, and a popular religious writer.

John Wilmer (1696-1764) of Stoke Newington, the only surviving son of John and Mary Wilmer of Friday Street, and brother of Grizell Gurnell, married late in life (1749) Miss Elizabeth Scott of an ancient Kentish family; and had issue one son, John Wilmer (1751-1773), and three daughters. The last surviving of these was Miss Elizabeth Wilmer, an excellent lady who died at Scarborough in 1849, at the advanced age of 95; so that between her father's birth and her death was the extraordinary span of 153 years. Her sister, Mary Wilmer, married in 1774 Peter Murray, M.D., of London, and assistant judge in Jamaica. Their son, the last of this line, was Dr. Peter Murray, of Scarborough, a distinguished scientist and philanthropist, and an earnest Christian. Fifth in descent from the Puritan incumbent of Northill, he was no unworthy representative of the race. He died in 1864, aged 81; and his life was written by the Rev. Robert Balgarnie, minister of the Bar Congregational church, under the title of *The Beloved Physician*.

The arms of Wilmer, confirmed to Thomas Wylmer, gent., of Ryton, co. Warwick, in 1582-3, were "Gules, a chevron vair between three eagles displayed or"; a crest was also then granted, viz., "An eagle's head or between two wings expanded vair." These arms were confirmed to Sir William Wilmer of Sywell Hall, co. Northampton (1575-1646), whose motto was *Semper Sapit Suprema*.

Early in the sixteenth century George Wilmer, Esq., of Stratford-le-Bow, had another grant of arms, viz., "Gules, a chevron between three eagles or, armed and langued sable": crest, "an eagle displayed or, armed and langued sable, holding in his beak a garland of laurel proper." Another grant was made in 1832 to the

Wilmer-Gossips of Thorpe Arch, co. York; the motto being *Expertus Credo*.

Many further particulars of the Wilmers and their descendants may be found in an elaborate *History of the Wilmer Family*, privately printed in 1888, and compiled by the Rev. Canon Charles Wilmer Foster, M.A. (now vicar of Timberland, co. Lincoln), and the present writer; whose only son, John Wilmer Green, born 1887, is descended in the eighth generation from Captain Nathaniel and Constance Wilmer, of London and Cashel.

JOSEPH JOSHUA GREEN.

Tunbridge Wells.

The Episcopal Returns of 1665-6

Continued from p. 125

(7) **I**N some instances, however, there is discrepancy between the accounts of Calamy and of these Returns; and further research alone can decide where the truth lies. Such are the statements of Calamy :

(1) that Philip Lamb went to Moreton and was licensed at Kingston in 1672; whereas the Returns distinctly say (R. 316) that he retired to Alton Pancras :

(2) that Thomas Rowe of Litchet Maltravers retired in 1665 to Little Canford; when the Returns report him as retired to Hampreston (Hampleston) :

(3) that Robert Collins never held Conventicles at service time; whereas the Returns distinctly assert that "Robert Collins sometyes Rector of Tallaton, lives now in Ottery St. Mary, in his owne house neare the Church, where he keepes Conventicles frequently, especially upon Sundayes in tyme of divine Service, to the Scandall of many." :

(4) that Richard Herring, when retired to Kenn, was still active in preaching in his own house there and often in Mr. John Mayne's house in Exeter; whereas the Bishop reports of him that "he cometh sometye to y^e neighbour Church, and behaveth himself Quietly and peaceably"—which means that he was no conventicler :

(5) that his neighbour William Stooke at Trusham built a meeting-house on his own land there, conducting services in it frequently and regularly; whereas the Bishop has nothing but good to say of him,—that "he cometh sometyes to that Church" (*i.e.* Trusham) "and heareth Divine service as well as preaching, & behaveth himself Quietly and peaceably as to the Church and Commonwealth" :

(6) that Francis Whiddon, after his ejection, still preached twice on the Sunday in Totness & at two weekly lectures, one in Totness and the other at Boden, a mile away; whereas the

Episcopal Returns represent him "a peaceable liver" at Totness (so the Summary), and in the fuller Report describe him with two others as "all of them living upon their owne, & behaving themselves peaceably and Quietly"; and

(7) that Joseph Hallet lived in retirement in Bridport and Bradpole in Dorset; when the Returns report him as still in Exeter in 1665.

In the single outstanding instance of confusion and incoherence in the accounts of Calamy, moreover (I do not think there is another in the whole of his work), I mean his notices of George Hughes and Thomas Martin of Plymouth (ii. 56-62 and 65), Seth Ward's Returns help us to put things in their proper order. On p. 65, Calamy says of Thomas Martin, "that upon Mr. George Hughes's death he succeeded him, continuing his ministry till some months before Bartholomew Day, 1662"; yet quietly adding that "in 1663, he and Mr. Hughes were sent to the island of St. Nicholas and kept prisoners there ten months, etc." But from the bishop's report it is clear that these two ministerial colleagues remained in Plymouth till 1665; while we know, from Calamy himself, that they were arrested and imprisoned at the end of that year under the Five Mile Act; and that Mr. Hughes, on his release, not earlier than the latter half of 1666, removed to Kingsbridge, to the neighbourhood of his old friend John Hicke (late of Saltash); living to enjoy his sympathetic companionship only a few months, and dying there in 1667. He had the unwonted honour (for a Nonconformist) of a marble monument in the chancel of the parish church, which remains there to this day.

So much is there in these documents to enable us to confirm our confidence in Calamy, to fill up gaps in his narratives, and in some few cases—remarkably few, it must be acknowledged, in view of the vast range of the work he undertook—to question, criticize, or correct his statements.

But these Returns for 1665-6 belong, as we saw in our last article, to a series of Episcopal Returns, ordered at intervals by Archbishop Sheldon, to ascertain the precise effect of the Penal Statutes upon Nonconformity.

The second set was obtained in 1669, and the third in 1676. The '69 Returns were fairly complete, and tell us much of the whereabouts and activities of the ejected ministers in that year; but the '76 Returns, those at least which are preserved, are so fragmentary, and in such a form, as to contribute nothing to the personal history of the ejected ministers.

In 1672, however, between the second and last of these Returns, the Declaration of Indulgence was issued; and the documents connected with the issue of licences under it cast quite a flood of light upon that history. Had these two sets of Episcopal Returns been complete, and had the licences under the Declaration of Indulgence been taken out with any approach to universality, we should have had materials for a complete account of the ejected ministers for the first ten years after their ejection: (1) their whereabouts in 1665-6 and their conduct in the three years immediately succeeding their deprivation; (2) their attitude and activities four years later (in 1669), despite the persecution to which they had been submitted under the penal laws; and (3) their situation and the character of their ministry under the Indulgence of 1672. We know how far this is from being the case. Still, as far as concerns the ejected ministers in the counties and places dealt with in these 1665 Returns, both the '69 Returns and the licence documents cast a great deal of light upon each other, and still further fill up gaps in the accounts of Calamy. For the two important counties of Dorset and

Devon in England, and for Glamorgan in Wales, we have records for all three dates: for '65, '69, and '72. For Cornwall, unfortunately, there are no Conventicle Returns for 1669; nor for any of the Welsh counties except Glamorgan; and in Glamorgan there is no reference to either of the ministers mentioned in the '65 Returns. But in the two English counties we have light on Calamy from all three sources in the following instances:—

i. In *Dorset*, three: those of Joshua Churchill, George Hammond and John Hodder.

ii. In *Devon*, nine: those of John Wakeley, Richard Farrant, Robert Collins, John Mawditt, Richard Saunders, James Hadderidge, Robert Atkins, Lewis Stukeley and Thomas Mall.

To give the facts in all these cases would lengthen out this paper to an unconscionable extent. We shall content ourselves therefore with the briefest reference to those in whom our readers have naturally the greatest interest, viz: the three Congregationalists, Joshua Churchill of Dorset, and Lewis Stukeley and Thomas Mall of Devon.

1. *Joshua Churchill*. Calamy's account of him (ii. 129) is very brief. He gives the place of his ejection as the vicarage of Fordington (just the other side of the river from Dorchester), simply adding—"for some time after his ejection he assisted Mr. Benn at Dorchester, and succeeded him there."

But we learn: (1) from the Returns of '65, that he had retired from Dorchester or Fordington to live a while with or near his friend Mr Benn at Compton Valence; (2) from the '69 Returns, that four years later he was active over a wide area, since they report him (R 243) as preaching (*a*) at a conventicle of 100 or 200 at Donhead St. Andrew, in Wilts, the conventicle composed of men and women "of ordinary Rank" and "mostly foreigners" (*i.e.*, residents elsewhere who came to Donhead to hear him); and also (*b*) as associated with his friend Mr. Benn in preaching to a "constant conventicle" at Fordington (his old parish) of 200, with several prominent parishioners as Abettors of it [Four are named; of whom William Benn is one, and John Benn is another] (R. 247).

And (c) from the Licence Documents we learn that, in 1672, he actually journeyed up to London, only a month after the issue of the Declaration of Indulgence; and concerned himself in securing licences for friends in Gloucester and Somerset, as well as for himself; applied in person at Whitehall for licences to preach both in his own house in Dorchester and in Mr. Benjamin Davenish's house in Fordington; succeeded in his application, so that they were both issued April 17; and took them away with him on the 1st of May.

There are two memoranda of application preserved in the Record Office. The first reads:

[320 (116)] "Mr. Joshua Churchill, Teacher of the Congregational way. The Meeting Places at his own house in Dorchester and at Mr. Benjamin Davenish's house in Fordington adjoining"; and the second is a separate memorandum for the latter [320 (117)] "The house of Benjamin Devenish in the County of Dorset for a meeting place for the Congregational perswasion."

The licences are entered as issued in E(29); though Ben. Devenish's house has not been entered separately.

Churchill Cong. Dorchester	Licence to Joshua Churchill to be a Congr. Teacher in his owne howse in Dorchester & Benjamin Devenish's house in Fordington 17 Apr. 72
Dorchester Cong. Churchill's howse	The howses of Joshua Churchill in Dor- chester & Benjamin Devenish's howse in Fordington to be Congr. Meeting Places 17 Apr. 72

The record of receipt [320 (242)] is specially interesting—for Joshua Churchill signs for the six licences he took away, on the same sheet of paper on which Richard Steele signs for five, and James Innes, junr. (the "universal provider"), signs for eleven more. Joshua Churchill's reads as follows:—

M^r. Edward Dammer of Quarleston in Dorcett, place & person

M^r. Joshua Churchill of Dorchester—a meting place in Fordington

M^r. Dan: Bull of Newington Stoke, place and person

Received of M^r. Alexander Raynolds this first day of May 1672 the Licencis for the places & persons above mençoned I say, rec^d by me Joshua Churchill.

The licence for his "meeting place" must have mentioned the two houses on the one document—as both are mentioned in each licence entry—and he contents himself with alluding to them together.

It is pleasant to think of his taking away with him four licences beside his own. The two licences for his friend Mr. Edward Dammer of Winterborn Stockland (as Quarleston is situate in that parish) he would deliver to him in person when he had got back to Dorset (Winterborn Stockland, *al.* Stickland, is only some ten miles or so from Dorchester); and the licences for Dr. Daniel Bull, the ejected minister of Stoke Newington, who evidently still lived among his own people, he would probably deliver on his way to his London lodging. [Or was he Dr. Bull's guest?] Incidentally too, this memorandum adds a touch to the picture of Earl Arlington's office, which forms itself to our imagination as we con these licence documents. We see Alexander Reynolds among the staff, next in rank to Mr. Benson, who is chief clerk to Sir Joseph Williamson.

2. *Lewis Stukeley* (or *Stuckley*) is noted by Calamy (ii. 31-32) as one of the clergy of Exeter Cathedral, who (even before his ejection) began to gather a Church in Exeter "after the Congregational way." He says further that, as a kinsman of General Monk, he might have obtained considerable preferment had he conformed; and that after his ejection "he did not lie idle." But Calamy seemed to possess no particulars of his activities between his ejection in 1662 and his retirement to Bideford quite late in life, where he died in 1687; though his account of his ancestry, and of his career prior to his appointment (about 1650) to Exeter Cathedral, is very full. Many details, however, are here supplied.

(1) From the '65 Returns we learn that he was still living in Exeter three years after his ejection. And Calamy's statement "that he did not lie idle" is abundantly confirmed. Even in the Summary (R. 307b) he is marked off from "the whole Dozen Presbyterians who are not Keepers of Conventicles" as one of the "three Independents who doe," and in his fuller Report (R. 398) Bishop Ward says: "I do not know

that any of these (the "Dozen Presbyterians" have become 13)" have kept "any Conventicles, but only these Independents"—"Mr. Lewis Stukeley" being the first of the three. 2) The Conventicle Returns further shew him as still active in 1669; (i) ministering to a Conventicle of Independents, held "at the houses of Mary Barton & William Hopping" at Netherex (some 5 miles farther up the River Exe from Exeter), consisting of 200 "young persons of the meaner sort"; (ii) to a second at Cruse-Morchard (R. 185) due west of Tiverton of 100, "most of them Inconsiderable," meeting "at the house of one George Brooke, an excommunicated person, every Sunday and Wednesday," where he took turns with 7 other ejected brethren (Mr. Mall, Mr. Berry, Mr. Polwheele, Mr. Hatch, Mr. Saunders, Mr. Knight and Mr. Pope); and (iii) to yet a third at *Crediton* (about due west of Netherex, on the main road to Barnstaple), where a Conventicle of 2 or 300 gathered "on Sundayes and other days" to listen to him and four other of the seven I have just mentioned, viz. "Mr. Mall, Mr. Berry, Mr. Knight and Mr. Pope" (R. 185b.). Further, we gather that about this period of his life, 2 or 3 years later, Exeter was still his headquarters; for from the Licence Documents we learn that though licence was issued to him on August 10th, 1672, for him to preach in *Crediton*,—as we learn from [E (227)] "Licence to Mr. Lewis Stuckley at *Crediton* in Devon a Congregational Teacher at the house of Clement Lake at the said place, Aug^t 10"—his friends at Exeter had secured licences for him more than 5 months before, to preach at two several houses in the City to those of the Congregational persuasion there. There is preserved among the State Papers at the Record Office (S.P. Dom. Car. ii. 320, 19) a stately document signed by 38 Citizens of Exeter (and probably drawn up by himself), asking for the benefit of the Indulgence for him at Mr. Nicholas Savery's house in the City.

It reads:—"To the King's most Excellent Majesty

"The Cordiall Acknowledgment & humble Petition of a
 "Church of Christ in Exeter. Humbly Sheweth That your
 "Majesty's late Declaration for the suspension of the execution
 "of the Penall Statutes against Non-Conformity and for in-
 "dulging us in our public Worship & Devotion, in places your
 "Majesty shall approve of. Hath abundantly refreshed our
 "weary spirits, hath given us great inducement to bless God in
 "your Majesty's behalf. And hath laid on us the deepest
 "obligations to serve your Majesty with our Lives & Fortunes.
 "We cannot but look on your Majesty as the breath of our
 "nostrils, as a Repairer of our Breaches, & a Restorer of Paths
 "to Dwell in. May it please your Majesty so far to condescend

“to your Majesty’s faithful and Loyal subjects, and to give
 “your Royall Grace and Favour that Mr. Lewes Stucley be
 “allowed by your Majesty to be our teacher in an house
 “belonging to Mr. Nicholas Savery in the said City of Exeter.
 And the said Mr. Stucley & your Petitioners shall ever
 pray, etc.

Then follow thirty-eight autograph signatures, in the third column of which appear those of *Lewis Stucley* himself, Clement Lake, and of Nicholas and Thomas Savery. The petition was very promptly granted, for licences were issued for both Lewis Stukeley and Nicholas Savery among the very first batch issued under the Declaration of Indulgence, dated the 2nd of April, 1672, little more than a fortnight after the Declaration was published. There is this special interest about them too, that the entry of these two licences in Entry Book 38A are the fifth and sixth of the four thousand odd entered in it. They are to be found on page two, as follows :

Given Mr. T. to send down Ap. 2/72.	Stuckley Congreg. Exester	Licence for Lewis Stuckley to be a Teacher in a howse belonging to Nicholas Savery in the City of Exceter 2 Apr. 1672. of y ^e Congregationall
	Exeter Congreg.	Licence allowing an howse belonging to Nicholas Savery in the City of Exceter to be a place for a Teacher 2. Apr. 1672. Congregationall

Nor were his friends satisfied with that. They secured the services of Richard Prowse—a resident in London and a personal friend of Mr. Benson, Sir J. Williamson’s chief clerk (and evidently very closely interested in the part of the county about Tiverton), to obtain a licence for a part of Bedford House in Exeter as a second meeting-place for him to preach in. Prowse’s note is preserved in 321 (128). It is addressed: “For Mr. Benson,” is

endorsed : "Exon, Mr. Prowse's note" ; and reads :—

"A Licence for publike Worshipp in a part of Bedford howse belonginge to Nicholas Eveleigh Merc^h in Exeter for "a people of y^e Congregationall Judgm^t. Lewes Stuckley "Teacher who is already Licensed."

It was promptly heeded, for a licence was granted 13th of May, as entered in E (102)—the last upon the page :

"The House of Nicholas Eveleigh in Exon Congr. Meeting "Place 13 May."

What a deep impression must have been made by this cultured Congregationalist on the minds and hearts of the worshippers in the cathedral by those ten or twelve years of his ministry preceding the restoration of Charles !

3. *Thomas Mall, M.A.*, the last case we mention, was assistant to Mr. Lewes Stukeley in Exeter Cathedral in the Commonwealth days. Of his career, prior to his coming to Exeter, Calamy (ii, 32) mentions some particulars, but he seems to know nothing of it after his ejection. From these three sources, however, we are able to add some interesting details as to the first ten years of it. The '65 Returns and those of '69 shew him to be still associated with Mr. Stukeley. In 1665 the Bishop of Exeter reports him as one of the three "Conventicling" Independents still residing in the cathedral city. (His name in both the Summary [R. 307b] and the fuller Return [R. 398] is mentioned third; divided from his old chief Mr. Stukeley by Mr. Powell, who had been ejected from St. Sidwell's of the same city.) In 1669, Ward's successor, Anthony Sparrow, reports him as associated with Mr. Stukeley and his friends, above enumerated, as preaching both at Cruse Morchard and Crediton. After this, however, he seems to have left his friend, and the neighbourhood of Exeter, and to have settled much farther north in the county, at South Molton, about half way between Dulverton (Som.) and Barnstaple ; at that time the only important town on the high road from Tiverton to Barnstaple.

He must have very rapidly established himself, too, in the affections of his people ; for (like the old friends of his former chief in Exeter) they directly petition the king for a licence for him. It is preserved in 320 (103) : "The humble Petition

of a Congregationall Church in South Molton in y^e County of Devon. For his Ma^{ties} Licence for Mr. Thomas Mall to be their Teacher. And the place for Worship to be a house belonging to Mr. Robert Squires in y^e said Towne."

But this corporate action was not the only one made on his behalf. John Hickes presents a separate claim for him as teacher apart from the place of meeting. He puts his name as one of a list of eight Teachers in Devon (as well as six others in the counties of Surrey and Sussex) in the very next paper [320 (104)]—"Tho. Mall, Independ^t Teacher at South Moulton, Devon."

The licences were both granted, being issued April 16th, 1672, a fortnight after his friend Lewes Stukeley's; but still only a month after the issue of the Declaration of Indulgence. They are entered [E (23)]:—

Mall	Licence to Thomas Mall to be a Congreg.
Congr.	Teacher in Rob. Squires howse in South
South molton	Molton, Devoñ. 16. Apr. 1672.
South molton	The howse of Rob. Squires in South Molton,
Congr.	Devoñ licensed to be a Congr. Meeting
Squires howse	Place. 16 Apr. 1672.

And they appear to have been called for and taken away from Whitehall two days later—though in the memorandum 320 (145) mention is made only of "Tho. Mall of South Moulton"—with no separate reference to the licence for Robert Squire's house. They were probably two of the nineteen licences, which it is noted at the back of this document were "delivered out Thursday 18 Apr."

In the whole of this group, then, all three sets of documents furnish their contribution towards the enrichment of Calamy's accounts.

In certain other cases, however, the Conventicle Returns of 1669 are silent, though the Licence Documents have their information, as well as these Episcopal Returns of 1665. There are five of these, four of whom form a most interesting

group, three of them in 1665 being in the southernmost part of Devon: James Burdwood and John Flavell at Dartmouth; and Edmond Tooker at West Alvington, just outside Kingsbridge; and the fourth just across the border at Saltash in Cornwall, John Hickes. All four of them a little later formed a charming colony in Kingsbridge and its immediate neighbourhood, with John Hickes as its central moving spirit, as he had been with a larger group at Saltash prior to 1665. The fifth is quite as interesting, *viz*: Daniel Higgs, the apostle of Gower, that beautiful peninsula which has been happily called Little England beyond Wales.

And there is another group of instances, in which what is most noticeable is not the bearing of either of the Episcopal Returns and the Licence Documents upon the statements of Calamy, but the fact that in them the implications of these '65 Returns are distinctly confirmed by the Licence Documents. Such are: (1) Mr. Thomas More's and James Hallet's in *Dorset*; and (2) Stephen Coven's, Mark Down's, and John Kempster's in *Devon*.

But I must not occupy further the space which is so precious in our *Transactions*, but simply content myself with saying that for any one specially interested in any of these names, whether of place or minister, it would be worth his while to follow up these hints, or if he have not the leisure, it would be a pleasure to me to hand on the facts as I have already culled them.

G. LYON TURNER.

The Provincial Meeting of Cumberland & Westmorland

THERE is no doubt that the Provincial Meeting of Cumberland and Westmorland had its origin in "The Association" of these two counties, in 1656. The document which delineates the ideals of this Association is a Puritan classic, and is from the masterly hand of Richard Gilpin then rector of Greystoke, who at the Restoration declined the bishopric of Carlisle. It is an agreement between Presbyterians and Independents, in an age when their differences were most acute, and if at any future time a union of the Congregational churches of England and those of the Presbyterian churches of England were contemplated, this document would be invaluable in such a sacred cause. The "Agreement" of the Association states that about 1653, "several of us tried an agreement, but it took not." The two leaders in this movement were Richard Gilpin, M.A., and George Larkham, M.A., of Cockermouth, the latter of whom preached before the ministers assembled at Cockermouth on May 10, 1654, the text being Acts xx, 28-32.

When Richard Baxter's Worcestershire "Agreement" came out, it was decided (evidently by the "several") "to propound it to the whole ministry of Cumberland, and it was cheerfully subscribed by Presbyterian and Congregational." The leaders in this movement were encouraged, especially when the brethren in Westmorland asked for a copy, and, having debated it, signified their consent. The Agreement of Cumberland and Westmorland

was published in 1656, on the lines of the Worcestershire Agreement, and in 1658 the Essex ministers adopted it with slight modifications. On May 19, 1658, Gilpin preached his sermon at Keswick before the associated ministers of Cumberland, on the subject of "The Temple Rebuilt." This sermon indicates that there had been differences on the question of polity, which however had been reconciled, and the Association ordered this "acceptable sermon" to be printed. The imprimatur is signed by Timothy Tullie, Moderator *pro tem.*, and John Jackson, scribe.

It is not possible to discuss the operations of this Association, which unfortunately was soon dissolved; but that it actually exercised its functions may be seen from the interesting testimonial which it gave concerning the ordination of James Cave in 1656.¹

There is no need to explain the state of things from the Commonwealth to the close of the seventeenth century. The counties of Cumberland and Westmorland were similar to other counties, with the additional disadvantages of remoteness, poverty, and wretched travelling facilities. Some interest appears to have been taken in these northern parts by the London Protestant Dissenters, for we find that Dr. Thos. Gibbons encouraged a lecture in Penrith in 1694, which laid the foundation of the Presbyterian meeting-house there. Three years before this date, the "Happy Union" had been formed by the London ministers.

The first trace of the Provincial Meeting of Cumberland and Westmorland that we have been able to discover is in 1709. Our theory is that there were no separate minutes of the Provincial, but that the record of its meeting was entered into the

¹ Calamy's account of ejected ministers.

registers of the congregation in the town where it met.

This article does not profess to be a complete record of such meetings, but is a first attempt to gather together the occasions which the writer has met with, where the Provincial appears. It may be added for future reference that Blennerhasset, Carlisle, Crook, Kirkoswald, Penruddock, Great Salkeld (with Plumpton), and Stainton have no registers; that Alston, Keswick, Penrith, Ravenstonedale, and Whitehaven have imperfect registers; while Brampton, Cockermouth, and Kendal are fairly complete.²

RECORD OF THE PROVINCIAL MEETING.

1. BRAMPTON, Aug. 10, 1709.

Upon this occasion James Campbell, M.A., a licentiate of the Church of Scotland, was ordained to Brampton. (Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian Society: *Trans.* Vol. iii. p. 102.) It is interesting to note that ordinations by the Provincial were recognised by the Church of Scotland, and in a number of cases the ministers were afterwards inducted into parish livings in Scotland.

2. ? KENDAL, 1711.

Upon the ordination of Samuel Bourn to Crook. He had been educated at the orthodox academy of Chorlton and Coningham, Manchester; but at his ordination declined to subscribe to the Shorter Catechism of the Westminster Assembly, and afterwards became "advanced" in his views.³ He refers to the Calvinistic atmosphere of the neighbouring ministers; and there is no doubt that up to this time, and for several years afterwards, there was no departure from the older orthodoxy.

3. BRAMPTON, Aug. 20, 1712.

The ordination of Robert Wight, M.A. He was a licentiate of the Church of Scotland, and afterwards returned to a parish living in Scotland in 1724. He was recalled to Brampton in 1725. A copy of his re-call is in the Brampton registers.

² Maryport and Workington are Scottish in their origin, and the same may be said of Haltwhistle, although this cause had some connection with Wardrew (near Gilsland), where about 1720 services were carried on "during the water-drinking time." (C. H. S. *Trans.*, iii. p. 221).

³ *Vide* Toulmin's *Memoirs of Bourn*.

4. A GENERAL MEETING, probably in Oct., 1718.
Joseph Dodson, M.A., of Penruddock, appointed the preacher for the next meeting. It is possible that his views were already under suspicion.
5. KESWICK, April, 1719.
This was the General Meeting at which Joseph Dodson preached his sermon on *Moderation and Charity*.⁴ It caused severe comment; one minister, probably Jno. Atkinson of Stainton, taking up his hat and walking out. At a later date, in order to refute the charges made against him, Dodson published the sermon, in the preface of which he complained that the grants from London had been withheld. Atkinson replied in two sermons under the title: *Jesus Christ essentially one with the Father*, in which he accused Dodson of an Arian interpretation of orthodox language.⁵ Dodson was afterwards at Marlborough, Wilts, and was the father of Michael Dodson, a well-known lawyer, and leader in the Arian movement.
6. PARKHEAD, May, 1728.
The occasion was the ordination of Thos. Walker, M.A. He was ordained to Huddlesceugh, but for present purposes, and through an absence of definite information, Huddlesceugh, Kirkoswald and Parkhead may be reckoned as one congregation. Walker was afterwards at Cockermouth, Hexham and Leeds.
7. BRAMPTON, April 10, 1734.
This meeting was for the ordination of John Herries, a licentiate of the Church of Scotland, to the Brampton congregation. Those ministers present were Thomas Dickinson of Carlisle, Moderator; Walker of Cockermouth; Helme of Penruddock; Threlkeld of Penrith; Wilson of Alston and (probably) of Weardale; Rotheram of Kendal; and Ashley of Whitehaven.⁶ There were also two Northumberland ministers present, Crossland of Greenside (Swalwell), who a few months before had been minister of Great Salkeld, where he married Dr. George Benson's sister; and Dean of Falstone, who was probably related to Adam Dean.
At this meeting of the Provincial, Adam Dean was also ordained to Huddlesceugh.
8. PENRITH, 1746.
The ordination of John Allan, a licentiate of the Church of Scotland, to Brampton.
9. PENRITH, 1752.
This was the year of the induction to Penrith of Edward

⁴ A copy in the Jackson Library, Tullie House, Carlisle.

⁵ These sermons are in the Jackson Library.

⁶ This minister's name is sometimes spelled Astley.

Buncle, M.A., an ordained minister of the Church of Scotland. He accepted the call after a short visit on November 15, 1751. The first sacrament took place in March, 1752, so that his induction would be between these dates. It is possible that the Provincial did not meet, as Buncle had been previously ordained; but it is recorded that when he first preached he produced "a testificat" to the members of the congregation, of his good behaviour as a minister, signed by three ministers in Annandale, where he had been a resident. A copy of his call is among the documents of the Penrith Presbyterian church, and from its orthodox contents we should almost be inclined to think that the Penrith congregation had broken with the Provincial, and had taken the settlement of the minister into its own hands.

10. BRAMPTON, April 11, 1753.

Ordination of John Johnston to Brampton. He was a licentiate of the Church of Scotland. At this meeting the charge was given by John Dickinson of Penruddock, the exhortation by James Ritchie, M.D., of Great Salkeld, and Adam Dean of Parkhead who "laid on the first hand." (Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian Society. *Trans.* Vol. iii. p. 119).⁷

11. PENRITH, Aug. 8, 1753.

The ordination of Thomas Smith to Alston. In the Penrith registers the order of service is given. The ministers present were Messrs. Jollie of Cockermouth; Dean of Parkhead; Saunders of Blennerhasset; Biggar of Keswick; Robinson of Carlisle; Johnston of Brampton; Currie of Haltwhistle; Dickinson of Penruddock; Buncle of Penrith; together with Mr. Smith, who was admitted as a member before ordination.

The short prayer and reading were taken by Mr. Johnston. Mr. Biggar took the long prayer. Mr. Robinson preached from Col. i. 28. Mr. Saunders prayed over the candidate, while Mr. Dickinson gave the charge. All present signed the certificate of ordination. It is noteworthy that while this meeting of the Provincial was carried out fully according to the traditional procedure, there were several congregations unrepresented.

12. PENRITH, April 2, 1754.

This meeting was fixed at the previous meeting on Aug. 8, 1753. We have no record, however, of the business that was transacted.

⁷ Several things are to be noted about this meeting: (1) It was called "The Associated Ministers of Cumberland." (2) The service was in Presbyterian form. (3) There were only three ministers mentioned by name, (excluding the ordinand) although others may have been present. Dickinson afterwards became a friend of Priestley in his Arian stage; Ritchie also became advanced, but we are inclined to think from a sermon which Dean preached in 1766 that he maintained the orthodox position.

13. KESWICK, April 20, 1756.

It was at this meeting that the ordination of Caleb Rotheram, junr., to Kendal, as successor to his father was first discussed. There were present : Messrs. Jolly of Cockermouth ; Bunclie of Penrith ; Dean of Huddlesceugh ; Saunders of Blennerhasset ; Biggar of Keswick ; Robinson of Carlisle ; Currie of Haltwhistle ; Johnston of Brampton ; with James McMillan from Great Salkeld and Plumpton ; and Mr. Thomson.

The following day the Provincial again met, Mr. Thomson again being associated. He was possibly the Rev. John Thompson, late of Stockton-on-Tees, whose views were progressive, and who may have been Rotheram's friend.⁹

14. KENDAL, Aug. 26, 1756.

This meeting is one of the most important in the history of the Provincial, and will be dealt with fully by Messrs. Nicholson and Axon, in their forthcoming book on Kendal chapel. We observe that instead of the usual six months' interval between one meeting of the Provincial and another, only four months had elapsed. The Provincial was constituted the night prior to the ordination ; the members present being Messrs. Jolly, Bunclie, Dean, Sanders, Biggar, with whom were associated Messrs. Rotheram, (not yet ordained) ; James Daye of Lancaster (from a neighbouring Provincial) ; and Samuel Lowthian of Newcastle. There were absent : Messrs. Robinson, Currie, Johnson, Thomson and McMillan ; while Penruddock, being vacant through the removal of Dickinson to Norfolk, was unrepresented. It is perhaps unsafe to infer that those who took part in the service were sympathetic with Rotheram's doctrinal views, and that those who were absent were unsympathetic ; but the presence of Messrs. Lowthian and Daye was significant.

15. KESWICK, 1757.

We have seen it stated that the call of James Biggar, who was a licentiate of the Church of Scotland, and who had been for some time at Keswick, was recorded in the minutes of the Provincial, although we have not met with this entry. After a ministry at Penruddock, Biggar returned to Keswick, where he died. (Cumberland and Westmorland *Transactions* N. S. Vol. v. p. 166).

16. BRAMPTON, October 16, 1759.

Robert Potts, a licentiate of the Church of Scotland, was ordained to Brampton on this date, but we have no actual record that it was by the Provincial. He afterwards held the parish living of Ettrick, whence he returned to Cumberland, becoming minister of Penruddock where he is buried.

⁹ Thompson's dates at Stockton were 1729-53.

17. COCKERMOUTH, Aug. 16, 1769.

This was a General Meeting of the Provincial, where a sermon was preached by Radcliffe Scholefield of Whitehaven, on the prophet Micah, with the title: *Numbers no criterion of Truth*. The sermon advocates an advanced method of theological study, and is consistent with Scholefield's later ministry at Birmingham.

18. PENRITH, Aug. 9, 1772.

The ordination of John Honeyman, M.A., to Penrith. He had been at Penruddock for about two years, and was a licentiate of the Church of Scotland. Immediately after his ordination, a call was placed in his hands from the Penrith congregation.

19. ? PENRITH, Aug. 16, 1780.

This was a meeting at which Robert Hood, M.A., minister of Hanover Square, Newcastle, and afterwards at Brampton, preached a sermon on *The Nature of Christ's Kingdom*. The sermon is described as having been preached before the Protestant Dissenting ministers of Cumberland, at their General Meeting; but whether this is synonymous with the Provincial meeting is doubtful, and we should not be surprised if this were an association of those who were taking up a heterodox position.

20. PENRITH, Sep. 17, 1783.

The ordination of James Broadfoot, a licentiate of the Church of Scotland, who had accepted a call to Penrith in May. It is not clear why his ordination did not take place for six months afterwards.

21. ? PENRITH, Aug., 1785.

Ordination of Richard Paxton, a licentiate of the Church of Scotland, to Huddlesceugh. He removed to Penrith and received a call to become pastor there on Feb. 20, 1788. In 1791 he became parish minister of Tundergarth, in the Presbytery of Lochmaben.

This is the last reference which we have to the Provincial as such. There is evidence to prove that the state of dissent in Cumberland and Westmorland at this period was at the lowest point of vitality. The decline had been taking place for some time. Kendal had become Unitarian; Crook and Stainton were extinct; Alston, Blennerhasset, Cockermouth, Keswick, Kirkoswald and Raven-

stonedale had become, or were about to become, Independent; while Brampton, Carlisle, Haltwhistle, Penrith, Penruddock, Great Salkeld with Plumpton, and Whitehaven had become, or were about to become, connected with various branches of the Secession Churches of Scotland.

We may date the disruption of the Provincial from 1756, the year of the ordination of Caleb Rotheram, junior. After that year it appears as the Provincial of Cumberland, and this may merely stand for an association of ministers which, in a greater or less degree, was acknowledged by the congregations. Two illustrations of the variety of usage may be given. The first is that of Ravenstonedale.⁹ In 1751 the grants from the Presbyterian Fund ceased. There is a gap between 1751 and October, 1762, when the Newcastle classis ordained William Scott, a licentiate of the Church of Scotland, to Ravenstonedale. He afterwards held a charge in Scotland, removing from Ravenstonedale in 1764. In 1767 James Tetley, a Heckmondwike student, was at Ravenstonedale, "but not in connection with the Provincial of Cumberland." It appears that the Ravenstonedale congregation had asked for assistance, and had declined the Cumberland ministers because they were heterodox; but this information, coming from the Cocker-mouth registers, may mean no more than that they did not maintain the Calvinistic position of the Cocker-mouth church. The other illustration is that of Cocker-mouth. In 1767 Selby Ord, a licentiate of the Church of Scotland who returned to a parish living in that country, received a call to the Cocker-mouth Independent church. The ordination ceremony was conducted by two Lancashire ministers, Messrs. Waldegrave and Allat, with whom

⁹ *Vide* the sketch of this congregation by Messrs. Dale & Crippen. (C.H.S., Tr. iii. 96, 7.)

were associated Daniel Fisher of Warminster.¹⁰ This arose from the distrust of the Cumberland ministers by the Cockermouth church.

We are unable to say to what extent the Provincial existed after Paxton's ordination in 1785. In 1799 the Presbytery of Selkirk (Burgher) appeared at Penrith, for the ordination of Henry Thomson. We imagine that each congregation was almost isolated. We have, however, come across an interesting paper which proves that something resembling a Provincial existed in 1806. It is the list of questions put by the Rev. Timothy Nelson, M.A., of Great Salkeld, to Mr. James Scott, who was ordained at Huddlesceugh July 3, 1806, and who seven years afterwards is described as an Independent minister.¹¹ As it is probably the only list of questions extant in connection with Cumberland ordinations, we append them.¹²

"At Mr. Scott's ordination he will be requested,

1. To deliver a confession of his faith . . . to let his brethren know what are those notions which he has learned from the New Testament ; or to give us a summary of those principles of the Christian religion which he designs to recommend to the belief and practice of the people committed to his care.
2. What are those views and motives which have determined him to undertake the office of a Gospel minister ?
3. What are his sentiments concerning the Reformed Protestant religion ?
4. What are his reasons . . . for choosing to be ordained amongst Protestant Dissenters ?
5. Is it his fixed resolution to attend upon reading, meditation and prayer, that his profiting may appear unto all ?
6. Is he determined . . . to maintain the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace ?
7. Do you promise and engage to make the office and duties of a Gospel minister the great business of your life ?
8. Do you, in the presence of God and this assembly, dedicate and give up yourself to the Lord, for the work of the sacred ministry ?

¹⁰ Fisher represented the Independent congregation which had been formed upon the appearance of Arianism in the Presbyterian meeting-house of that town.

¹¹ In the Penriddock trust deed of 1813.

¹² This document is in the possession of Mr. Thomas Nelson, Town Head, Great Salkeld.

Attached to this document is Mr. Nelson's charge to Scott, in which he states that they mean by the laying on of hands to observe an apostolic custom, "but not to arrogate or to assume to ourselves the power of infusing any degree of holiness or extraordinary sanctity in you."

These fragmentary notes of the Cumberland and Westmorland Provincial prove the late date of this interdenominational association, and shew that, where there is no doctrinal difficulty, Protestant Dissenters may profitably co-operate.

J. HAY COLLIGAN.

An Early Yorkshire Congregationalist

THE investigation of what has appeared to be the inaccuracy of portions of Calamy's account of a Nonconformist worthy of the seventeenth century, Mr. Nicholas Cudworth of Bramley and Beeston, reveals a pitiable enough tale of one who mistook personal holiness for a vocation to teach others. At the hands of men, even of those attached to his own congregations, he received little but the fruits of open hatred and contempt. At the hands of God he received doubtless the rare joy that comes to comfort the lot of the solitary, and much of this world's recompense was bestowed upon his children.

The first trustworthy indication concerning the life of Mr. Cudworth occurs in the books of Christ's College, Cambridge. Dr. Peile, the present Master, states that Nicholas, son of Robert Cudworth, was born in Cheshire, and was admitted as a sizar in 1625. The year of his birth would therefore have been in or about 1606, and the place was, no doubt, in the neighbourhood of Wrensbury, a village adjacent to Nantwich. Nonconformity had there more than one zealous adherent. At Wrenbury Wood lived the Savages, with one of whom the daughter of Philip Henry contracted marriage later in the seventeenth century. The Cudworths of Newhall in the parish of Wrensbury were, however, conformists, often engaged in litigation with the incumbent of their parish, or with their neighbours. Of these Cudworths, George, sometime of St. John's College,

Cambridge, became rector at Shenton in Shropshire. A Robert Cudworth, uncle of George, was an inhabitant of London, and probably a serjeant-at-law. Not this Robert, but some earlier close connection, was the father of Nicholas.

In 1629, four years after his admission to Christ's College, Cambridge, Nicholas Cudworth, Bachelor of Arts, became curate of the parish of St. Sampson's, York, and, one year subsequently, married Christian Barras of the same parish, a girl who, if Oliver Heywood be correct, was much his junior, and scarcely more than fifteen years of age.

In 1636 he became minister at Bramley, now an outskirt of Leeds, and there, in June, he had a son, John, and nearly four years later, another, Jeremiah, both of whom were baptized at Leeds; the latter upon January 1st, 1639/40, the former upon June 19th. Jeremiah was, in after life, as will be seen, a man of some note.

In the troublous days of the great Civil War a minister had but little security in the holding of his living, and, not infrequently, occasion other than a call for quitting it. It is possible that Nicholas is identical with the Mr. Cudworth of Burley and New Kirkgate, whose children, Job and another un-named, were baptized at Leeds in 1641 and 1644. A further reference to him at this period is to be found in the will of Christopher Brown of Holbeck, who left him a small legacy. In 1646 there is also, in the Dewsbury registers, record upon September 26th of the burial of Rebecca, daughter of a Mr. Cudworth.

Whether or no the movements indicated were dictated by political causes, there is no reason to doubt that Nicholas Cudworth was in sympathy, to a degree much greater than that of his Yorkshire neighbours, with the Puritan cause. He espoused the opinions of the Independents without reserve,

even when these opinions were unpopular. Probably he hoped to find the neighbourhood of his native county more ready to accept the principles of Congregationalism than was Yorkshire. At any rate, in 1646, he was in Lancashire, and preached on three occasions at the college, Manchester, and received for his services, £3; the receipt for which is still extant.

Thereafter he was minister at Astbury in Cheshire. The inclusion of his name among the ministers at that place is a useful supplement to the information contained in various portions of Urwick's *Historical Sketches of Nonconformity in Cheshire*.

After the sequestration of Thomas Hutcheson, the Episcopalian clergyman, John Ley of Great Budworth became minister, and signed the Solemn League and Covenant in 1648. He was aided by John Murcot, who had been ordained to Astbury in 1647, and by Henry Newcome. Between that date and 1652 for some brief period Nicholas Cudworth would appear to have held the living. Mr. John Machin, of Whitley, was "ordered and called to Astbury on November 17th, 1652, but exprest not his full consent until the spring following." With him in the parsonage lived George Moxon, the pastor of the Congregational church at Astbury. He and Mr. Machin so shared the preaching that when Mr. Machin preached at Astbury, Mr. Moxon preached at Rushton, on the edge of the moorland parts of Staffordshire, and the next Sunday he would preach at Astbury, and so on alternate Sundays throughout their friendship, until 1660.

This friendship was not disturbed by an event which, if Mr. Urwick's statement as to the relations of the two ministers be correct, might easily have disturbed their understanding.

In the Plundered Ministers' Accounts is contained an order of June 26th, 1654, reciting that "whereas Thomas Hutchinson, late Rector of Astbury, had been sequestered, and that Mr. Cudworth hath relinquished the living, the Commissioners for Approbacon of Public Preachers did nominate Mr. George Moxon to be and continue in the said sequestered rectory as one of the publique preachers there."

Thereafter, Mr. Cudworth shifted to Coley and its neighbourhood, and the all but contemporaneous account given of him in 1674 by Mr. Oliver Heywood cannot be bettered :

"They have scarcely ever had a good minister at Lightcliffe since the Reformation, except one Mr. Blanks about sixty years ago, and, in the later times of liberty, Mr. Cudworth was about a year with them, but they hated him and soon got him out." And again : "When Mr. Giles Clayton was dead, they got, at Coley, Mr. Cudworth, a good scholar and a holy man, as was hoped, and a good preacher, but so exceeding melancholy that it obscured his parts and rendered himself and his labours less acceptable. He lived in Northowram, in Robert Bradley's house, where Joseph Crowther now lives, and in a melancholy humour he would not have gone to the chapel on Lord's Day when people have been waiting for him, but said he could not preach, and so caused a disappointment. At other times in public he would have expounded a chapter in the forenoon till almost twelve o'clock, and fallen to preaching after, and so kept them out of time. So that he tired people that they fell from him and he could not stay. He was not at Coley above a year, yet in that time he would have gathered a church in the Congregational way, but the Christians in the congregation being not of that persuasion did not encourage him in it,

and so he did nothing and was glad to go away. I think he had been at Lightcliffe before, and went hence to Beeston, Ardsley, Ossett, and was not long resident anywhere; was very poor, built a house with difficulty upon the common at Ossett; cast himself into debt; travelled often to London about an augmentation; at last died; left a widow and several children that are now got up and shifted pretty well; live in Wakefield. In them God has remembered His covenant."

At Ossett, in 1656, was born a child, probably his last, who died the same day. In October of that year also Rachel his daughter was buried at Horbury, and two years later he himself died, intestate, at Beeston. His widow became administratrix of his estate, whatever that was worth, upon September 20th, 1658.

But for the inaccuracy of date, Calamy's account sums up, very fairly, all else that is known of Nicholas Cudworth. Perchance, those particulars as all else written are naught save *accidentia mutabilia immutabiliaque* rather than the real picture of the melancholy old man.

The *Nonconformists' Memorial* adds this: "He was an old man when he was ejected in 1662. He was so intent upon preaching as often to forget himself, and to hold out so long as to need some item to leave off. He died about the time that the Corporation Act passed."

In truth, he had not even the glory of suffering for principle. He was ejected before the Restoration, not because he was a Nonconformist, but because he was a bore.

For the remainder, it may be said that his wife died in 1679, when her son Jeremiah had already attained some considerable success. The year after his father's death he had gone to Christ's College, Cambridge. From 1666 to 1672 he was

head master at Bishop's Stortford in Hertfordshire, and thereafter for seven years at Nottingham. From early 1676 he was also a prebendary of Southwell, of which the dean and chapter, patrons of the living of Barnburgh in Yorks, presented him to the rectory in which he died on July 3rd, 1704.

In him, as Heywood has said, God remembered His covenant.

Of the other children of Nicholas, Job and John may have survived, and not improbably the latter is identical with one of the incumbents of Bury in the diocese of Chester.

J. C. WHITEBROOK.

An Unpublished Sermon by Dr. Cotton Mather

Preached 30th September, 1701

From his original MS. Notes in the Congregational Library
(Sprague Collection of American Autographs)

Eph. i. 8. Wherein He hath abounded toward us—

WHEREIN? Truly, In Riches of Grace. They that have experienced y^e Rich Grace of God unto themselves, will find their experience exceedingly disposing them & compelling them to praise y^e Riches of Grace. O^r Bl: Apostle Paul was a notable Instance of this Observation. Great Faver had y^e Grace of God bestowed upon him; and with great praises does he predicate and celebrate that grace on all occasions. In y^e context before us [we have O^r Apostle admiring ye ever-admirable Riches of Divine grace :¹] y^e salvation of man is in every part of it [*something illegible*]² ascribed unto y^e Grace of God. Grace, Grace, Grace is adored in Saving us from first to last; & in y^e whole process of bringing us to everlasting Blessedness by y^e L.J.C. First: There is Grace of God illustrious in the purposing of O^r Salvation,—Then in y^e purchasing of o^r Salvation,—Last of all, in y^e Applying of o^r Salvation. In Election, we may behold the Rich Grace of God y^e Father,—In Redemption, of God y^e Son,—In Vocation, of God y^e Spirit. Yea, there is a concurrence of all y^e Three persons, y^e Father, ye Son, and y^e Spirit, with infinitely Rich Grace in every one of those Three Glorious Benefits. We are graciously Elected & graciously Redeemed, & at length most graciously Called, when we are effectually called Home unto God.

It seems That in y^e verse now in o^r hands o^r Apostle proceeds to Discourse on y^e Actual Application of these Benefits which y^e Grace of God has purposed & purchased for us. And y^e first thing observable is, The cause inducing this Application; That w^{ch} ye Logicians call The pro-egumenical cause. This is y^e same, that is y^e cause of all y^e rest; That cause of all causes, in y^e affaire of o^r Salvation; even The Rich Grace of God. Now, lest y^e Riches of Grace may not have their full glory in the mention thereof, 'tis (?) added, That God hath Abounded therein towards us. Doct.

The Blessed God is not only very Gracious, but also hath abounded in Riches of Grace towards us, as in purposing and in purchasing, so in Applying y^e Benefit [*line illegible*].

¹ Inserted in margin.

² Interlined.

I. God in y^e L.J.C. by y^e H. Spirit, at some time or other, Effectually Applies unto His people y^e Benefits of Salvation purposed & purchased for y^m. All y^e Benefits purposed in Election, and purchased in Redemption, for the people of God are at Some Time or other made Theirs by an effectual Application.

There are many & Glorious Truths of the Gospel, which are now to be briefly, but plainly, sett before us.

We may Enquire, first, What is implied in y^e Application of Blessedness? The Answer to this enquiry is, That y^e Application of Blessedn : is y^e making of Those Blessings to become Actually O^r, that have been purposed & purchased for us. By this Application we arrive to y^e actual Possession & Fruition of y^e Blessedness w^{ch} by y^e purpose of God, & y^e purchase of Christ, belonged unto us. Tho Election and Redemption do make a Difference between y^e chosen people of God and Reprobates, yett there is no visible Difference between y^e Chosen & others till y^e Application of Election & Redemption. Both y^e chosen & others remain alike in their Natural Condition, under a Dispensation of Divine Wrath, until y^e Applic : of El. and Red : make a Sensible Difference between y^m. [As Eph. 2. 3, 4. Tit. 3. 3, 4.^s] Tis this Applic : that actually bestowes upon y^e chosen of God, y^e Good Things w^{ch} were agreed in y^e Covenant between God and His Messiah from all Eternity, to be bestowed upon y^m. In this application there is the actual execution of God's Decree concerning o^r being brought unto Blessedness & in y^e actual communication of y^e Blessedness o^r L.J.C. by His active and passive obedience has bought for us.

We may enquire, secondly, To whom is made y^e Application of Blessedness? The A. to this Enquiry is, That all and only y^e people of God, [Elected & Redeemed for Blessedn :⁴] have y^e Applic. of Blessedness made unto y^m. Wee assert this against y^e Arminian Heresy—O^r Assertion is, That Election, and Redemption, & y^e Application of El : & Red : are of y^e same Extent. All they, for whom y^e Blessings of God are purposed and purchased, and none but they, shall have y^e Blessings Applied unto y^m. v. Acts 13. 48. and Rom. 8. 30. And we must know therefore, that not only Adult persons among y^e chosen people of God, but chosen Infants also, dying in their Infancy, are the subjects of this Application. Such Infants as God has given to y^e L.J.C., & y^e Blood of y^e L.J.C. has been sprinkled upon, even to these, departing in their Infancy, there is an Application of Blessedness. Why may not y^e Habit of Sanctity be infused into their souls? We are sure they bring an Habit of Wickedness into the the world with them. God so reneweth y^m that of such is y^e Kingdome of Heaven.

We may Enquire thirdly, By whom is made y^e Applic : of Blessedness. The Answer to this enquiry is, That it is God in y^e L.J.C.

⁴ Inserted in margin.

⁴ Ditto.

by y^e Holy Spirit. It is very certain that no creature can make the Applic. of Blessedness unto us. When Blessedness is proposed unto us in y^e Gospel, as purposed & purchased for us, we are not Able of o.s. to receive it; no, nor to discren it, i Cor. 2. 14. Nor is the most able ministry in y^e world able to Apply unto us y^e Blessings w^{ch} it does proclaim & propound & profer unto us. The most charming ministry of y^e Gospel will apply curses rather than Blessings unto us, if there be no more. 'Tis God alone, who Applies as well as Elects and Redeems. Nothing less than y^e Almighty Arm of God can make Applic: of y^e Blessings that are purposed and purchased for us, Phil. 2. 13. It is God y^e Father who Applies unto us all Spiritual Blessings; and He does it, as in y^e L.J.C. Yea, we must hold, That not only Blessedness itself is bought for us by o^r L.J.C. but y^e Applic: of y^e Blessedn: w^c is bought for us. Our Lord has not only Dyed, that we may have Blessedness, if we Believe; but—that we may Beleeve, in order to Blessedness. [And o^r L.J.C. now is now by His Intercession carrying on y^e Applic. of o^r Bl:^s] Yea, and all y^e Three Persons in God cooperate for the Applic. of o^r Blessedness. Tit. 3. 4, 5, 6. —Nevertheless, The Application of o^r Blessedn: is, upon some Accounts, principally assigned unto y^e Third person, even unto y^e H. Spirit. It is y^e Third & y^e last work, in o^r Salvation, & so y^e Third person has a peculiar & a most agreeable claim unto that work. The work of consummation does especially belong to y^e H. Spirit. The work of Application is the work of Consummation. It is therefore y^e H. Spirit that eminently Applies y^e Blessings of God, & of y^e L.J.C. unto us.

We may Enquire, Fourthly, How is made y^e Applic: of Blessedness? The A. to this enquiry is, [Conversion; that glorious work of Grace w^{ch} we call Conversion is y^e first Applic. of o^r Blessedness; or, more particularly,⁶] The Applic: of Blessedness is made unto us in & by o^r Union with the L.J.C. who is y^e Author of all o^r Blessedness. It is By being united unto y^e L.J.C. that we are brought into a state of Blessedness, and have a Title to y^e Blessings of y^e Covenant. While we are estranged from y^e L.J.C. we are under dreadful & grievous miseries; the Righteous God is Angry with us; we are miserably perishing under y^e effects of His Anger. O^r union with y^e L.J.C. is y^e foundation of Blessedn: w^{ch} y^e H. Spirit of God layes in Applying all His Blessings unto us. We have a virtual union with y^e L.J.C. from all eternity. But y^e H. Spirit brings us at length to a vital union with y^e L.J.C. And it is by o^r Interest in Him & relation w. Him that we come to y^e Blessings w^{ch} are from all Eternity laid up in Him for us, [1 Cor. 1. 30].⁷ Well, but it is in o^r Effectual calling that o^r union with y^e L.J.C. is accomplished. Until we are Effectually called. Eph. 2. 12.— The Application of o^r Blessedness does then commence in

^{6 7} Added in margin.

o^r Effectual Calling. In o^r Effectual Calling y^e H Spirit first prepares us for union with o^r L.J.C. He does Convince us, & Affright us, & Humble us. He shows us o^r own Sinfulness & wretchedness. He layes us in y^e Dust, without Hopes of being helped by any Righteousness of o^r own. He makes us feel o^r utter Impotency to do any thing that is good. And He discovers unto us o^r L.J.C. as able to save us unto y^e uttermost, & willing to cast out none that come unto Him to save y^m. The Holy Spirit then raises to that Blessed union. He produces in o^r Hearts that faith, by w^{ch} consent unto y^e offers & y^e offices of y^e L.J.C., and repair to Him & Rely on Him for Grace, & for Glory, & for every good thing. He Enables us to see y^e Fulness w^{ch} there is in y^e L.J.C., for y^e Releef of all o^r Necessities, & He disposes us to venture o^r All upon that Fulness. [Then we are effectually called unto y^e L.J.C.]⁹ In these things is brought about o^r union with Him. Hereupon it is that we are Justified, we are Sanctified, we are Glorified.

We may Enquire, Fifthly, when it is made? A. It shall infallibly be made at some time or other, determined by God. The Applic : of Blessedn : to y^e people of God is God's work, and it shall be done in God's time. It was said Ps. 31. 15. The Time of our Conversion is one of those times. And yett, a little more punctually : The time of o^r Conversion must be bef : y^e time of o^r Dissolution. All y^e chosen of God die converted, & begin to live unto Him while they live in this world. If o^r Bl : be not so far Applied in o^r Life-time, it will never be applied throughout y^e Dayes of Eternity. Eccl. 9. 10. Again ; God is at liberty to make any Time of o^r Life y^e Time of o^r Conversion to a New Life. There is no Age excepted. Lett no Age presume on another, so, Lett no Age Despair of y^e present. [Some sanctified in childhood . . . And (tho' y^e Script. don't give two Instances of any converted in old age, yett)⁹ Matt. 20. 8.

Once more. Most commonly, y^e conversion of men to become New men is before they are Old men ; especially if they have lived under y^e Light of y^e Gospel : the old man becoming a convert is a sort of a miracle. See Eccl. 12. 1. Youth—now is y^e Time.

II. The Blessed God is very gracious, yea, He does Abound in Riches of Grace toward us, when He effectually Applies unto us y^e Benefits of our Salvation. Is there Grace in purposing of o^r Blessedness—in purchasing.—Well, There is Grace, yea, an Abundance of Rich Grace too, in y^e Applying of o^r Blessedness.

i O^r conversion is all over a work of Grace ; most Absolute Grace ; [& therefore, therefore most Abundant Grace. v. 1 Pet. i. 3 fo.¹⁰] Why does God convert any sinner to Himself? Or, why does He convert that sinner while He leaves another in his unbelief? Oh, None may say unto Him, what doest thou! He is not responsible to any of His creatures about it. We are sure the

* * * Added in margin.

King of kings can do no wrong. [He does us no wrong if He do not convert us ; He shows us abundant, Amazing, Infinite Grace, if He do.""] The converting Grace of God is His own proper Gift ; and at Matt. 20. 15, God is y^e sole Master of His own Grace, and may and will dispense it just as it pleases Him. v. Jam. I. 18. v. Rom. 9. 18. v. Mat. II. 26.

Indeed y^e Grace of God is more discovered in y^e conversion of His people, or in His conferring the first grace upon y^m, than in any of His After-Dealings with y^m. In conferring y^e priviledges that follow upon y^e first grace, y^e priviledges of pardon, & vertue, & Heaven, y^e Lord acts more by a Law, whereto He has graciously obliged Himself. But in converting of men, & in conferring the First grace upon y^m, y^e Lord acts more by prerogative, in a more Arbitrary way. God hath bound Himself by His promise unto us, to justify and glorify y^m that Believe. But He hath never promised unto any man, be he Qualified how he will, that He will work faith in that man, or help him to Beleeve. There is no promise of converting Grace unto y^e best endeavour of Nature, or, of men in a Natural condition ! God hath published a law of Grace, according to which He will bestow further grace on y^m that are converted. But He has published no Law, according to w^{ch} He proceeds in giving of converting grace unto y^m that have it not. God commands unregenerate men to hear, & pray, & meditate, and use y^e means of grace for conversion ; & He tells y^m This is y^e Ordinary way, wherein He finds y^e souls of His chosen, when He comes for their conversion. But He no where assures men, that if they do their best in the use of means. He will thereupon bestow converting grace upon y^m. God hath made a connexion between y^e conversion & salvation of sinners ; but He hath made no such connexion between y^e best endeavours of unconverted sinners & their conversion. Every Beleever has God's Bond for salvation. But no unbeleever has God's Bond for conversion. Here, Here God hath Reserved a Freedome unto Himself ! The Application of Blessedness unto men, in their Conversion, depends not on any Aequity—probity—Industry of unconverted men ; But only upon the Good pleasure of God. It is as Mic. 5. 7.

2. There is Abundance of Grace in y^e Experience of all those to whom y^e Grace of God has been applied in their conversion. Tis true that Grace in God is always y^e same ; God & His Grace is unchangeable ; The Grace of God admitts no degrees. But Grace as manifested in y^e Fruits of it may be more or less Abundant. Now Applied grace is Abundant grace. The grace of God hath not only Appeared (Tit. 3. 4.) but it hath also Abounded in y^e Application of o^r Blessedness.

1. The Grace of God w^{ch} was be fore conceled is gloriously expressed in o^r conversion, & in the Blessed consequents of o^r con-

¹¹ Inserted in the margin.

version. Text, *επερρσσευθεν*, a metaphor taken from springs, from rivers, from waters that overflow. There is a Fountain of grace in Election & in Redemption, but it lies Hid, until we are converted unto God. In o^r conversion that Fountain of grace boils up, & breaks forth, & runs over; and y^e Applic: of El: & red: is like a mighty channel, wherein y^e grace of God flowes down unto us with a wonderful Inundation. The grace of God is now [*sic*] longer concealed and contained out of sight; but with a rapid stream it now overflows all Banks; it knowes no Banks nor Bounds; it is wonderfully shed abroad forever, [As ps. 36. 8—so here.¹⁹]

2. There is Abundance of Blessings, that y^e grace of God bestowes upon us, when He comes to make Application of our Blessedness. As Jon. 1. 16.—Grace upon grace.—The grace of God is alwayes doing for His people; and it still cries give, give, as if it could never give too much. We read 1 Cor. 1. 5. Oh! There is an Abundance of comfortable things granted unto us, when the grace of God Applies our Blessedness. While we are yett on Earth we enjoy Abundance of good things from y^e grace of God. In Temporal Good Things we have all that we need; and the Abundant grace of God will make y^m really good for us. But in Spiritual good Things it is that y^e most is done for us by y^e Abundant grace of God. We have Abundance of grace to do our Duties and bear o^r Trials, and we have Abundance of grace to support us under y^m. [See Phil. 4. 19. What sort of grace.¹⁸] Nevertheless, y^e main Abundance, that we are to receive, is in the Heavenly World. v. Rom. 15. 13.

We have not y^e compleat Applic: of o^r Blessedness, till we come unto y^e Heavenly world. But in that world there is an Abundance of good that will be done for us. O^r Blessedn: in Heaven is compared unto a Feast. Lazarus there lies down in y^e Bosom of Abraham.

3. The grace of God bestowes, & applies His Blessings unto them that have Abundance of Sin to render y^m unworthy of y^e Blessings. It was so, Isa. 55. 7. Truly there is Abundance of grace where a Sinner is Abundantly pardoned. But so it is; The people of God have sinned Abundantly; and God pardoned their sins abundantly. It is very certain, That wee need Abundance of grace. The Angels thems: need the grace of God that they may stand, and that they may be confirmed in their station. Surely then, Sinful & Fallen men do need Abundance of grace for a Recovery out of their Lamentable Fall. An Enemy to God, a Traitor, & a rebel against the Eternal majesty of God, has need of Abundance of grace to recover him unto Blessedness after all. Alas, my Hearers, we are unable to help o^rs: we are unworthy that god should help us, yea, we are unwilling that God should help us. Oh! what an Abundance of grace must there be, to do all for us! v. Rom. 5. 20.

¹⁸ ¹⁹ Inserted in margin.

Applic.

A few Short Admonitions.

I. Hard-hearted Sinner, Lett not thy Hard Heart resist y^e Spirit of grace, when He comes to Apply y^e Blessings of God unto thee. Oh! Lett it not be said of any among us as Acts 7. 51.

Consider an astonishing Thing. The Holy Spirit of Grace is waiting to Apply unto your Souls all y^e Blessings that are purposed & purchased for y^e chosen of God. It may be, many of you do feel some Impressions of that Holy Spirit upon your Hearts, and you have Him urging of you and pleading with you; Come shall I convert thee to God, and unite thee to Christ? Shall I take possession of thee, and renew thee, & Instruct thee, & strengthen thee, & comfort thee, & bring thee to Heavenly glory at y^e last? O sollicited souls; 'Tis a precious Day of grace with you, if your Hearts are stirr'd & mov'd with any such Impressions. Now for y^e Lord's sake, I beseech you, Do not sin away this Day of grace; But, oh, hearken to y^e Spirit of grace; Harken to His gracious motions. Cry to Him, oh, Holy Spirit, I would fain—o Turn thou me & I shall be Turned; o make me willing in the Day of thy power. And so, Try whether He does not Effectually Begin to Apply unto you y^e Blessings that are y^e peculiar portion of y^e people of God. Happy, Happy are you, if you find it so.

II. Lett y^e Abundance of grace in y^e conversion of sinners Encourage all Sinners with Abundance of Hope, about their conversion.

We wish, & long, & pray for y^e conversion of others. Every child of God has this Temper in him. He pitties y^e that are not yett converted; he knowes y^e Terror of y^e Lord, he desires unfeignedly that others may be made Heirs of the grace of Life with him, He saies, Oh, y^e y^e Salvation of these were come out of Zion—Especially, his own relatives. Now it may make o^r hearts e'en ready to Dy & Sink within us, when we see y^e Hopeless Blindness, & madness, & Obstinacy of some for whose conversion o^r Souls are in Travail before y^e Lord. But Be of good cheer; there is Abundance of grace in God; And what may not Abundance of grace do for the chief of sinners! All turns purely upon y^e grace of god.—not—Manasseh—see 1 Tim. 1. 13.—Again, some are in Distress about their own conversion. Is it possible, say they, that ever such a forlorn wretch as I am should be converted? or will God ever look wth an eye of mercy upon—. Yes: why not? An Abundance of grace may take notice of thee, a sinner, tho' thou hast an Abundance of sin lying upon thee. Tho' thou hast sinned much, much may be forgiven thee. [Grace Abounds above and beyond all human Imaginations.¹⁴] See 2 Tim. 1. 9.

III. Does God Abound in Riches of grace towards His people? Then lett not y^e poor people of God Look upon themselves as

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poor. How can they be poor that have Riches of grace Abounding to y^m. Good men may conflict with poverty. But as Rev. 2. 9. Syrs, In y^e midst of your Poverty you have an Abundance. The Rich grace of God, Abounding towards you, does enrich you with unsearchable Riches. Oh! what will y^e Abundant grace do for you? See Eph. 3. 20.

IV. Methinks, they to whom God hath Abounded in Riches of grace can do no less than Abound in praises of that grace, [as it?] was said, Col. 2. 7. Christians, magnify y^e grace that has been abounding towards you, & be not ashamed or averse to render unto God y^e glory of his grace. [The comely language of—is O magnify y^e Lord with me for His grace, & lett us exalt His name together.¹⁶⁷] Let us abound in those things by w^{ch} y^e ab: grace of God may be Abundantly glorified. See 2 Cor. 9. 8; See 1 Thes. 4. 1; See 1 Cor. 15. 58.

The Earlier History of Emmanuel Church, Cambridge

THE history of Cambridge Nonconformity begins nearly four-and-a-half centuries back. As long ago as the year 1457 there existed in Chesterton a congregation which assembled secretly for divine worship. It taught boldly that the Pope was Antichrist; and that all men should be free from his and from all human authority in matters of religion, seeing that every man's soul is a temple of the living God. An accusation of heresy was soon launched against these bold reformers; and the Bishop of Ely condemned six of them to do public penance, at Ely, at Cambridge, and at Great Swaffham. But we must come down two centuries later for the beginning of that modern Cambridge Nonconformity which has endured continuously to our own day. Its oldest historical organisation is that which is now represented by Emmanuel Congregational church. In 1662 the Act of Uniformity ejected from all parochial benefices and all college offices those divines who held to the Presbyterian or Independent forms of Church government. Thus, as the late eminent Archdeacon Julius Hare says: "Two thousand ministers, comprising the chief part of all the most faithful and zealous of the land, were silenced in one day." Many who were playing an important part in the University life of Cambridge were driven forth into silence and poverty. Thirty-three University dons were ejected: including the Master of Trinity Hall (Dr. Bond); from Pembroke, the Master and three

Fellows ; from Magdalene, the Master, two Fellows and an M.A. ; from Caius, the Master ; from Emmanuel, two Fellows and two M.A.'s. ; from St. John's, four Fellows ; one Fellow each from St. Catharine's and King's ; from Clare, three Fellows, including Francis Holcroft, afterwards the "Apostle of Cambridgeshire" ; and from Trinity ten Fellows, including amongst them the great biologist John Ray, the father and founder of Natural History in England and the inventor of the modern principles of classification in the animal and vegetable kingdoms. Nearly thirty years later Ray published a book on the connection of science and religion, his *Wisdom of God in the Creation*, which went through many editions and was translated into many languages. In the preface to it he pathetically says : "Not being permitted to serve the church with my tongue in preaching, I know not but it may be my duty to serve it with my hand in writing." Ray's figure now stands portrayed in one of the storied windows of Trinity College chapel. Milton and he are the two greatest names in the history of Cambridge Nonconformity.

But of all the many heroic Nonconformist histories which cluster round the period of persecution, there is no more inspiring chapter than that which narrates how Francis Holcroft (Fellow of Clare and vicar of Bassingbourne), Joseph Oddy (Fellow of Trinity), and Samuel Corbyn (chaplain of Trinity), having for conscience's sake sacrificed their earthly prospects, resolved at once that they would set themselves to the prohibited and perilous work of ministering to all the Nonconformists scattered throughout the various towns and villages of this county. But within a year they were arrested for this, and imprisoned in Cambridge gaol. There Holcroft remained a prisoner for nine long years. By the connivance of his

gaoler, however, he frequently went out on parole, to exercise his ministry ; and he and Mr. Oddy, on their release, preached assiduously all over Cambridgeshire, through the reigns of Charles II and James II, in constant peril of the law. These brave colleagues now lie buried together, with the son of one of their ejected colleagues, in a piece of land which Holcroft purchased at Oakington as a Nonconformist cemetery.

In April, 1687, James II issued a Declaration of Indulgence suspending for the moment the operation of the laws against Nonconformity. On the strength of this, the Presbyterians of Cambridge purchased at once a piece of ground on "Hog Hill" (the little lane which we now call Downing Place), on which they proceeded to erect a public meeting-house. In July, 1687, there were registered, before the county justices, eight places in Cambridge in which Nonconformist worship might be held under the Toleration Act ; six of these, however, being mere private houses in which small occasional gatherings would take place. The seventh was a Congregationalist chapel near the north-east corner of Green Street ; and the eighth was this Presbyterian chapel on Hog Hill, which soon came to be known as the "Great Meeting." It was vested in 1687 in six trustees—the Rev. Robert Wilson ; Richard Pearson, a cordwainer ; Thomas Ridgwell, a joiner ; Robert Ridgwell, a carrier ; Jonathan Stephens, a dyer ; and Plaskett, a pipemaker. In 1701 further trustees were appointed, namely : John Paterson, linendraper ; William Finch, ironmonger ; and the Rev. James Peirce, afterwards famous at Exeter as a theologian. The trust imposed no doctrinal limitations upon the church, but simply directed the building to be used "as a place of religious worship by Protestant Dissenters."

In October, 1691, the Great Meeting appointed its first settled pastor, the Rev. Joseph Hussey, formerly chaplain to Sir Jonathan Keate, Bart., of Hertfordshire. A remarkable autobiographical memorandum book of Mr. Hussey's (which is in the possession of Emmanuel church) gives a striking account of the solemn but secret ceremony, in London, at which he had been ordained to the ministry, just at the critical moment in 1688 when the Prince of Orange, afterwards King William, was under sail for England. So little assurance was yet felt for the ultimate triumph of religious liberty in England, that the six ministers who conducted this ordination, fearful of the penalties that might fall upon them, did not dare, in the formal certificate which they gave Mr. Hussey at the conclusion of the ceremony, to certify that they had ordained him, but only that they "personally knew that he had been ordained." Indeed, but five of them had the courage to go thus far; for the sixth would neither sign the certificate nor even permit Mr. Hussey to know his name; for he was, as Hussey quaintly puts it, "shy because of the cloudiness of the times." The new pastor found seventy-six persons in full church membership, of whom fifty-two were women. They were presided over by Thomas Bland and Samuel Aungier as "ruling elders," and had as their only deacon "the aged and honoured Mr. Robert Wilson," who had been silenced from his ministry in 1662, and now supported himself in Cambridge by teaching music. This deacon and trustee is one of the most striking figures in early Cambridge Nonconformity. The historian Calamy says: "He was an eminently pious and charitable man, and an arch-beggar for the Nonconformists; as pious a man as ever lived upon God's earth." There exists a copy of Calamy's History, on the margins

of whose pages a Cambridge Episcopalian of that generation has written many cutting words ; but when he comes to this page he lays aside all his sarcasm and makes the comment : "This is a true account of honest Robert Wilson."

Hussey had settled over this Presbyterian flock as a Presbyterian minister, but very early in his ministry an extraordinary transformation took place. He persuaded the majority to adopt Congregationalism. Ultimately, in 1696, the minority who disliked this change withdrew, and joined the Congregational church in Green Street ; which they succeeded in inducing to make a converse change in its practices and to become Presbyterian. It must, however, be remembered that this change was far more slight than it seems to our modern ears, accustomed to think of Presbyterianism in its Scottish form. That form, with its close knit centralization of presbyteries and synods, was never generally adopted in England, even in the Commonwealth period ; and when the Presbyterians organized themselves again, on the passing of the Toleration Act, they abandoned all attempt at centralization. These congregations were just as independent of each other's authority as those of the Independents themselves, and practically the only difference between the two denominations lay in this, that the power of governing the affairs of a congregation, and especially of admitting new church members, was exercised among the Independents by a democratic vote of all¹ the members, and the new member was received only on making satisfactory public declaration before them all of his religious faith. In a Presbyterian congregation, on the other hand, the power was regarded as altogether delegated to the minister and office-

¹ In Hussey and Taylor's time, usually the male members only [Ed.].

bearers, and the new member was required to satisfy them alone.

We have the following summary, made about 1707-17, of the number of persons, and also of freeholders (county voters), belonging to "The Congregational and Anabaptist Meetings in the County of Cambridge."

<i>Ministers.</i>	<i>Hearers.</i>	<i>Voters.</i>
Joseph Hussey, of Cambridge Town ...	1,100	70
Griffith Rudd, of Willingham & Cottenham	500	48
Thomas Jennings, of Barrington & Eversden	800	34
John Nichols, of Melbourn	400	20
Thomas Waite, of Linton	350	20
Richard Freeman, of Gamlingay ...	250	17
Thomas Royston, of Burwell and Catling...	320	14
George Boughty, of Soham	200	13
Richard Conder, of Croydon	120	6
David Culye, of Guyhern	100	5
Richard Dix, of the Congregational Meeting in Croxton	80	3
William Rix, Ana-baptist, of Wisbech ...	60	10
Thomas Speechley, Anab. preacher in Whit- tlesea	160	3
	Total	4,440
		263

These "hearers" doubtless include all the members of all the households concerned; the average attendance at any one service being, perhaps, only a third or a fourth of these totals.

But though Nonconformity was now tolerated by the law, it had not yet established in the minds of Churchmen its moral right to toleration. In 1710 the Vice-Chancellor had to issue the following proclamation, still preserved in the manuscripts of Caius College, and now for the first time printed:—

Whereas I am inform'd yt divers disorderly persons have threatn'd to meet in a tumultuous manner, on WEDNESDAY ye 8th of MARCH, and to pull down Mr. HUSSEY's Meeting-House, contrary to law: these are therefore strictly to charge and

require all scholars whosoever, yt they or any of ym, do not presume to assist, abet or joyn ymselves wth any such riotous assemblies, in breach of ye peace and to ye disturbance of ye good government of this University and town of CAMBRIDGE, as they will answer ye contrary on their utmost peril :

C. RODERICK

March ye 7th, 1709-10

Vice-Chancellor.

Again in 1716, on Royal Oak day, a mob attacked and injured the Great Meeting. We still possess the receipt for the money which was paid (to a Mr. John Wesley) for "watching the Meeting House and yard for three nights whilst lying open after the breaches made by the mob." In 1738, the University of Cambridge saw fit to issue an edict against conventicles; and appointed additional officials to carry it out. This was probably due to the fear of a visit from the eccentric ex-clergyman, "Orator Henley;" who had dismayed the Bishop of London by his strange harangues, and especially by one which he had delivered from the fragmentary text, "I saw a great wonder in heaven—a woman."

Mr. Hussey's sermons were learned and impressive; especially a famous one on the great storm of November, 1703; when the windows and pinnacles of King's College here suffered severely, and in other parts of England 123 persons perished (including a bishop), so that Parliament ordered a day of General Fast on account of it. Mr. Hussey found it necessary on this occasion to argue laboriously "against the common mistake that the winds are raised by Satan"; a belief which, fifty years before, even Lightfoot had held. His ministry was eminently successful; in 1720, when he left us, he had raised the church to a total of 150 full members and 1,100 adherents; drawn, however, not merely from the town of Cambridge but also from a wide surrounding district. His church never rebelled against him until he proposed to

leave it, on being called to a London church. But very many Nonconformists then held that a pastorate ought, Scripturally, to be lifelong; so when he left the Cambridge church it "admonished" him, and prohibited him from again entering its pulpit. Yet his arm chair became at last a treasured relic and is still preserved in our vestry; for he was a man of real piety and considerable scholarship. By the weight of his name the extreme Calvinism which he had ultimately adopted remained long impressed upon the Dissenters of Cambridge. But it is the privilege of Nonconformity, by its freedom from all official limitations upon its forms of thought and of utterance, to be ever able to correct in succeeding generations the mistakes of earlier ones.

A pathetic figure amongst Mr. Hussey's hearers was Ann Rennew, "the blind maid of Impington." Having some slight poetic gifts, she used to compose hymns; and, on her visits to Cambridge, some friend would write them down for her. In 1714 she published about 150 of them; and the little volume became the first psalm book of the present Baptist congregation at St. Andrew's Street.

Mr. Hussey's successors were men of less note than he. (Hence in 1721 a secession took place, which established that Baptist congregation.) But in 1739 there came an able man, John Conder. Seventy years earlier one of the secret disciples of Holcroft and Oddy, the two "Apostles of Cambridgeshire" in times of persecution, had been a farmer at Croydon, near Wimpole, named Richard Conder. After Holcroft's death he acted as minister to the flock there till his own death in 1718. To him, in 1714, in dark days when High Church zeal had passed an Act of Parliament to prevent Nonconformists from educating their children in their own faith, there was born a little grandson,

John Conder. The grandfather, when baptising him, kissed the child very tearfully and said: "Who knows what sad days these little eyes are likely to see!" But, only two months later, the death of Queen Anne brought in the House of Hanover; and thereby established for ever religious liberty in England. So when John Conder, as an old man, repeated this story of his baptism, he used to add: "For three score years now 'these eyes' have seen nothing follow me, and the churches, but goodness and mercy." It was, perhaps, this grateful sense of deliverance by an overruling Hand that led him to be fond of quoting the old Puritan saying: "They who mark providences shall never lack a providence to mark." Till 1754 he ministered with great success to our congregation; and his popularity was not limited to his own flock, for he commemorates the courtesy he received from the undergraduates. To some of them he gave lessons in Hebrew; and seven of his pupils afterwards become bishops. He was grandfather of Josiah Conder, famous as a hymn writer.

A noteworthy link between Dr. Conder and the earliest days of our church was afforded by the fact that one member of his congregation was a Mr. Prophet, the gaoler of the Cambridge gaol. His grandfather, Mr. Prophet, had been keeper of the same gaol when Holcroft and Oddy were imprisoned there, and in his sympathy with them used to let them out surreptitiously after dark on Saturday evenings, that they might preach at secret services on Sunday and return by night before Monday had dawned. The burying place at Oakington of those two apostles, lost through the neglect of its trustees, was purchased in 1897 at a great cost by Mr. Munsey; who generously presented it to Emmanuel church.

Dr. Conder's preaching was both scholarly and

practical. He was utterly removed from the antinomian Calvinism of Hussey ; and he rebuked those of his congregation who "shew pleasure in hearing what Christ has done for us, but will not hear what we are to do for Christ." He left in 1754, and became principal of Homerton College. He was succeeded by the Rev. Caleb Sibley, who died in 1759 ; and who seems to have been a gentleman of obtrusive erudition, to judge from the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew inscriptions which he put on his wig-box. They may be seen in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, lxxxix, 322.

In 1766 an effort was made to unite our congregation with that of St. Andrew's Street, the experience of forty years having shewn that Cambridge then was "not large enough for the two to flourish." But no union was effected. So there came to us a minister, the Rev. Joseph Saunders ; a descendant of that Lawrence Saunders who was the second person burned for Protestantism under Queen Mary, and in memory of whom there is a scholarship at King's College. Mr. Saunders' ministry was a period of peace and prosperity. Mr. Simeon, afterwards the famous evangelical clergyman, frequently came to hear him, and his afternoon services were often attended by members of Mr. Simeon's congregation. He died in 1788 ; the only pastor of this church who has died whilst its minister. He was succeeded by the Rev. Isaac Gardner, whose ministry ultimately became somewhat unsuccessful ; probably from the contrast with the extraordinary genius of Robert Hall, who, from 1791 to 1806, was fulfilling his brilliant Cambridge pastorate. In 1791 the chapel was, however, reconstructed, at much cost. Unhappily, in the riots of 1792 a High Tory mob attacked it, broke the windows, and would have done worse had not the magistrates read the Riot Act and dispersed them.

There succeeded, in 1806, the Rev. William Harris. The call to him was signed by only fifty-two members ; the church probably being greatly reduced. But its numbers and its income speedily increased. In 1807 a manse was built. The missionary collections rose to £43 in 1806 and £80 in 1813. The Sunday school was established. Young men were sent out to become ministers ; and in 1815 George Barker and Joseph Williams went to South Africa as missionaries under the London Missionary Society. Mr. Williams died in 1818 ; but Mr. Barker was spared to labour for 46 years.

A strict discipline was maintained in the church. In 1816, one member was admonished for having played at cards for money ; and he declared the "great distress of mind" into which the consciousness of his offence had plunged him. Another was admonished for having played at bowls in an inn yard. He pleaded that "though I did throw the ball three or four times, yet it was with no intention of playing a game" ; the accusation having, it may be feared, driven him into an insincerity much more sinful than the offence he stood accused of.

A curious illustration of the ill lit condition of the streets in those days of oil lamps is afforded by the refusal in 1812 to allow the evening prayer meetings to be held at so late an hour as eight, "lest our good might be evil spoken of."

Mr. Harris's successful pastorate came to an end in 1817. There were now 170 members (the admissions averaging thirteen annually), and 700 attendants ; and, best of all, "we never disagreed." He left to become principal of Hoxton College. It is a striking proof of the intellectual vigour of the old Nonconformity in Cambridge, in spite of its numerical smallness and pecuniary weakness, that in the course of a century our congregation

had three ministers of sufficient literary prominence to be commemorated in our own day in Mr. Leslie Stephen's *Dictionary of National Biography*—Hussey, Conder, and Harris—whilst the Green Street Presbyterian meeting, which was closed in 1779, had four ministers of similar calibre : Peirce, Duchal, Henley (afterwards principal of Haileybury College), and Richard Jones (whose book on "Friendship with God" has been reprinted in our time by the advice of an Anglican bishop); and the third congregation, that of St. Andrew's Street, had ministers still more eminent, in Robert Robinson, "the Sydney Smith of Nonconformity," and in Robert Hall, whom Wilberforce pronounced to be the equal in oratory of Pitt and Fox.

From 1818 to 1819 the Rev. Robert Lee was pastor. In 1820 he was followed by Mr. Samuel Thoday; who was ordained to the office by eleven ministers, with imposition of hands.

On one Sunday in the next year Dr. Raffles, of Liverpool, preached in our chapel; and notes that upwards of thirty members of the University came to hear him, "being more than has been seen for a long while past in any dissenting place of worship in Cambridge." (Probably all of them were merely casual visitors.) In 1825 a member of the church applied for dismissal, that he might join the more rigidly Calvinistic congregation in Green Street (which had once been famous for the ministry of the illiterate but talented "Johnny Stittles"). It is grimly recorded that his retirement "was at once acceded to; without surprise, without reluctance, and without regret—but not without pity." In 1829, the Sunday school is described as having ten male and twelve female teachers, and 114 scholars.

About this time a period of decline set in. By 1835 the 170 members of eighteen years before had

sunk to 100; the 700 attendants to 300; and the school, too, was dwindling. Hence an attempt was made, though unsuccessfully, to induce Mr. Thoday to accept a reduced stipend. Like Mr. Harris, he had always received £150; and he had also a sum of £14 a year from a legacy, left for the benefit of the minister for the time being. (Its date, origin, and trusts are now untraceable, but it was probably the same gift that now stands invested in £400 $2\frac{3}{4}$ Consols.) The deacons were incompetent to cope with the increasing difficulty of the situation; there were but two of them, and one resided seven miles away, whilst the other was an aged man with a sick wife. At this time the practice still prevailed of appointing the deacons for life; and its impolicy now became manifest. A struggle of some sixteen years' duration began. In vain did the deacons urge the minister to resign. He replied that "in our denomination the pastorate is a permanent relation; and not terminable at mere personal inclination on either side." And they admitted that he did indeed hold office for life. He did not deny the decay of the congregation; but urged that it was merely another instance of the decay of dissent generally. And this he attributed in part to the increased evangelicalism of the Established Church. "When I came here (1820) the Gospel was only preached in two of the parish churches; now (1846) it is preached, with more or less fulness, in all." Mr. Thoday was a thoroughly good man, a fair preacher, and a devoted pastor. His merits were obscured by a frankly expressed vanity, of which ludicrous traditions still survive; but the majority of the church members—especially the ladies amongst them—could see through that foible to the solid worth behind it. Hence, when the standing controversy broke out in any church

meeting, the speeches of his supporters would elicit so much sympathy that (as one of the deacons complains) "the young women would rap on their pews as if they were at some convivial board."

Finally, the trustees were appealed to—the first time that any mention of them occurs in the church books; and, under their influence, Mr. Thoday was induced in 1848 to resign. But it is pleasant to record that when, twenty-six years later, the congregation migrated from Downing Place to Emmanuel church, they affectionately recalled their old minister to conduct the last service in the old home and to offer the first prayers in the new one.

In 1848 the church consisted of only seventy members, of whom fifty-six were women. Its next pastor was the Rev. G. B. Bubier; a young man of twenty-six, educated at Homerton College under that able critic, Dr. Pye-Smith. He came when a new era was opening upon Cambridge; a few stray Nonconformists were entering the University, though both its emoluments and its degrees were still closed to them. In 1851, the first undergraduate church member was admitted; Mr. John Whitt, of Trinity, a Canadian; the next, Mr. William Williams, of Trinity (from Swansea), was received in 1856. Mr. Bubier was well fitted to meet the needs of such hearers; for, though somewhat inactive as a pastor, he had great power as a preacher, brilliant and original and fearless. "An Independent minister who is timid, is," he used to say, "the most unhappy man on earth." His teaching produced a permanent change in the theological attitude of the congregation. What had been done for the Established Church in Cambridge by the virile preaching at St. Edward's of Dr. Harvey Goodwin (afterwards Bishop of Car-

lisle), was done for Nonconformity by Mr. Bubier ; the doctrinal torpor which had weighed for half a century upon the pulpits of Cambridge was dispelled by the fresh current of ideas which Cole-ridge and Maurice had introduced into English religious thought. Even twenty years later, freshmen coming up here were still warned by members of other Nonconformist congregations in Cambridge against the "German ideas" that prevailed amongst the worshippers in Downing Place. Mr. Bubier's influence was enhanced by his brilliant powers of conversation ; and also, perhaps, by the physical graces of feature and form which gave him a striking presence. His intellectual gifts are best known now through his noble hymn (No. 372 in our books) beginning : "I would commune with Thee, my God."

From 1852 to 1867 he exercised a national influence by his literary articles in the *Nonconformist*; which did much to win for that journal the high reputation it then enjoyed. His ministry in Cambridge lasted only some six years ; but it is not surprising that during them the congregation "increased much more than during any period of similar length in nearly half a century before." Other signs of life appeared. It was by Mr. Bubier that Charles Spurgeon, as a lad of sixteen, was sent out to preach his first sermon. A suggestion from Manchester that steps should be taken to rebuild the chapel was taken into consideration. The idea of obtaining an organ was mooted in 1853 ; but had to be abandoned, because it was found that if such an innovation took place "a schism would arise." (Thirty years later, it was believed that any proposal to purchase a pulpit gown would be likely to produce a similar result.)

In 1854 Mr. Bubier received an enthusiastic call to a congregation at Salford. There he remained

until, in 1864, he became a professor in Springhill College, (now the "Mansfield College" of Oxford). He died in 1869.

The brief ministry of the Rev. W. Tritton (1855-58) was marked by the establishment at Chesterton, in 1856, of a second Sunday school, in a cottage in Albert Street. For it, in 1859, a building was erected in Victoria Road; and here, soon afterwards, evening services for adults were commenced. By 1896 the school had grown to 500 scholars. The year 1856 is also memorable, because in it, on October 22nd, the University conferred, for the first time, a degree upon a Nonconformist student—Mr. W. H. F. Johnson, of the St. Andrew's Street congregation.

Our congregation is described, at this period (1859), as "kind and considerate," but as having very few young men in it. In the latter respect it probably changed under the next minister, the Rev. Thomas Campbell Finlayson, himself a youth of only twenty-two. He had been educated at the University of Glasgow for the ministry of the United Presbyterian body; but had come through the study of Maurice's writings to reject the Calvinism of the Westminster Confession. The letter in which he accepted the pastorate rang with a manly note. "My acceptance," he wrote, "means that I am to seek after *the very truth*; and to labour among you for the great cause of holiness and righteousness and love, and for the overthrow of ungodliness and selfishness. It means much more besides; which may God give me grace to understand." By his influence the church was at once led to abandon the practice of requiring a public statement from every new member admitted, and to accept instead a report from delegates who had been appointed to converse with him. "The attitude of the Christian Church,"

said Mr. Finlayson on this occasion, "should be like the attitude of its Master—one of welcome, not of exclusiveness."

A little before this time Parliament had opened (1855) to Nonconformists the degrees and scholarships of the University. The fellowships still remained closed to them; but a few months before Mr. Finlayson's arrival, Mr. H. M. Bompas (afterwards a Q.C. and a county court judge), by attaining the position of fifth wrangler, had given proof that Nonconformists could reach the fellowship standard. Mr. Finlayson did not spare himself in trying to make his pulpit worthy of its new opportunities. He had a high ideal and he lived up to it. His fame grew; and invitations to richer churches came to him, but he refused them. When he left Presbyterianism, his yearning had been "to find a pulpit from which I can speak freely." After two years in Cambridge he was able to say "nothing can exceed the peace and freedom I enjoy here." At last his exertions broke him down, and he sank into a nervous weakness. In 1865, in hopes that the more bracing air of Lancashire might restore him, he became minister of a little church of less than forty members at Rusholme. There he remained until his death in 1893; never again physically strong, yet writing useful books (the chief of which is his volume on Ecclesiastes), and preaching sermons of a frank intellectual sincerity—"arguing with more fairness than any other preacher I ever heard," said a Q.C. who often listened to him. Best of all "the stillness of eternity was always about him"; and an affectionateness of spirit which won from his Cambridge flock the testimony that, through his example, "we began to care more about one another than we had ever done before he came amongst us."

In 1864 the Lord's Supper ceased to be an after-

noon service. The church now possessed 142 members. The Sunday school had only forty scholars; but Mr. Wm. Lockhart, who in 1865 became its superintendent, had the pleasure of enlarging it until, on his retirement in 1891, it numbered three hundred.

In 1866 came Mr. Finlayson's successor, the Rev. Alfred Norris; like him, a sensitive man, averse from publicity, but warmly loved by those who knew him well. He was the son of a captain in the Light Dragoons, and had been brought up in the Established Church, but seceded and deliberately underwent training for the Nonconformist ministry. Shortly after he settled here it was agreed unanimously that the communion services should henceforth be open to "all Christian friends, irrespectively of church membership here or elsewhere." (Hence became possible such an attendance as the 159 communicants of December 1st, 1907.) Mr. Norris's Cambridge settlement was his first one; and in later days he said that he had been "very happy" in it. Able as his two immediate predecessors had been, tradition describes his pastorate as having been even more successful than theirs. He suffered, however, from the relaxing air of Cambridge, and had to leave us for the North. He served several churches afterwards, the last being at Brighton. Many well written verses from his pen may be found in the old files of *Chambers' Journal*. He died in 1901, at the age of sixty-eight.

After his pastorate came the brief one of the Rev. James Ward; subsequently a Fellow of Trinity, and now illustrious as the leading philosophic teacher in our University. He was followed by the Rev. Dr. Matthew Robertson, during whose ministry two great changes occurred.

One was the opening of fellowships and professorships to Nonconformists by the Act of 1871.

The first person to benefit by this was a member of our congregation, a son of the minister of the Poultry chapel, in London; Mr. William Michael Spence, of Pembroke College, third wrangler in 1871, afterwards an equity barrister. The other change was the migration in 1874 from the old chapel into Emmanuel church; the foundation stone of which had been laid by Mr. Samuel Morley, M.P., on November 12th, 1872. The new building, erected by donations contributed from all over England, was, by insistence of some of the chief contributors, settled upon a denominational trust. The proceeds of the sale of the old building were given to the Victoria Road congregation; which was organised about 1877 into a self-sustaining church, under the ministry of the Rev. W. A. Guttridge, M.A., of St. John's College, and in 1885 erected its present chapel. Its foundation deed retains the simple trust of our Downing Place forefathers. They, therefore, are represented to-day by Victoria Road, so far as legal constitution is concerned; though by Emmanuel church so far as regards the historic continuity of fellowship, records, and endowments. But when in 1895 the Emmanuel congregation raised some £1,100 to build its second schoolroom, care was taken to place this new property on an open trust.

A vivid picture of Dr. Robertson's preaching is preserved in the biography of that subtle philosophical essayist, William Smith, the author of *Thorndale*. His wife, when visiting Cambridge in 1874, casually entered our chapel. She tells him that there "I listened to a good, true man; who, daring to tell his hearers how very little he cares to be sure of, has the firmer hold on their minds when he speaks of those things on which he has attained as full a conviction as of his own existence. He has won that great and fundamental faith in

God which leads him to have faith also in the instincts of his own God-created nature. And one of the strongest of these instincts he finds to be—prayer. Many things grew a little clearer to me as I listened to this Dr. Robertson.” In the course of his ministry, however, dissensions arose; accentuated by the extreme views of Perfectionism which he adopted. His resignation of the pulpit in 1878 was followed by the secession of many of his friends; which rendered possible the establishment of the Presbyterian congregation that afterwards erected St. Columba’s church.

In 1879 the Rev. W. S. Houghton became our minister; and remained here until 1891. With a tact and discretion remarkable in a student fresh from college, he guided the weakened church into its old harmony and more than its old vigour. Under him, too, the devotional part of the services began to be conducted with a sedulous care, which has happily been maintained by his successors, the Rev. Dr. P. T. Forsyth (1894-1901) and the Rev. W. B. Selbie, M.A. (1902-1909); whose memorable pastorates form part of the national history of English Nonconformity, and who left us to preside respectively over Hackney and Mansfield Colleges.

My final note concerns the church plate. The oldest piece of plate in the possession of the church is a silver cup, made in 1699. It was presented in 1756 by Mrs. Ewen, who had been thirty years a member. In 1816 two other cups were given by Mr. Audley and Mrs. Jennings, which for several years previously had been used by the church as a loan. In the same year, also, Mr. C. Rutherford gave a flagon, adding “a particular request that it might never be exchanged or otherwise alienated from the use of the church, as he wishes it to remain a standing memorial of Providential appearances in behalf of himself and

his family." In 1829 a silver baptismal basin was presented by Mr. Thomas Borrett, who is elsewhere recorded to have been "one of the most pious, humble, charitable, and useful amongst us."

"History," wise Bishop Lightfoot has wisely said, "is an excellent cordial for a drooping courage." If a day ever come when our descendants need that cordial, perhaps this brief history of two centuries of successful service may help to furnish it. Meanwhile, let us remember that bygone memories are valuable only as they strengthen us for the needs and duties of the ever changing present ; our possession of a memorable past will not suffice to secure for us an honourable future.

COURTNEY S. KENNY.