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EDITORIAL

OWING to the continuance of War conditions, the autumnal meetings of the Congregational Union have been on a reduced scale, and as a natural consequence our own meeting was similarly affected. In fact only a handful of members met at the Memorial Hall on 3rd October, by whom the minutes of our somewhat irregular May meeting were duly confirmed. No set paper was read; but a conversation was led by Rev. W. Pierce on the Relation of John Penry to the early London Separatists. We understand that Mr. Pierce has in hand a Life of Penry, which will deal with this matter at some length, and also with the allegation—lately revived—that the execution of Penry was “according to law.” It was also mentioned that Rev. A. Gordon had undertaken to edit the minutes of the Cheshire Classis of the United Brethren: the only really important document of this kind which remains unprinted.

* *

The Congregational church at Ossett Green, near Wakefield, is in this month celebrating its Bicentenary. In connection with this celebration the pastor, Rev. J. Gomer Williams, has compiled an interesting history of that church, adorned with portraits of many of its ministers, and other illustrations; thus presenting a good example to other old-established churches which have a story to tell.

* *

There can be little doubt that, under normal conditions, 31st October, 1917, would have been marked by an international celebration, as the Fourth Centenary of the Reformation; which is usually held to have had its formal commencement on the corresponding day of 1517, when Luther posted the 95 theses at Wittenburg. Unhappily, such a celebration is now impracticable; but we may take occasion to point out the error into which Luther and the German Reformers fell, and to which the

moral collapse of Germany is chiefly owing—an error against which the fundamental principle of Congregationalism would have been an effectual safeguard, and would have made the present calamitous War impossible.

The Unreformed Church had accepted the headship of the Pope as the supposed Vicar of Christ; Luther and his colleagues, repudiating that authority, conceded supremacy in ecclesiastical matters to the Ruler of the State. The result was that the clergy either became the mere tools and mouthpieces of the Prince, or, if not, were utterly impotent as a moral force to restrain or even rebuke the most monstrous criminality of kings and kaisers. Congregational Independency may, like other church systems, have its shortcomings; it may, indeed, present an ideal only to be realized in the Millennium; but at least it repudiates the ecclesiastical dominion alike of priest and prince, and owns no Head of the Church except the Lord “who loved it and gave Himself for it.”

BALANCE SHEET OF CONGREGATIONAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY FOR 1916.

<i>Credit.</i>					<i>Debit.</i>					
				£	s.	d.				
Jan. :										
Balance at Bank	27	16	4	Annual subscriptions to B.H.S. (1916)	0	5	0
Cash in hand	10	5	0	Fred S. Thacker : Postages, etc.	0	4	5
Feb. :							Hire of Council Room, Memorial			
Sales of C.H.S. literature (1915)	0	5	10	Hall	1	1	0
Annual subscriptions	56	9	9	Transactions VII, 1 : Printing, postage, etc.	32	4	5
							Transactions VII, 2 : Printing, postage, etc., and sundries	29	6	9
							Total paid	63	1	7
								£	s.	d.
							Balance at Bank...	28	15	4
							Cash in hand	3	0	0
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John Magee

A Venturesome Divine

EARLY in the autumn of 1916 in the muniment room (No. 20 Assembly's Church House, Belfast) of the Presbyterian Historical Society of Ireland, Mr. J. W. Kernohan, one of the honorary secretaries, put before me a bound manuscript quarto, presented by Mrs. Crozier (daughter of the late Rev. Henry Montgomery, LL.D., and widow of Rev. John Armstrong Crozier, Newry) and purporting to contain:

“ Sixteen Sermons in this Book
Book 32.”

The preacher's name and place of delivery had been cancelled in ink, but Mr. Kernohan had already deciphered the former desideratum as being John Magee, and I was able to make out the clause: “Sermoms Preached in Ravenstonedale.” Here let me add that to Mr. Kernohan's facility in calling my attention to various sources, the chief value of this paper is due.

Magee (variously spelled; I believe it may be Latinised “ventosus”) is a common name in the North of Ireland, and has strong Presbyterian associations. James Magee, before and beyond the middle of the eighteenth century (1736 to 1789) was a famous Belfast printer. In the last century was founded the Magee College (now McCrea-Magee College) at Derry,

whose students can receive degrees in Arts from Trinity College, Dublin, and in Divinity from the Presbyterian Theological Faculty, Belfast and Derry.

From discoveries, noted farther on, it is fairly clear that John Magee was a native of Co. Down, where his connections point both to Ballynahinch and to Kilkeel. It is equally clear that (though this for an Irishman was unusual) he received at any rate his theological training in London. We may safely place him as a student at the Academy, conducted in Hoxton by Joshua Oldfield, D.D. (1656-1729), Moderator of the Nonsubscribers at Salters' Hall (1719), with the assistance (from 1699) of William Lorimer, M.A. (1641-1722), Moderator of the Subscribers, and the first trustee named in the will of Dr. Daniel Williams, Oldfield being the second. The composition of his sermons shows Magee as a man of cultured mind, and with some pretensions to learning, as evidenced by his cited snatches of Latin, Greek, and even Hebrew—a combination of linguistic acquirements noted by John Bunyan as having no Biblical precedent, save in the instance of Pontius Pilate.

To his association with English Presbyterians (and, as we shall see, Congregationals) we may confidently assign the attitude of defiance which he assumed towards the strict Presbyterian system. He had evidently imbibed some tincture of the "dangerous principles" of the "Modern New Lights"—an expression which, when coined in 1726 by John Malcome, M.A., of Dunmurry, had no immediate reference to laxity of doctrine, but primarily denoted a spirit of ecclesiastical insubordination.

We first meet with Magee in the manuscript Minutes of Down Presbytery, under date of 6th February, 1710/11. Here we read "Sufficient Testimonials now produced by Mr Jo: M^{cc}Gee subscribed by Mr. Lorimer & Mr. Lo Min^{rs} in London this Presbytery observed the Directions of our last particular Synod

in Belfast with respect to the said M^cGee" (*D*). I am unable to identify "Mr Lo"; he may possibly be Peter Lobb (d. 1718) of Horley, Surrey.

The Minutes of the Belfast Sub-synod, if extant, are not accessible, but the "Directions" referred to are made clear by the following extract from the printed Records of the General Synod of Ulster, meeting at Belfast on 19th June, 1711: "Whereas, the Interloquitur [private session] of the Synod of Belfast having read a paper without a date, said to be a Testimonial of Licence giv'n to one Mr John M^cGee, subscribed by some Ministers in South Britain, referr'd the said Mr M^cGee to the Presbytry of Down, injoyning the said Presbytry to take account of him, and report their judgment to this Synod; the Presbytry of Down now made report that Mr McGee has sufficient Testimonials, which being produced to this Synod were judg'd sufficient, and any Presbytry within our bounds allow'd to imploy him in an orderly way" (*U*). It is significant of the caution observed by English Non-conformist Ministers, at that time, that Magee's licence, though bearing signatures, had neither place nor date attached to it. If "Mr. Lo" was Stephen Lobb (1647?-1699) then the licence was of old date, and Magee might have been a student brought from Ireland by John Ker, M.D., in 1689. This, though perhaps not impossible, seems highly improbable.

On 26th of September, 1711, we find "Mr John M^cGee" preaching by appointment before Down Presbytery at Donaghadee on John iii. 3 ("Except a man be born again," etc.) (*D*). Evidently his pulpit performance was satisfactory.

Next year begins the struggle for the appointment of John Magee to the vacant charge of Ballynahinch. There are in Ireland at least four localities bearing the name Ballynahinch (island-town; said island being a crannoge). This one is Ballynahinch of the battle, a scrimmage in the '98, when 1,500 regulars under

General Nugent made short work of 4,000 insurgents. Near it is a chalybeate spring, known as Ballynahinch Spa. At Down Presbytery on 16th June, 1712, John Chapman and Andrew Maxwell, Commissioners from Ballynahinch, ask that Magee may be ordinary supply "for this Ensuing Month." Presbytery, conceding only a half of what was asked for, appoint Magee as supply at Ballynahinch for "Sabbath come a fortnight and Sabbath come 3 weeks" (*D*).

He seems to have made the best of his opportunity; for, on 21st October, 1712, we find Ballynahinch desiring him "as their Supplier for this Ensuing Month, and that a Minister may be appointed to draw up a Call for him" (*D*). Exactly what had occurred in the meantime we can but guess; any way, it had not ingratiated Magee with Down Presbytery. They charge him with "imprudence, unmannerliness, wrangling temper, bearing himself too much in upon the people of Ballynahinch, and unsuitable Expressions in preaching and praying" (*D*). Hence it was carried unanimously in the negative against him as fit to be Pastor at Ballynahinch. However, they appoint him to supply Drumca (battle-ridge) on the fourth Sabbath of November. Hereupon he asks for testimonials, and we read: "Mr John Magee desiring his Testimonials; its ordered that Mr. James Reid [Killinchy] and Archibald Dickson [Saintfield] draw 'em up, which was done, and the said Testimonials being read and approved, were Subscribed by appointment by the Moderator [John Goudy, Ballywalter] and Cl[erk; Hugh Ramsey, Drumca]" (*D*).

At the next meeting of Down Presbytery, 25th November, 1712, Ballynahinch reappeared by commission, asking for their supplication to be reconsidered, and affirming that above 147 heads of families will not "contribute for the supplies they have had, or for any other for the time to come," if they cannot obtain

Magee. Presbytery, however, had fresh ground of complaint against Magee, who admitted that he had preached at "Reddemmon" for "three Lord's Days," without being appointed so to do. Now Rademon (demon's ring), not as yet a distinct congregation, was within the bounds of Saintfield. Before the building of a meeting-house at Rademon, worship was held (apparently on week-days) in "Mr. Johnston's barn." Archibald Dickson, the Saintfield pastor, who had aided in drawing up testimonials for Magee, now looked upon him as a poacher on his preserves. Dickson accordingly reported to Presbytery that he had been at Rademon on the Saturday before the last of the three Lord's Days, and had heard Magee alleging that the refusal of the Ballynahinch supplication was contrary to Scripture, namely to Acts vi. 6: "Whom they set before the apostles: and when they had prayed, they laid their hands upon them." Here was textual proof that Presbytery ought to have ordained Magee to Ballynahinch. The compliment to Presbytery, implied in recognizing their apostolic character, did not weigh with Dickson, who told Magee he was disorderly and had too great an opinion of himself; whereupon Magee promised not to preach at Rademon again, after the following day. Presbytery, on this report, unanimously voted Magee disorderly, specifying "his weakness, imprudence, prevaricating temper, and disorderly carriage in Encouraging people to desert the public ordinances in yir own Congregations, by preaching to 'em on several Lord's Days without the direction of the Prby, or allowance from the Minister of the place, and that even after admonition to the Contrary." Hence Presbytery adhere to the rejection of Ballynahinch supplication, and Magee is "admonished" (*D*). It would appear, however, that Magee's disorderly escapade at Rademon may now take rank as a case of intelligent anticipation. For, in the following year (1713), Rademon was wrested from Saintfield and erected into a new

congregation, under the name of Kilmore (great church) (*R*).

Still, this is not the end of the Ballynahinch business. On 6th January, 1712/3, commissioners from Ballynahinch for the third time approach Down Presbytery desiring that Magee "may again be received as probationer in the bounds of this Meeting, that he may be yir ordinary Supplier for the Ensuing Month." Presbytery adhere to their previous finding, though Ballynahinch people "think they have mett with hard treatment." Yet, in the circumstances, commissioners desist from their application, "being fully satisfied that it will be most for Mr Magee's comfort." They then ask a hearing for Robert Worling. This they get (*D*).

Next month, on 10th February, 1712/3, it is reported to Down Presbytery that Ballynahinch people are satisfied with Worling's doctrine, but cannot justify their commissioners in desisting from prosecuting their appeal for Magee. Thereafter certain minutes (not known to be extant) of the Belfast Sub-synod, relating to Magee, were read. As a result, his testimonials were demanded back, and given to the clerk; he was rebuked for his "disorderly and imprudent carriage," and it was agreed that he shall preach "in no congregation in the bounds of this Meeting but by [the appointment and order of the Presbytery, unless it be in such a case as the Minister who may think fit to employ him, be present to hear him]" (*D*).

This marks the end of Magee's endeavour to achieve a settlement at Ballynahinch. Neither was Worling the successful man. The vacancy was at length filled by the installation on 20th March, 1714, of James McAlpine, chaplain to the Hamilton family at Killeleagh Castle, and conductor from 1697 of a School of Philosophy, for the benefit of candidates for the Irish Presbyterian ministry.

Meanwhile Magee, by what inducements moved

there is nothing to show, had turned his attention to Westmorland. Here he became a candidate for the pastorate at Ravenstonedale (pronounced, to-day, Rusesdale) vacant by the death in September, 1712, of James Mitchell, who left his flock somewhat divided in matters of theology. Ten days after McAlpine's installation at Ballynahinch, Down Presbytery met at that place (30th March, 1714), when "A Brother of Mr Jn^o Magee made application for testimonials to Mr Jn^o Magee now in England; upon w^{ch} Mr Hugh Ramsey produced two letters from some ministers, wherein they testify that the greatest part of the congregation of Roundstonedale being for the Westminster assembly's confession of faith are most forward for Mr Magee's settlement with 'em as their Pastor, and that the aspersions cast on him by Baxterian party are groundless, they having heard him vindicate himself upon head & found his sentiments in the case & arguments agreeable to the foresaid confession & judgement of the divines, and being both the Ministers, & that people, except [corner torn] with the Baxterian notions, are clear for his settlement in that congregation, and that there is nothing hinders the same being done in an orderly way, but the want of Testimonials from this Presbry; they therefore earnestly desire that the said Testimonials be transmitted to him with all expedicⁿ. The Presbry having seriously consider'd this affair, and finding upon such good authority a favourable character of Mr. Magee's behaviour since he left us, & that all reports to his prejudice were but false and groundless, are satisfied that testimonials be granted him, and appoint M^{rs} John Mairs [Newtownards] and Hugh Ramsey to draw 'em up w^{ch} was accordingly done" (D).

Without delay Magee was ordained at Ravenstonedale, on 14th April, 1714 (C). There was, however, a secession, fomented by Thomas Dixon, M.D. (1680-1729), then the Whitehaven pastor, and head of the

Academy there, a great friend of Calamy, and an advanced disciple of the Baxterian school. This secession had ministers in Dixon's pupil, Caleb Rotheram (1715-16), a name of note, and James Mallison (1716-22), and endured for several years longer without a settled minister (*C.N.*). Magee's flock numbered 300 hearers, and included 4 gentry, three of them county voters; it was aided by grants from the Congregational Fund (*Ev.*).

The sermons contained in the manuscript volume which opened this inquiry belong to the years 1721 and 1722. One is dated June, 1721, another bears the subscription "Finis Sept. 29, 1722." This may suggest that the volume is in the preacher's autograph, and was perhaps intended for publication. The sermons are lengthy and full of matter. Evidently Magee was what was called in my boyhood "a meaty preacher," not a mere provider of sugar-plums to occupy a brief interspace between soloists. A young lady once asked, respecting a certain preacher at a special service which she had been unable to attend: "Did he go on very beautifully?" "No, my dear," came the reply; "he crammed best part of an hour with solid hard gospel grounding, and before he was half through, the choir looked as if it were afflicted with biliary disorder." Magee's discourses would exceed an hour in delivery, but would very likely be divided between morning and afternoon, or between Sunday and Sunday. His dominant aim in preaching was practical—that is to say, he made doctrine a reason and foundation for duty. Some few of his topics are directly ethical. While obviously cognizant of varieties of opinion, and touching them with care and tact, he makes in due course his own explicit avowal of unchanged views on such cardinal topics as the Divine Trinity and the Divine Predestination (*S.*).

The parish register of Ravenstonedale shows that

Magee lost a son, buried on 2nd December, 1725(C). In the following year a new meeting-house was begun at Ravenstonedale, and after completion was duly registered on 10th April, 1727. A gallery was added in 1731 "by the procurement of" one of the trustees, Ralph Milner (C), Arian minister at Great Yarmouth, a native of Ravenstonedale (B). On 11th February, 1733, Magee buried at Ravenstonedale his wife, Eleanor. After this sad event he resigned his charge and returned to Ireland, there to engage in a fresh encounter with a Presbytery, this time that of Armagh (Macha's height).

The congregation of Mourne in that Presbytery, having its seat at Kilkeel (narrow church), Co. Down, was still under the care of its first minister, Charles Wallace, ordained as long ago as 21st July, 1696 (R). Magee was anxious to fill the post of his assistant and successor, and the congregation was anxious to have him. Once more, Magee threw away his chance by acting without respect for Presbyterian rules. The General Synod of Ulster, in session at Derry on 22nd June, 1734, records as follows:—

"An appeal from a sentence of the presby of Ardmagh Lodged by Mr John Magee came now before the Synod. The appeal was read and all the minutes of the presby relating to that affair with a great part of very long reasons of sd appeal which had not been sent to the presby of Ardmagh, and to which said presby answered *extempore*.

"Also a supplication from part of Mourne congregation presented by Mr Tho^s McClement in which they complain y^t tho' an assistant in the work of the ministry to the aged pastor Mr Wallace was necessarie yet they cou'd not get Mr Magee settled among them, but discouragements cast in the way by their Presby which sent a committee to diswade their sending to England for him, &c. Then the parties were removed, and the Synod considered what they

had heard from both sides. But finding they could not issue this affair, it being now Saturday, and diverse members of the Synod already gone, & others hasting out of town, came to the following Resolutions:—

“1st That as far as they have heard viz: upon the first article of the Libel against Mr Magee, it appears to us that the presby of Ardmagh hath acted very agreeable to our rules of Discipline, but forasmuch as Mr Magee pleads it would be a detriment to his case y^t a final judgment sho’d be given before his answer to the other articles be heard, & for a reason above given.

“2^d Resolved that the Synod will not come to a final determination at this time, but commit it to a select Committee.

“3^d Resolved that the sentence of the presby of Ardmagh suspending Mr Magee from the exercise of his min^{try} for lying and intrusion into Mourne congregation both proved against him shall remain in force till the meeting of s^d Committee,

“The presby of Ardmagh and Mr Magee were called and the above resolutions read to them, but Mr Magee utterly refused to submitt alledging conscience for refusal, the Synod reasoned with him for some time, but without success.

“The Mod^r [George Lang, Loughbrickland], Mr [Gilbert] Kennedy sen^r [Tullylish], Mr [Robert] Craighead [Capel Street, Dublin] and Mr [Samuel] Ross [Derry] were desired to converse and reason with him and make report in the afternoon” (U).

The following is the report:—

“The Brethren appointed to converse with Mr Magee report that they reasoned with him, but could make no impression upon him. The Synod resolv’d that it would be to no purpose to appoint a Committee, but thought fit to leave him as they found him. He came in and desired a copy of our Minutes, which the Synod judged

he was no way entitled to, seeing he refused submission to us" (U).

With this curt refusal closes the career of Magee, so far as revealed in authentic Irish records. How long he maintained an irregular connection with the Mourne congregation is not in evidence. Presbyteries, we may permit ourselves to think, handled him somewhat fiercely, though we do not know what provocation he may have given. In the art of getting round a Presbytery he had evidently made no progress during the score of years intervening between 1714 and 1734. We may remember that in Ireland, at the former of those dates, there was no legal Toleration for Dissent. In the policy of Conventiclers it was of the utmost importance that no charge of anything amounting or approaching to lawlessness should be levelled against their denominational action. Irish Toleration was delayed till 1719. Let it be said that, when it came, it was not disfigured by that demand, on the part of the State, for a doctrinal subscription on the part of the church, which vitiated the liberty allotted by the English Act of 1689.

A vague recollection of Magee's connection with Mourne has given rise to a curious myth. Irish myths arise easily in a country in which the teaching of history is, on religious grounds, banished by the educational authorities from the National Schools. Sheer fatuous guesses are not unfrequently found masquerading as tradition.

In 1871 Rev. John Elliott (*d.*, 17th August, 1898) contributed to the *Evangelical Witness* a "Sketch of Presbyterianism in Mourne." In this paper, on the whole commendable, he refers to Magee. He writes on the information of Thomas Graham, of Kilkeel, a member of the Mourne congregation, who, somewhat later, in a manuscript paper dated 18th August, 1887, specifies, without naming, his authority. This was "an old lady" who, subsequently to 1860, told Graham as follows: "Mr Magee preached here in a very early

age; he was a relation of my Aunt, who was a very old woman when she died; I was a little girl at the time of her death; Mr Magee was preaching in my aunt's life time" (*G*). Not finding Magee's name in the succession of the Mourne ministry, Graham and Elliott, on the strength of the vague chronology "a very early age," took upon themselves to place Magee's ministry prior to that of Charles Wallace. Graham strains arithmetic in the endeavour to enlist "my Aunt" as a witness to preaching, anterior to 1696. Hence Elliott absurdly calls Magee "the first Presbyterian minister of Mourne" (*E*), adding that "he is said to have been one of the ministers confined in Carlingford Castle" (*E*). The date of this persecuting confinement was June, 1663, and no such name is among the "seven in number" mentioned with their names by Patrick Adair, the historian of the period (*A*). Magee, Elliott further says, "was never married" (*E*), which we know to be erroneous. He lived, says Elliott, at Drummonlane, and with him lived his sister Mrs. Nicholson, whose great-great-grandchild was living in 1871 (*E*). All this may be true, and so may the following: "He was buried, [no date given] in a portion of ground where there is a small grove, nearly opposite the National School House in Dunraven about a quarter of a mile from Kilkeel." Some fine day, I may visit the spot.

What is certain is that Magee returned to Ravenstonedale, perhaps after the death at Kilkeel of Charles Wallace, 12th July, 1736 (*R*). He lived in the village, and again officiated in the meeting-house (*C*), which seems to have had no other minister from 1742 (*N*). "In a letter dated 1st July, 1743, the Rev. James Scott, minister at Horton-in-Craven, referred to a meeting at Ravenstonedale which Mr Magee, minister of the place 'had engaged to call,' but which had been deferred owing to that gentleman's illness. Two months later, Mr Magee having died meanwhile (probably on a journey to Ireland) an urgent invitation was addressed

to Mr Scott to accept the pastorate," which he declined (C).

Thus ends our knowledge of John Magee, a scholarly and venturesome divine, whose death, we gather, occurred in July or August, 1743.

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- C. Congregational Historical Society Transactions, vol. iii, No. 2, pp. 93-96 (May, 1907).
- D. Minutes of Down Presbytery at McCrea-Magee College, Derry.
- E. The Evangelical Witness, 1871, p. 124.
- Ev. Evans' List, in Dr. Williams' Library.
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ALX : GORDON.

The Salters' Hall Assembly and the Advices for Peace

(March 1719)

NO creed could have been so fatal to our Peace as this Paper of Advices." So wrote Thomas Bradbury to John Barrington-Shute, Esq., in a letter which was entitled, "Answer to the Reproaches cast on those Dissenting Ministers who subscribed their Belief of the Eternal Trinity."¹ He suspected—with good reason—that Barrington-Shute was the author of an account of the Salters'-Hall proceedings which laid at his door—also with good reason—the chief blame for their scandalous character and failure. Barrington-Shute was a member of Bradbury's church in New Court (previously Fetter Lane), and the two had long worked together in politics. Bradbury implies that he had secured for the other, "four or five years ago," his "seat in Parliament" for Berwick.² They were both active and prominent Whigs. But there was no real friendship between them. Alike masterful, each in his own way, and by no means at one in theological opinion, an open rupture could be only a question of time. And the rupture came when the layman presumed to "advise" ministers how to deal with the Exeter affair. Mr. Barrington-Shute knew all about this—at least on one side—from his friend, Rev. James Peirce. His anxiety to make peace in the west and preserve it in London was undoubtedly sincere—on political grounds even more than for the sake of religious unity. For

¹ Dated 11th April, 1719. ² Answer to the Reproaches, p. 35.

there was a Bill before Parliament (introduced by Earl Stanhope on 13th December, 1718) for repealing the Schism Act, etc., and its opponents were neither few nor weak. It passed the Lords by 55 against 33 before Christmas, and the Commons on 18th February. But its advocates had more than one anxious moment, especially when some of their own side (nominally Presbyterians) urged the addition of a Trinitarian Test and cited the case of Mr. Peirce as a main reason for it.¹ Here is the clue to Mr. Barrington-Shute's rather precipitate action. While the fate of the Bill was still in suspense he convened (for 5th February) a meeting of what Calamy calls "the Private Committee of the Dissenters," and laid before them a paper for their consideration. It was a first draft of the Advices for Peace. According to Bradbury "it went hard through the committee."² As to its original form we cannot be quite sure, but the form in which it was afterwards published is (with omission of the first paragraph) as follows:—

"The Sentiments of several Gentlemen touching the Methods of Healing the present Divisions among Protestant Dissenters.³

. . . It is with the greatest concern that we have heard of some unhappy religious Differences and Disputes amongst some of our Brethren in the West Country; which are likely to spread farther if not prevented by the Blessing of God on such Christian and Prudent Methods as ought to be taken to avert so great a calamity and Reproach to us, as we are Christians, and a Body of men differing in opinion from the Majority of the Nation. . . . We would by all proper Means promote Peace among Our Brethren, and thereby the true Interest of our Country; but We ought not to pursue such good Ends by any Methods that are inconsistent with the Spirit of Christianity; nor ought We, in order to procure a seeming Peace and Quiet, to make use of any of those Ways,

¹ *Calamy's Life*, vol. ii, pp. 402-3.

² Answer in the Reproaches, p. 37. The reference seems to be to this meeting of the Private Committee, but it may be to that of the General Committee on the 19th.

³ Pp. 81-5 of A Letter to the Reverend Mr. Tong Mr. Smith Mr. Robinson Mr. Reynolds . . . to which is added, An Appendix containing *Two Letters* sent by some *Dissenting Gentlemen* to their Ministers. . . . By a Layman, 2nd ed., 1719. [In Cong. Lib. G., f. 14, Tract 3].

which We have so Justly complain'd of in others, as laying an unreasonable Yoke on the consciences of Christians. Whatsoever Human Declarations, or Doctrinal Tests, the Civil or Ecclesiastical Powers of the several Christian Countries have thought fit to enjoin (tho' contrary to each other) yet ought We to stand to that undoubted Protestant Principle which we have hitherto glory'd in—that the Holy Scriptures are the only Rule of the Faith and Practice of Christians. Having these Principles fixed in Our Minds, as undoubted Rules and Standards for directing our Conduct, We consider the following Methods will be the most agreeable to such evident Principles, as well as the most Prudent that can be taken to prevent the several Mischiefs which have been mentioned, and which We have Reason to believe will follow from a different conduct.

1. That we should all of Us, according to Our several Capacities and Opportunities, and in a more especial manner those that are Ministers of the Gospel of Peace, Endeavour to allay all unreasonable jealousies Concerning the Sentiments and opinions of others, particularly Ministers. That the Christian principles of Charity, and mutual forbearance should be promoted. That an Intemperate degree of Zeal in judging of the Christianity and Sincerity of their Brethren should be avoided; and that Peace and Love, which are the great Characteristics of Christians, be as much as is possible, obtained.

2. If this Method shall not be found Effectual, but notwithstanding Some Christians shall accuse others, or their own Ministers as not holding the Christian faith, or as propagating Opinions, which they conceive to be inconsistent with it: that no such accusation should be in the least regarded by Ministers or others, to whom Application shall be made for Advice on such occasions; unless two or more Persons shall Subscribe their names to such accusation, as plainly and openly accusing, and being ready to support and justify such accusation: that by this means private insinuations, tending to give scandal, may be avoided, and Proceedings may be had in that open and sincere way which the Gospel prescribes.

3. That when there is a proper Accusation made and duly supported as aforesaid, the Person accused should be first privately admonished, before the Matter be brought under the Examination of any public Assembly, or the person accused put under the necessity of publicly defending himself.

4. If at last any shall be called to so difficult a work, as that of judging the faith of their Brethren, and determining their titles to the name of Christians, their capacity of being members of Christian Churches and their Hopes of Salvation; we assure ourselves they will, in a matter of so great moment, adhere steadfastly to the Protestant principle; will make use of no human

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decisions, human forms or compositions, either to torture or condemn their Christian brethren : that they will think nothing, but the plain and express declarations of Holy Scripture, a sufficient authority to justify their Condemning any, as not holding the faith necessary to Salvation ; and that in so awful a case as judging the servants of our common Lord and Master they will, we doubt not, act as those who expect his appearance.

5. If any Minister or Congregation shall differ, as to the expediency of these methods, or shall think any other more proper ; we hope they will, as intending the same good end, still preserve Charity and Communion with those Ministers and Congregations, that shall think fit to pursue these advices.

We hope that, by the blessing of God on these methods, all the dangers we apprehend may be prevented ; but if our Endeavours prove ineffectual to those ends, we shall have the comfort, that we have not neglected our duty as men and Christians.

This, with names subscribed, was the paper submitted to the " Body of Protestant Dissenters in and about London " on 19th February. Bradbury was present, and appears at once to have met the proposal to consider it paragraph by paragraph with an alternative, viz., " That as these things give us a sad presage of the Divine Judgments, so we ought to set apart some Times and Places for Prayer and Humiliation, to beg of God *the Spirit of Love and of a sound Mind*. And after that choose some of our number and send 'em to Exeter " ¹

This being negatived,² the other was carried " without any Division or any considerable appearance of Hands to the contrary." ³

Nothing more was done on the 16th, nor was any progress made with the Advices of the next meeting on 24th February. This was all taken up by hot debate on the question : " Whether in some part of the Advices to be sent to Exeter, there should be inserted a Declaration of Faith in the Holy Trinity." Bradbury, speaking (as he said) " by the unanimous Direction of the Body of

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the Independents"¹ was strong for this, not to say fierce; and, at the same time, gave his reasons for flouting the Advices.² His language and (still more, perhaps) his tone was—on his own showing—far from complimentary to the "Gentlemen." He resented their initiative as arrogance. They were playing the part of Diotrephes. "And don't suppose that *we*, who have contended so much against the Descent of the Apostolical authority upon *Bishops* should acknowledge any Pretensions to it in *Gentlemen*: no, 'tis no more in Long Wigs than in Lawn Sleeves."³

Such an outburst in such an atmosphere may well explain why he was "Hiss'd." At length the Assembly came to a vote, and decided by 57 to 53 *not* to include the suggested Declaration. It was a small, but fateful, majority. Never since has Nonconformity presented a united front. An adjournment at once took place to 3rd March, when there was a record attendance of 123.⁴ The prescribed business of this meeting was to go "through the Advices." But hours passed before they could be reached—hours of angry talk. Some complained of insult received at the previous meeting; some of the scandalous report, which had been spread outside, that the 57 had declared against the Trinity. Bradbury, also, took up time in trying to prove (not unsuccessfully) that the 57 included many not strictly entitled to vote.⁵ Finally, "a certain Roll of Paper" was produced, "wherein was contain'd . . . the *first acticle* of the *Church of England* and the 5th and 6th *Answers* in the *Assembly's Catechism*." So the malcontents had come prepared for a second trial of strength; and this was the signal. Those willing to sign were invited to go up into the gallery and 60 responded. A dozen or so left the Hall. Some 50,

¹ Answer, p. 17.

² Id. p. 28f.

³ He may not have used these words in the debate, but certainly the equivalent of them (id. 39).

⁴ Id. p. 15.

⁵ Id. pp. 14, 15.

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5. If any Minister or Congregation shall differ, as to the expediency of these methods, or shall think any other more proper ; we hope they will, as intending the same good end, still preserve Charity and Communion with those Ministers and Congregations, that shall think fit to pursue these advices.

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including the Moderator (Dr. Joshua Oldfield) stayed below and around the table. Regarding themselves as still "the Body," these gradually composed their mind to the business in hand, viz. these Advices, and finished off the first three before rising. On 10th March, for which a summons was sent to every one of the Brethren who had withdrawn, the 4th Advice was adopted after "some changes" made "both in substance and form." This was the crucial Article, and the one in debating which they "did particularly wish to have had the help" of the seceders. But none came. So, after inserting three new articles before the 5th and 6th, which were taken over word for word, they appended their signatures and went home. Then on the 17th the Advices—with a letter signed by Dr. Oldfield in the name of the rest, and (unsigned) Reasons for not subscribing the Declaration—were posted to Exeter. They are as follows:—

We are clearly of opinion,

I. That there are Errors in Doctrine of that important Nature, as will not only warrant, but even oblige, a Christian Congregation to withdraw from the Minister, or Ministers, that maintain and defend those Doctrines.

II. That the People have a Right to judge for themselves, what those Errors are, and when they are so taught and propagated, as will justify them in withdrawing from such their Ministers. However, we think it necessary, that the Right of thus judging and acting, be maintained and pursued, according to the following Advices:

1. That all Christians, especially Ministers of the Gospel of Peace, should on the one hand carefully avoid giving any just Occasion of Offence; and on the other, avoid and discountenance all unreasonable jealousy Concerning the Sentiments and Opinions of others, particularly of Ministers; and all rash judging of the Christianity and Sincerity of their Brethren; and promote to their Power Mutual Forbearance and Brotherly Love, as far as a just Concern for Truth and Holiness will allow.

2. If either Ministers or other Christians, should be charged with not holding the Christian Faith, or propagating Opinions inconsistent with it, we apprehend that no such Accusations should be received by any, to whom Application shall be made for Advice upon such Occasions, unless the Accusation be reduced

to a Certainty, and two or more credible Persons shall declare themselves ready to support and justify it when call'd to it: That by this means all private Insinuations tending to Scandal may be avoided, and Proceedings had in that open and sincere Way which the Gospel prescribes.

3. That when Such an Accusation is brought, the person accused be first privately admonished, before the Matter come under the Examination of any Publick Assembly, or he be obliged to a Publick Defence.

4. If after all, a Publick Hearing be insisted on, we think the Protestant Principle, that *the Bible is the only and the perfect Rule of Faith*, Obliges those who have the Case before them, not to condemn any Man upon the Authority of Humane Decisions, or because he consents not to Humane Forms or Phrases: But then only is he to be Censured, as *not holding the Faith necessary to Salvation*, when it appears that he contradicts, or refuses to own, *the plain and Express Declarations of Holy Scripture*, in what is there made necessary to be believed, and in Matters there solely revealed. And we trust that All will treat the Servants of their Common Lord; as they who Expect the final Decision at his appearing.

5. We further advise, that Catechisms and other Summaries of Christianity, and Expositions of Scripture by wise and learned, tho' fallible Men, should be regarded as great Helps to understand the Mind of God in the Scriptures: And that all be allowed by Common Consent, to Support their own Sense of Scripture upon proper Occasions, with such Reasons as appear to them convincing, provided it be with Sobriety and Charity to those who differ from them. We also desire to secure the Evidence arising from Scripture Consequences; tho' no Man should be charged with holding those Consequences of his Opinion, which he expressly disclaims.

6. That where any, either Ministers or other Christians, think themselves bound in Conscience, to declare against such a Sense of Scripture, as the Body of that Christian Society to which they belong apprehend to be a Truth of great Importance, they should, after the proper Methods have been tried for Mutual Satisfaction, rather quietly with-draw from it, and seek Communion, or Service, in some other Christian Society, than disturb the Peace of that Congregation: And that there be no Censuring of the Person who with-draws, or of the Congregation that receives him.

7. That Ministers, and People, both endeavour to know, maintain and propagate the Truth in Love; insisting most on those things wherein Christians are generally agreed; more sparingly and with great Modesty and Charity, on those in which good Men do, or may, differ.

8. If any Minister or Congregation shall differ as to the Expediency of these Methods, or shall think any other more proper, we hope they will, as intending the same good End, still preserve Charity and Communion with those Ministers and Congregations that shall think fit to pursue these Advices.

Meanwhile, the "Subscribers" of the Declaration were also engaged in framing Advices, but with scarcely any reference to those of the "Gentlemen." These, with 61 signatures, were sent off on 7th April, accompanied by a letter with 10 signatures, and a twofold declaration of faith in the Trinity, with 78 signatures.

They are as follows :—

Some of our Number having been apply'd to by Several Worthy *Gentlemen* at *Exon* for *Advice* how to conduct themselves under their unhappy Circumstances: We are clearly of Opinion

That there are Errors in Doctrine of such a Nature, as will not only warrant, but oblige the People to with-draw from those Ministers that maintain or teach them.

And that the People have a Right to judge what those Errors are; and when they are so maintained and taught, as will justify them in with-drawing from such a Ministry. But as the Purity of the Faith, the Peace of the Churches, the Reputation and Usefulness of Ministers, are Matters of very great Weight and Consequence, the utmost Care and Caution ought to be had on both Sides in all Proceedings of such a Nature; and therefore we humbly advise :

1. That when such Differences do arise, the People would consider, tho' they have the Power of judging what Ministers and Doctrines are fit for them to hear, yet they must by no means suffer their Passions, Prejudices or unreasonable Jealousies, to byas their Judgment, but must search the Scriptures, and be determined by them, both as to the Merits of the Cause and the Manner of Proceeding. All Rashness and intemperate Zeal must be suppress'd and everything managed clearly, calmly, in the Fear of God, with Meekness and tender Compassion towards all with whom they are concerned.

2. If the People shall see fit (which in many cases may be expedient) to call for the Advice of Neighbouring Ministers, and others, that are most like to give them good Direction in the Matter before them: those Ministers and others, whose Counsel is desired, should be free, open and faithful in the Advice they give, without being in the least influenced by any personal Respect or Disrespect on either Hand.

3. If any Minister is suspected by his Hearers to hold dangerous Errors, and the People in a serious and respectful Manner desire him to be plain with them, and let them know what his real Belief is, that they may not by mistake either wrong him or their own souls; we think it reasonable he should comply with their Desire, and be ready to give an Account of the Hope that is in him with Meekness and Fear, that the People may have no Ground to charge him with Pride or Prevarication, sacrificing his own Peace and theirs too, to a Stiffness of Humour, or Punctilio of Honour.

4. That the People in this Case should be always ready to receive a reasonable Satisfaction; and if it does appear either that their Ministers never held these Errors of which they were suspected, or have upon maturer Thoughts relinquish'd them and returned to the Truth, the People should regard them with all Respect and Kindness, not suffering any Jealousies to lodge in their Breasts; but should receive them in the Lord, and attend upon their Ministry, and Treat them with as much Affection, Freedom and Confidence, as if no such Suspicions had ever taken place among them.

5. If all Attempts for mutual Satisfaction, Union and Agreement between Ministers and People should prove ineffectual, and either the Minister should judge it his Duty to with-draw from the People, as those that will not endure that which he takes to be sound Doctrine, or the People shall judge it their Duty to with-draw from their Minister, as maintaining what they take to be dangerous Error, they should resolve to part without Wrath and Bitterness according to the Gospel Rule; and how much soever they may judge that Error to be in its Nature of the most dangerous Tendency, yet that neither they nor others should interpret such their Separation, as if thereby they presumed to judge and condemn each other as to their Eternal State: Being persuaded, that tho' our Lord and Saviour is justly and highly offended with the sinful Errors and Divisions of those that call upon His Name, yet he is that Merciful High Priest that knows how to have Compassion on the Ignorant and those that are out of the Way, and to give them Repentance to the Acknowledgment of the Truth.

As we have with very good reason declared the Right of the People to judge what those Doctrines are that will justify them in with-drawing from their Minister, so we take the Freedom to declare it as our Judgment, That the Denying of the true and proper Divinity of the Son of God and the Holy Spirit, viz., that they are one God with the Father, is an Error contrary to the Holy Scriptures and common Faith of the Reformed Churches. We who have subscribed these Advices, have also subscribed the first Article of the Church of England, and the Answers to the Fifth and Sixth Questions of the Assemblies Catechism: as what

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we believe to be the Doctrine of the Blessed Trinity revealed in the Holy Scriptures.

A comparison of the two sets of Advices shows that the Rev. Alexander Gordon is mistaken in saying¹ that "the Advices from both parties were practically identical in terms."

They have, in fact, very little in common.

There is another point in which Mr. Gordon (*mirabile dictu!*) has gone wrong. Speaking of the Advices as drafted by Mr. Barrington-Shute, he says: "They lay down two propositions remarkable as summarizing the most absolute independency, first, there are doctrinal errors which justify a congregation in renouncing a minister; second, each congregation is to decide for itself what these errors are".² But really the said draft has nothing which corresponds to these two propositions, nor are they a part of the Advices of either party. They are an introduction, or preamble, to the Advices. And we can trace the first, at least, to its source.

On 22nd November, 1718, "the Committee of 13" (who claimed to act for the Exeter churches) wrote to five leading London ministers, and besought their help against the Arian peril. Three out of their four ministers, they said, were giving it tacit support. One of them (Mr. Peirce) has even "expressly declared for a subordination." What are they to do? The five did not reply till 6th January, 1719, and then to the effect that it was not for them to interfere. The best course for the 13 to take was the usual one, viz., to consult some neighbouring ministers. Accordingly, "they applied themselves to some of the elder ministers to the number of seven," who consented to act. These met in Exeter (19th January, 1719), and—after prolonged debate—came to three Resolutions, of which the first runs thus: "That there are some errors in

¹ *Heads of Unitarian History*, p. 34.

² *Id.* p. 34.

doctrine which are a sufficient ground for the people to withdraw from their ministers holding such errors." Here evidently is the original of the "Preamble" as regards its first section. Its second, "That the people have a right to judge for themselves what those errors are," would seem to be an obvious corollary from the first. The second Resolution runs thus: "That the denying the true and proper Divinity of the Son of God, viz., that He is one God with the Father—is an error of that nature, contrary to the Holy Scriptures and common Faith of the Reformed Churches." This—with addition of the words "and the Holy Ghost"—is reproduced at the end of the Subscribers' 5th advice. The third Resolution—embodied substantially in the Subscribers' 3rd and 5th Advices—runs thus: "That when so dangerous an Error is industriously propagated, to the overthrowing of the Faith of Many, we think it the indispensable Duty of the Ministers, who are set for the Defence of the Gospel, earnestly to withstand it; and to give reasonable satisfaction to their People of their Soundness in the Faith. And we likewise recommend to the People, as their Duty, to hold fast the Truth in Love—avoiding Anger, Clamour and evil speaking; and to behave themselves with all sincerity and meekness as becometh Christians."

It appears that the seven ministers, before delivering these resolutions to the Committee of 13, desired a fortnight's delay in order to send them to London (as well as to brethren nearer home) for approval, or comment, by the five. This was done; and one of the "five" "signified by letter their hearty approbation." Thus the three Resolutions became known in London, and had a chance of exerting their influence, *before* "the Gentlemen of London brought in their paper of Advices to the Committee of the Three Denominations."

FRED. I. POWICKE.

Congregational Hymnody

IT is not easy to say with confidence what Psalms, Hymns, or Spiritual Songs were sung in Congregational churches before the days of Watts. Metrical Psalters were already numerous, and to some of them were annexed metrical paraphrases of other portions of Scripture. But a really superstitious devotion to the mere letter of the Scripture caused the more poetical versions—those of Sandys and Wither—to be looked on with disfavour. There are indications that some Nonconformists, at least, had no objection to the familiar “Old Version” of Sternhold, Hopkins, etc. (1562); while others preferred the so-called Scottish Psalter (1650), and others the Revised New England Psalm-Book (1650), of which an eleventh edition was printed in London in 1707. Some congregations sung from Patrick’s version (1691), which is commendably faithful, but decidedly “wooden”; and there is a tradition that young Watts, by criticizing it, elicited a challenge to “do something better.”

Outside the Psalter there was little verse available for the Service of Praise. Hymns had indeed been written by Wither (1621-42), Herbert (1632), Baxter (1681), Barton (1688), Keach (1691), Boyse (1693), Mason and Shepherd (1693), R. Davis (1694), Ken (1695), J. Stennett (1697), and perhaps by others; but with few exceptions they were not well suited for united praise, being for the most part intensely individual or else purely didactic. Of the authors named, only two were Congregationalists—Shepherd and Davis. Some of Shepherd’s effusions have real merit, but for various reasons they have become obsolete; and Davis at his best is mere pious doggerel. As to Matthew Henry’s “Family Hymns,” they are for the most part simply centos from the Metrical Psalms in various versions.

With the Sternhold and Hopkins psalter was usually bound up a small collection of hymns—mostly metrical versions of the Church Canticles, Creed, Commandments, Lord’s Prayer, and half a dozen others: and to the New England Psalm-Book metrical versions of all the Scripture Canticles were appended. To what extent these were used—if at all—in Nonconformist congregations, we have no evidence. The first *selection* that we find in use in Congregational churches as supplementary to the Psalms was pub-

lished in 1694; its title is "A Collection of Divine Hymns upon Several Occasions, Suited to our Common Tunes, for the use of devout Christians, in Singing forth the Praises of God." There are 73 hymns by about eight authors, including Baxter, Mason, and Shepherd; some of the hymns are free paraphrases of psalms. The compiler is unknown; but he has selected some hymns of real merit, four or five of which survive in modern hymn-books.

The next selection we meet with is that compiled by Samuel Bury, and entitled "A Collection of Psalms, Hymns, and Spiritual Songs fitted for Morning and Evening Worship in a Private Family." The date is 1707. Many of the pieces are centos, and the source of every fragment is indicated; the authors drawn upon being 18 in number, besides some verses marked "Anonymous" or "Uncertain."

But the first publication of Isaac Watts's "Hymns and Spiritual Songs," in 1707, was the beginning of a new era of Congregational Church-Song. A second and enlarged edition was issued two years later. In 1719 appeared "The Psalms of David, imitated in the language of the New Testament"; and in subsequent editions of the hymns those were omitted which were in fact Metrical Psalms; the blanks being filled up later with hymns taken from other publications of the same author. It was at once recognized that Watts had supplied an urgent want. More than any English writer before him, more even than his junior contemporary Charles Wesley, he was "The Poet of the Sanctuary." Two facts may serve to show how great was the need, and how well it was met. Neither Matt. Henry, nor Bury, nor the "Divine Hymns" reached a third edition; but in the Congregational Library are Watts's own copies of his Psalms and Hymns; the "Psalms," dated 1727, is the 3rd edition; and the "Hymns," dated 1740, is the 14th. And a hundred years after Watts's death, not less than 450 of his compositions continued to be in more or less common use in England or America.

There were conservative people who persisted in the exclusive use of the old psalm-versions, and made bad jokes about "Watts's whims"; but in the Congregational churches they were few, and Julian rather understates the case when he says that "for some years after" 1719 Watts's Psalms and Hymns "constituted the hymn-book of the Congregational body." Watts was, indeed, the founder of a new school of hymnody; but of those who followed in his footsteps during a whole generation not more than three or four were Congregationalists; Doddridge, Gibbons, Hart, and S. Davies (the latter American) almost exhaust the list. And even they were practically unknown as hymn-writers till after 1750, the publication of Doddridge's hymns being posthumous, except a very few that were printed at the end of occasional sermons.

The great outburst of devout song which accompanied and followed the Methodist Revival owed little to Congregationalism; its chief singers were Methodists, both Arminian and Calvinistic, Moravians, Baptists, and Episcopalians of the Evangelical School.

But it came in due time to be recognized that no one man, however gifted, could supply all the needs of a worshipping church. Here and there a minister would compile a small selection of hymns for his own congregation. One of the earliest of these compilers was Robert Seagrave, the author of one magnificent hymn and of much poor stuff. In 1742 he published "Hymns for Christian Worship," containing 32 of his own compositions and 34 from other authors, including Watts and C. Wesley. In 1747 William Cudworth issued "A Collection of Hymns for the Use of Religious Societies"; but this was probably little used beyond a narrow circle. More important was George Whitefield's Collection, of which the first edition appeared in 1753. This contained 210 hymns and 15 doxologies and dismissal verses, chiefly from Watts, the Wesleys, Seagrave, Cennick, and Moravian writers. Whitefield was not a Congregationalist; but "The Tabernacle Connexion" was at least Independent, and most of its congregations in course of time developed into Congregational churches. Much the same may be said of the so-called "Inghamite" societies, except that most of these have long been extinct. For them were produced "A Collection of Hymns and Spiritual Songs," edited by John Edwards, of Leeds, in 1756; and the very remarkable "Kendal Hymn Book" of 1757, of which James Allen was the editor.

An interesting collection of hymns was compiled in 1757 by Charles Bradbury, for a congregation worshipping in Glover's Hall. It contains hymns by Mason, Watts, C. Wesley, from Moravian sources, and others not identified. In 1764 appeared the first of the numerous books compiled for the Countess of Huntingdon's chapels; this was "printed for William Lee, at Lewes." Five or six others, all differing from each other, were used in various chapels of the Connexion before the issue of the "authorized" book of 1780. Noteworthy among these is one by T. Maxfield, "Assistant Chaplain to the Countess," of which a second edition was published in 1768. In this the Wesley hymns are very numerous, while those of Watts are so few that the book might have been used as a Supplement to his "Psalms and Hymns." The Countess's authorized book of 1780 contained hymns by about 20 different authors, including Watts, the Wesleys, Cennick, Newton, Cowper, Toplady, etc. Some hymns by Walter Shirley are notable for a peculiar sweetness. Whether the Countess herself was a contributor is uncertain. How far any of these compilations were used outside the two "Connexions" it is not easy to say. The probability is that for thirty years after

Watts's death his "Psalms and Hymns" held almost exclusive possession of the field. In 1769 Dr. Thomas Gibbons put forth "Hymns adapted to Divine Worship, partly Collected . . . but principally Composed by T. G." This, though not so designated, was really the first of a long series of Supplements to Watts's Psalms and Hymns. It contained 200 pieces, of which 150 were the editor's own composition, and the remainder by eight various authors, a few being anonymous. By far the most valuable part is that contributed by Samuel Davies, of whose 16 hymns some still remain in use, especially the majestic "Great God of wonders, all Thy ways" etc. But the book was never reprinted. The first book of which we have any knowledge, published *avowedly* as a Supplement to Watts, was that known as "The Hull Supplement." This was compiled by Rev. John Harris, one of the Countess of Huntingdon's preachers, for the use of a single congregation. The date of the first edition we have not been able to ascertain, but it was between 1770 and 1780. It was adopted by other congregations, and after four impressions had been sold off a fifth edition, revised by four Ministers of Hull, was published at York in 1785. This revised edition contains 215 hymns and 6 doxologies. About 50 of the hymns are by Charles Wesley, 20 by B. Fawcett, 14 or 15 by Hart, 10 by Doddridge, and the rest derived from at least 25 other writers, as Mason, Seagrave, Cennick, Olivers, Newton, Cowper, Davies, Hammond, and some whom we are unable to identify. Of the entire number of hymns about one-third continue in more or less common use.

In 1784 George Burder, of Coventry, published "A Collection of Hymns from various authors, intended as a Supplement to Dr. Watts's Hymns and Imitation of the Psalms." It was an immediate success, and in 45 years passed through 28 editions. In the preface the editors remarked on the "*new scheme*" of "a set of men in this day who arrogantly assume the title of *Rational Dissenters*," to whom a considerable part of Watts "must have become useless, not to say obnoxious." Not for these did Burder compile his Supplement, but for such as "are content with the old religion, the religion of the Reformation, the religion of the Bible." The collection included 187 hymns, from about 20 authors. Its tone is moderately Calvinistic, but without that aggressive assertiveness which is displayed in some later compilations.

Probably the most important of all the Supplements was that published by Dr. John Rippon in 1787. The compiler was a Baptist, but the book was used in many paedobaptist congregations—in some within the memory of the present writer. The original edition contained 588 hymns, having as its title "A Selection of Hymns from the best authors, intended to be an Appendix to Dr. Watts's Psalms and Hymns." The hymns are carefully

classified, and the authors' names prefixed where the editor was certain on that point. In editions printed after 1791 the names of (supposed) suitable tunes were also prefixed. Subsequent editions were more and more enlarged, until in 1844 a "Comprehensive Rippon" was printed containing 1,170 hymns. It may be regretted that the pages of Rippon are cumbered with several hymns in which the special dogmas of Calvinism are offensively prominent—such as Toplady's "How happy are we our election who see," and Keen's "In Songs of sublime adoration and praise." On the other hand hymns embodying the Gospel Call are as clear and explicit as any Arminian could desire.

In 1791 William Jay published "A Selection of Hymns of Peculiar Metre, intended for the use of the congregation meeting in Argyle Chapel." It contained 195 hymns and 3 doxologies; a second edition, 1797, was enlarged to 229 hymns and 4 doxologies. The editor frankly avowed that his *sole* motive was "to variegate our singing by some of the good and admired tunes which are only adapted to words of peculiar metre." It is to the compiler's credit that fully one-third of the hymns are still in common use. Of similar character, but inferior literary quality, is the book edited by William Roby, of Manchester, in 1799, which had considerable vogue in Lancashire congregations, and reached a ninth edition in 1830.

Taking leave for the present of Supplements, we come to a series of hymn-books in the compilation of which Watts was regarded simply as one of the many authors to be drawn upon. These were for the most part designed for single congregations, and few, if any of them, reached a second edition. The first was compiled in 1756 by Rev. C. Skelton, of Maid Lane, Southwark, a seceder from the Wesleyan Society. This is commended as being "neither Arminian nor Antinomian"; we should describe its tone as "good sound Evangelical." Another seceder from the Wesleyan community was Rev. Jas. Thwaites, who in 1770 printed for his congregation in Chapel Court, Southwark, a useful selection to which C. Wesley is by far the largest contributor. Another meritorious selection was published in 1776 for the use of a congregation in Jewry Street, Aldgate, by Rev. W. Aldridge, a seceder from the Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion: about 20 authors are represented, and the book reached at least a fifth edition. A book of similar character, but far inferior in literary quality, was compiled for the church in Cumberland Street in 1777. Much the same is to be said of the collection edited by Thomas Beck, of Gravesend, in 1782: it contains a good deal of original matter of no great excellence, and is larger than most of its contemporaries, containing 415 hymns; to which are appended, without numbers, about 50 short hymns for prayer-meetings, single verses, and doxologies. Of similar bulk is the

very curious volume compiled by Thomas Morton in 1786 for the congregation at Holywell Mount. This is really an excellent example of "How *not* to do it." The worthy editor conceived that most hymns were too long; that many contained very bad poetry, or words and phrases hard to be understood, or bare assertions without Scripture proof; and that in all the hymn-books he had met with, the Divinity was in many places unsound, most of the hymns were improper to be sung by carnal people, and many others are not proper to be sung by real believers under particular circumstances. So Morton undertook to correct all these faults, and it is to be hoped the people at Holywell Mount were edified accordingly. Less pretentious, but far more useful—though blemished by much gratuitous hymn-carving—was the collection edited by Rowland Hill in 1787 for use at Surrey Chapel; this reached a seventh edition, with some enlargements, in 1810. Some of the compiler's original hymns are still in occasional use.

The nineteenth century is memorable for the abundant outflow of devout song which, through its entire course, poured from every section of the church, from the Romish Communion to the Society of Friends. In this great chorus Congregationalists were not lacking. Among really great hymn-writers we may count Josiah Conder and George Rawson; in the second rank, an honourable place is due to George Macdonald, Thomas Toke Lynch, Edwin Paxton Hood, George Thomas Coster, and perhaps half a dozen others: while several names are inseparable from single hymns, which are either their sole contributions to the Church's Treasury of Song, or stand forth as sparkling gems amidst much pious commonplace. Among these last—not to mention living writers—are Ann Gilbert, William Bengo Collyer, Thomas Rawson Taylor, Henry Mayo Gunn, Thomas Binney, David Thomas, Charles Edward Mudie, and Jemima Luke. But our present concern is not so much with Hymn Writers as with Hymn Books. And in considering these it will be convenient to take the formation of the Congregational Union as a dividing-point in our review.

In the hymnological collection at the Memorial Hall there are upwards of forty books which may properly be called Congregational, ranging in date from 1801 to 1834. It is out of the question to describe all these books in detail. Rather more than half of these were prepared as Supplements to Dr. Watts's Psalms and Hymns; and some of the said Supplements were extremely bulky.

Of the books in which Watts was regarded merely as one of many contributors, the other authors chiefly drawn on were the Wesleys, Cennick, Doddridge, Hammond, Newton, Cowper, Toplady, Medley, Hart, Ann Steele, the two Stennetts, and

Beddome, with a few indispensable hymns of Addison, Seagrave, Olivers, Robinson, Perronet, and W. Williams. The general tone of the compilations greatly resembled that of the Countess of Huntingdon's collection; and might fairly be called Calvinistic Methodist. Usually, but not always, hymns with a strong Calvinistic flavour were included: these are most conspicuous in books that were compiled for single congregations, in which such writers as Kent and Hawker were drawn upon. Rowland Hill, Joseph Humphrey, and Thomas Haweis are frequent contributors; and gradually the poetic genius of James Montgomery and Thomas Kelly found deserved recognition. The collections vary in bulk from a little over 200 hymns to above a thousand; and in arrangement from promiscuity to elaborate classification. Not many of them deserve particular notice. "A collection of Hymns for the use of the Tabernacles in Scotland," 1800, was probably edited by Revs. John Aikman, of Edinburgh, and by G. Cowie, of Montrose. It reached a 13th edition in 1844, but is of no great merit. With a view to displacing this, Dr. Ralph Wardlaw compiled a selection in 1803, to which he contributed a few hymns, and which reached a 13th edition in 1860. But its popularity was rather due to the compiler's reputation than to its own merits. Another collection, by Greville Ewing, of Glasgow, and George Payne, of Edinburgh, appeared in 1814, and reached an 11th edition in 1846. It was a useful book, carefully arranged; and notwithstanding many prosy effusions, compares favourably with most of its contemporaries. Turning from Scotland to Ireland, the collection edited by Dr. W. Urwick in 1829 is notable for systematic editorial revision—the first person singular being invariably pluralized—not always to the improvement of the poetry. Another interesting feature of the book is its inclusion of about a dozen hymns by Charlotte Elizabeth Tonna.

Not many of the selections compiled for single congregations in England deserve any lengthened notice. Those of J. Latchford (Bartholomew Close, 1808), Robert Langford (Bethnal Green, 1820), S. B. Haslam (Zion Chapel, Waterloo Road, 1824), J. Pyer (Bristol, 1825), John Rees (Crown Street, Soho, 2nd edition, 1826), and Richard Lukin (Clerkenwell, 1833) are chiefly remarkable for a huge mass of worthless original rhyme. Henry Fowler (Gower Street, 1832) and J. Pyer above named are ruthless *hymn-carvers*, the former having the honesty to say that he had not given authors' names because it is unfair to ascribe to one man work that has been altered by another. The collection of Thomas Young, of Margate, 1819 (5th edition, 1833), was made as a Supplement to the Countess of Huntingdon's book. It has two interesting features: no fewer than 29 of the hymns are by Edward Perronet; and there is a double index of tunes, corresponding to Rippon's and Walker's

tune-books. Some of the collections contain pieces that are distinctly curious. Pyer's has a few hymns for seamen, one of which begins :—

Yo ho ! what ship, lads ? ho !
 To what port are ye bound ?
 Come, heave about, or know
 You soon will be aground :
 The rocks of death are just ahead,
 And your lee-shore is strewed with dead.

In a book compiled "for the use of the congregations under the pastoral care of Rev. E. J. Jones" (1812) is the following realistic description of the final conflagration :—

Earth to her centre quakes,
 Prodigious mountains fall,
 While pond'rous rocks in pieces break,
 Tremendous all :
 The sea, like blazing oil,
 Burns with a dreadful roar,
 Its furious flaming billows boil
 From shore to shore.

Reverting to the series of Supplements, we begin the century with that compiled in 1801 by Herbert Mends, of Plymouth. It contains a good deal of original matter, some of it disfigured by a tendency to magniloquence but deserving something better than the oblivion into which it has fallen. The 250 hymns are promiscuously arranged. Considerable interest attaches to the "Collection of above 600 Hymns," edited in 1801 by Dr. Edw. Williams and Rev. Jas. Boden, of Sheffield, which passed through several editions. In this the *modern* form of the hymn "Jerusalem, my happy home," first became popular, having previously appeared only in a purely local publication. Dr. E. Williams was in his day a champion of what was called "Moderate Calvinism"; and in his preface he apologized for introducing hymns by C. Wesley, assuring his readers that "nothing is admitted which is prejudicial to the doctrines of sovereign grace." At the end, under the head of "Varieties," are a number of religious poems and songs, including the whole of C. Wesley's great poem on Wrestling Jacob, and a song on "Innocent Diversion," from which these delectable stanzas (2 out of 8) deserve to be quoted :—

The drunkards their shame
 At midnight proclaim,
 Their sacrifice bring,
 And loud to the praise of their master they sing.
 The hellish desires
 Which Satan inspires
 In sonnets they breathe,
 And shouting descend to the mansions of death.

Congregational Hymnody

The civiler crowd
 In theatres proud
 Acknowledge his power,
 And Satan in nightly assemblies adore :
 To the masque and the ball
 They fly at his call,
 Or in pleasures excel,
 And chant in a grove to the harpers of hell.

That there may be no mistake as to the meaning, a footnote is added, "Ranelagh's Gardens, Vauxhall," etc. One is reminded of the Pharisee's thanksgiving "that I am not as other men are"!

"A New Collection of Evangelical Hymns," about 700, by John Dobell, 1806, is chiefly interesting for its record of authors. In this respect, though very faulty, it was the most complete up to that time. About the same time a small collection of 280 hymns was made by Thomas Wilson for the use of Hoxton Academy Chapel. It is of no great merit, but was extensively used, and passed through many editions; that of 1845 was the 21st. But a really important work was "Hymns partly collected and partly Original," by W. B. Collyer, D.D., 1812. It contains 979 hymns, grouped (not always accurately) under the names of about 80 authors. Upwards of 50 are Collyer's own composition, of which however only two or three continue in use. Julian mentions a collection made in 1814 by Dr. T. Raffles; but we have not met with it, and think there is some mistake. About the same time appeared the first edition of "Russell's Supplement," edited by Thomas Clout, who assumed the name of Russell. This passed through many editions—the 24th in 1843, and a "new and revised" edition in 1848; but these editions vary so much from each other as almost to be different collections. A selection by Stephen Gurteen, of Canterbury, claims notice for the fact that in the second edition, 1815, the *Te Deum* was inserted with an apology for its admission; in the fourth edition, 1839, it was omitted. In 1815 William Jay put forth a selection quite different from that of 1791. This is interesting from having appended the words of the choruses in Handel's "Messiah." A book compiled by Dr. Alexander Fletcher in 1822 was specially designed for the large assemblages of young people (not only children) which he was accustomed to gather on Sunday afternoons at Albion Chapel. Its arrangement is unusual, hymns being grouped according to their metre. An undated book of about the same period, compiled by T. S. Brittan, of Swansea, contains—beside a quantity of his own very mediocre verse—five hymns by Elizabeth Rowe, twelve by Ann Steele, and no less than fifteen translated from the French of Mme. Guyon. This proportion is, we think, unique. A book which was, in more senses than one, "of weight in its day," was "A Selection of hymns, compiled and original . . . for the use of the Protestant Dissenting Congregations . . . in Leeds." The

editors were Edward Parsons, Thomas Scales, and Richard Winter Hamilton. The first edition appeared in 1822; the fourth, with a slightly altered title, in 1838. It contains 865 hymns. Its arrangement is unique; to each hymn is prefixed a Scriptural motto, and *these* are placed in canonical order. There is a good deal of hymn-carving; no indications of authorship are given; there is an excessive proportion of merely didactic verse; and much of the original matter is of little value. A smaller and better selection of 316 hymns is that known as "Vint's," or "The Idel Selection." It was compiled by six ministers in and around Bradford, and printed at Idel in 1829. It passed through several editions, and continued to be used in the district for at least 35 years.

Another book of considerable interest is "The Union Collection of Hymns and Sacred Odes, additional to the Psalms and Hymns of Dr. Watts." This was edited by J. Curtis, of Bristol, a member of the choir at Broadmead Chapel. It contains 670 hymns, and a quantity of "Varieties," including odes, religious poems, single verses and fragments, which carry the continuous numbering to 786. There are elaborate Indexes of Verses, Scripture Allusions, and Subjects, occupying 92 closely printed columns. Many unfamiliar names of authors appear, including Sir John Bowring, whose hymns are here first found in a selection designed for use in church. Here, too (probably) was first included India's earliest contribution to the church-song of the West—Krishnu Pal's hymn—

O thou my soul, forget no more!
The Friend who all thy misery bore.

It is to be regretted that this book was a predestined failure, owing to its intolerably small type.

Several other Supplements, which had only a limited and local circulation, must be dismissed with a bare mention. Such were Adey's, Ramsgate, 1830; Eagleton's, Huddersfield, 1828; Tim. East's, Birmingham, 1822 (re-edited 1830); Jos. Fletcher, Blackburn, 1815; W. Mason, Cambridge, 1807; J. Matheson, Durham, 2nd ed. 1833; Andrew Reed, London, 1817; Reynolds, Chester, 1814; T. Williams, London, not dated; and no doubt others which we have not seen.

The Congregational Union was formed in 1830, and at the Annual Meeting in May, 1833, it was resolved to attempt the compilation of a Hymn Book, as a Supplement to Watts's Psalms and Hymns, which should be "a symbol of our Congregational unity of fellowship, and a means of promoting it." The business was entrusted to a committee, and by them "the task of collecting and revising the materials was ultimately devolved upon a single editor." No more admirable choice could have been made than that of Josiah Conder, by whom the work was brought

to a successful issue in May, 1836. In seven years 90,000 of the "Congregational Hymn Book" were sold; then a revised edition was put on the market. But it differed little from the original issue, and the few changes were all in the direction of improvement. Five hymns were substituted, seven restored more or less to their original form, and one slightly altered—that was all. The book in its revised form, 1844, consists of 620 hymns, the work of at least 85 authors, beside several anonymous or of doubtful authorship. Of these authors Montgomery contributes 70 hymns, Conder 60, C. Wesley 53, Doddridge 48, Newton 33, Cowper 29, Kelly 25, Lyte 13, Heber and Bathurst 11 each. On the other hand 45 authors only yield one hymn apiece. The literary character of these hymns is, on an average, superior to that of any collection of an earlier date; and it is no mean testimony to their worth that no fewer than 148 of them are included in the "Congregational Church Hymnal" of 1887, and at least a hundred others are still in more or less common use. Two remarkable features of the book are (1) the large number of hymns—50—on Missionary topics, and (2) the presence of several versified Collects, some of which are almost equal in beauty to the Latin prose of their originals. The chief fault of the book is its very complex arrangement, which makes it necessary to use the Index "of Subjects" or "of Occasions" in selecting a hymn on any special topic. But this is a minor blemish, and there is little wonder that "The Congregational Hymn Book" soon supplanted most of the local Supplements, and that very few such publications appeared after 1835.

(To be continued)

The Rise and Progress of Congregationalism in Worcestershire

(The substance of a paper read by W. Wimbury, Esq., at Birmingham, on 4th October, 1916)

(Continued from vol. vii, p. 153.)

AT the beginning of the nineteenth century bull-baiting and fighting were common sights in the streets of HALES OWEN. The hearts of good men were stirred, and a prayer-meeting was commenced in a barn at the back of a house in Birmingham Street, occupied by Benjamin Hodgkins. This good man allowed his house to be used as a Sunday school, where about forty boys and girls were gathered and taught. On 15th September, 1807, at a meeting presided over by Rev. Jehoiada Brewer, of Birmingham, a Congregational Church was constituted: the 15 members including Mr. Hodgkins and three members of his family. In the same year these earnest people secured a piece of waste land, on which between that date and 1811 a meeting-house was built. It had, at first, no floor but the bare earth, and no pews—only rough benches. Candles that required snuffing during the evening service were the only lights. The opening services were conducted by Revs. John Hudson, of West Bromwich, and J. A. James, of Birmingham. The first settled minister was Rev. James Angear, 1811-16.

The first Sunday school was built soon after the meeting-house; it was a long, narrow room; the boys were taught at one end and the girls at the other. An organ was purchased in 1841, when, probably, the end gallery was made: the side galleries were a later addition. A second schoolroom was built in 1844. Quite recently the members have erected on an excellent site, at some distance from the meeting-house, a handsome suite of school buildings, affording every convenience for progressive work on the part of the teachers. The outlook is bright, the people united and enthusiastic, and it is hoped at no very distant time a really suitable church building may be raised on a portion of the site which is already available.

Very early in the nineteenth century a few earnest Christians

were accustomed to meet for worship in a cottage at what was then called **LYE WASTE**. Such success attended the gatherings that increased accommodation was needed, and a disused nail-warehouse was rented. Soon the question of increased accommodation had to be again considered ; and the leaders proposed that, instead of expending their slender means on improving the old warehouse, they should have a building of their own, which should be available for worship and Sunday school. The proposal was warmly supported by neighbouring ministers, and a freehold site was bought in 1811, on which a schoolroom was built. For several years services were continued in this building ; and in 1815, at a meeting presided over by Rev. J. Angear, of Hales Owen, it was resolved to constitute a Christian church on Evangelical principles. The congregations still increased, and a determined effort was made to raise funds for a larger meeting-house. In 1827 the present church building was erected in front of the schoolroom, and within about ten years it had to be enlarged. This was during the pastorate of the first settled minister, Rev. Jas. Eddy (1832-38).

In 1868 Mr. George Wood—whose mother had taken a deep interest in the preliminary efforts which led to the formation of the church—bequeathed £3,000 to the trustees for church work. With this the minister's house and new schoolrooms were built, the church renovated, and a vestry added. Two years later his brother, Thomas Wood, passed away ; he bequeathed a further sum of £1,700 to the church, but through some informality or irregularity the bequest was not available for the purpose intended. Mrs. Wood, however, would not allow the church to suffer ; during her lifetime she paid £20 a year to the treasurer, and invested a sum which would yield a permanent endowment of the same amount. The church has in more recent times done excellent work in the district ; and the names of several of its ministers are still held in grateful remembrance.

The Congregational Church at **REDDITCH** owes its origin to the dissatisfaction which a wealthy member of the Wesleyan Society felt with the methods of his own church. Thomas Williams had made a fortune of £16,000 by the manufacture of needles ; and, whether he was at heart an Independent, or whether his wealth had made him imperious, he separated from the Methodists, and fitted up one of his workshops as a place of worship. This was in 1822. Williams had his heart in the right place ; he gave a site for a church building, and contributed largely to its erection, which was opened in May, 1827. Six ministers took part in the dedication service, which lasted from 11 in the morning till 3 in the afternoon. The church was definitely organized on 19th June, 1828.

Mr. Williams was a bachelor, and had no near relations. Many

religious institutions, and several ministers, participated in his generous bequests. Amongst the rest, he bequeathed a large house and land to John Angell James, whom he was accustomed to consult before committing himself to any new enterprise. For several years the church at Redditch received an annual grant of £40 from the County Union; but at a meeting of the Union in 1834 Mr. James announced that such assistance was no longer required. It afterwards transpired that Mr. James had made over by deed of gift the house and grounds bequeathed to him by Mr. Williams, the income of which was to be appropriated towards the support of the minister. This endowment is still enjoyed. The church in its early days had a somewhat chequered career; but within living memory has enjoyed much spiritual prosperity.

Nonconformity at BROMSGROVE has a history going back to the time of the Restoration. The vicar, Rev. John Spilsbury, M.A., was ejected by the Act of Uniformity, and suffered severe imprisonment for his Nonconformity. As opportunity served he preached in his own house, and in 1693 he built a meeting-house at his own expense. He died on 10th June, 1699, at the age of 71. Twenty years later the meeting-house had a congregation of 400 persons; but by the middle of the century it was held by Socinians, and the attendance gradually dwindled, until about a dozen met once a month in the vestry to hear a preacher from Birmingham. At length a few individuals, not resident in Bromsgrove, determined to erect a new building. The design was submitted to the associated ministers and delegates of the Worcestershire churches, who warmly espoused the undertaking, offered assistance, and sanctioned the purchase of eligible premises at a cost of £600. When the purchase was completed and a trust formed for the erection of the new church, the sole surviving trustee of the "Upper Meeting," conscious that the Independents were the rightful inheritors of the place erected by John Spilsbury, spontaneously offered to convey the old building to the new trustees. The conveyance was completed, and once again the old gospel was preached within the old walls by a succession of neighbouring ministers with such success that it was resolved to take down the old building and rear upon its site the present edifice.

The new church was dedicated on 22nd August, 1832, Rev. J. A. James and Dr. Leifchild being the preachers. Dr. Redford, of Worcester, preached "to a large and respectable congregation" on the following Sunday. Rev. T. Ashock was the first minister; he commenced his duties on 6th October, 1833. A church was organized "Upon the principles of Congregational Independency" on 11th December following; and ever since has borne witness to the truths of Free Church Christianity

both in its services and in the lives of men and women consecrated to the service of the Master.

For some years a congregation at *Wychbold* has been under the superintendence of the minister of Bromsgrove. It was built in 1836, and was at one time occupied by the Free Methodists. The County Union now makes a small sustaining grant; a Sunday School is carried on, and the Sunday services are well attended.

It is a little uncertain when Congregationalism first found a footing at BRIERLEY HILL. It is said that as early as 1820 members of the church at Dudley who had come to reside in that neighbourhood were accustomed to meet for religious conference in the house of one of their number. Early in the thirties a piece of ground was taken on which to build a chapel; but when the walls were half-way up it was found that the title was defective, and the work had to be abandoned. Cottage meetings continued to be held, and at length a building was raised in what came to be called Chapel Street. There, on 30th July, 1840, a Congregational church was constituted of ten members. Mr. John Parsons, a student of Hackney College, undertook the pastorate at the request of the Worcestershire Union, and was ordained on 14th October in the same year. He ministered successfully for ten years, and then removed to Bromsgrove. The church rapidly increased, and became a centre of much active Christian effort. During the two years' vacancy which followed Mr. Parsons's removal overtures were made to, and declined by, a young student of whom the world afterwards heard as R. W. Dale, D.D. About 1870 the building was injured by mining operations; and in 1875 the site of the present church was purchased. The new church was opened in 1882, and the old building temporarily adapted for Sunday schools. Since then excellent Sunday-school buildings have been provided; and the church members are united, energetic, and generous.

In the whole of the picturesque district known as "the Malverns" there were, in 1850, only two Nonconformist Churches, both under Countess of Huntingdon trusts. One was toward the southern limits of GREAT MALVERN, and the other on the eastern fringe of MALVERN LINK. In the north and west districts Nonconformity was entirely unrepresented. Under these circumstances Rev. Philip Carry Turner, a Wesleyan minister out of charge, commenced services in a cottage at Belvoir Bank, North Malvern. Immediate success followed; and in 1852 NORTH MALVERN Chapel was built, and opened by Rev. J. A. James. A Sunday School was established; and the church built, or supplied, mission stations at *Mathan* (1856), *West Malvern* (1860), and *Barnard's Green* (1862). Subsequently the management of three older missions was undertaken, *Stuckley* (originated 1815), *Cradley*¹

¹ In Herefordshire.—ED.

(1825), and *Leigh Sinton* (1835). Mr. Turner laboured successfully till 1861; then, after brief pastorates of Revs. F. J. Perry (2 years), D. K. Shoebottom—in whose time the church became definitely Congregational—(3 years), and Wm. Thorp (4 years). Rev. Anthony C. Gill took charge in 1870.

Meanwhile Malvern had become popular as a health resort; and it was decided, at the suggestion of Rev. J. G. Rogers, to build a new church in a more central position. The foundation of HOLLY MOUNT Church was laid by Mr. T. R. Hill on 29th September, 1875; and it was opened on the corresponding day of the following year, the preachers being Revs. R. W. Dale and J. G. Rogers. The whole cost, which exceeded £6,000, was quickly provided; and the new church became the chief centre for Free Church visitors during the Malvern season. After a prosperous ministry of seventeen years Mr. Gill removed to Torquay, and was succeeded in 1889 by Rev. Walter Lee. For a considerable time the prosperity of Malvern continued to increase, both as a health resort and as an educational centre, and Holly Mount gained in strength and influence. Then the South African War, and a subsequent local event which temporarily aspersed the reputation of the Malvern water, caused the prosperity of the town to decline, and inevitably all the churches suffered. Still, membership, institutions, and finances at Holly Mount were well maintained until the end of 1909, when Mr. Lee retired after a fruitful pastorate of nearly twenty-one years. After this the missions at Barnard's Green and Mathan were discontinued, and the Leigh Sinton group—which were originally managed by the Countess of Huntingdon churches—were restored to their control. In 1911 Rev. E. M. Poole entered on the pastorate; and there are indications that the church is sharing in the present revival of the town's prosperity.

One of the most interesting—one may say inspiring—churches in the county is that at NETHERTON. In January or February 1853 a meeting was held for prayer in a cottage: these meetings were continued, and from September they were regularly conducted by lay preachers from Dudley. Soon additional room was needed; a Sunday School was started. Two cottages were taken on lease, and converted into a homely meeting-house, which was opened in December 1856; and on 11th July, 1858, a Congregational Church was organized. Steady progress was made; and as the expiring of the lease drew nigh steps were taken toward a permanent building. A fairly comfortable chapel was opened on 3rd March, 1872, and the people settled down to steady work. School and congregation grew, and numerous additions were made to the church-roll. But the whole of the district is honey-combed with coal-mines; the subterranean workings caused the surface of the land continually to give way, and very soon the

chapel was pulled and twisted in all directions, and large fissures were made in the walls. Abandonment was inevitable, and in 1887 a new church was erected at a cost of over £3,000. It was hoped that the promoters had at length secured a site from which the iron ore had been extracted, and where the mineral rights had been reserved, so that there should be no fear of disaster from that quarter in the future. But that has proved not to be the case, for a few years ago the church buildings began to show signs of trouble in the foundations; and the question has once more to be faced of either restoring at considerable cost or erecting a new church on a new site. That the members have been able to overcome so many subterranean and financial difficulties is simply marvellous, and bears testimony to the unity and self-sacrificing spirit that prevails among the people. They have now to grapple with new difficulties, but they are strong and resolute, fired with an enthusiasm which only comes from the indwelling of the Spirit. It is not detracting from their almost heroic labours to add that much of the credit of what has been done was due to the consecrated endeavour of the late Mr. Henry Lucas, who for nearly forty years was "lay pastor" of the church, and whose published narrative of its difficulties and triumphs (Kidderminster, 1904), deserves a permanent place in the archives of the Free Churches.

In 1862 several members of the Old Meeting (now represented by Baxter Church), Kidderminster, were residing at STOURPORT; and being by reason of distance debarred from sharing the full privileges of church membership, they met for inspiration and fellowship in a cottage, and afterwards carried on evangelistic work in the Temperance Room at the Woolpack Inn, the Temperance Hall, and the Town Hall. At last they found a fixed abode in a handsome church built in 1870, and in the main paid for by Baxter Church, Kidderminster. It serves as an indication of the circumstances under which the church came into being that the then vicar of Milton made a journey to London in order to frustrate the desire of Messrs. Naylor and Banks to purchase the site in Milton Street on which the church was built.

The church became autonomous in 1890, but has not yet become financially independent. However, the counsel and help of the Baxter fellowship has enabled it, if not to flourish, at least to thrive. Sunday-school work was commenced in 1867; in 1898 cramped conditions rendered extension necessary, and the best had to be made of a restricted site, as additional ground at the rear of the church could not then be purchased. In 1915 this difficulty was overcome, and structural alterations and additions were made "in commemoration of fifty years of blessing." The Baptist church in Stourport originated in the secession of some members who held Baptist opinions in 1874.

At QUARRY BANK, near Brierley Hill, a mission was commenced in 1884 under the banner of the Gospel Temperance movement, and a church was formed which was received into the Congregational Union about seventeen years ago. Here the triumph of the Cross has been conspicuous. The whole environment of the people has been changed. Drunkards, Sabbath-breakers, and frequent offenders against the civil laws of the land have been laid hold of and completely reformed. Not only have there been evidences of a decided change of heart, but from poverty and squalor many have been raised to social respectability, and are working enthusiastically for the moral and spiritual reformation of their fellows.

The district of STAMBER MILL was formerly spoken of as "No man's land"; it was on the border-line of two counties, and was claimed by four or five parishes. Seventy years ago an evangelistic enterprise was undertaken by Jeremiah Skidmore and Bennett Gibson. They gathered a Sunday School, the present building was erected, and for some years a splendid Home Missionary work was carried on. But with the death and removal of earnest workers the interest declined, and the building was sold. About 1894 the County Union, acting mainly at the instance of Mr. H. Lucas, of Netherton, secured the property, and tried with varying success to recover lost ground. But notwithstanding self-sacrificing labours the time for complete resuscitation had not yet arrived. But eight years ago Mr. W. Green was appointed "Superintendent and Lay Pastor," and a great change has been effected, while the neighbourhood has been greatly blessed. Men's and Women's Adult Schools and a vigorous Sunday School have been established, provident and other useful clubs are held; the Old Tavern has been purchased and converted into an Institute with good results; and the Sunday evening services are crowded.

Towards the end of the nineteenth century the population of BLACKHEATH, in the parish of Rowley Regis, increased rapidly. There were Free Churches in the district, but Congregationalism was not represented. The needs of the district were brought before the executive of the Worcestershire Union by Revs. C. T. Plank and T. G. Vinson, pastors of the churches at Hales Owen and Lye; and it was resolved to inaugurate the New Century with a Forward Movement at Blackheath. Ground was secured on which a suitable building was reared; this was opened in October, 1900, and an evangelist—Mr. French—was put in charge of the station, his stipend being provided by the Worcestershire and Staffordshire Unions in equal proportions. Excellent pioneer work was done in preaching, teaching, and visiting. When Mr. French left Rev. D. J. Price was engaged as pastor by the County Union; and on 20th October,

1901, a church of 72 members was constituted. In 1906 Mr. Price was succeeded by Rev. W. J. Harries. Congregation and Sunday School continued to prosper; but it became evident that if Congregationalism was to make headway further accommodation must be provided. The original plans were modified on Institutional lines, and above £1,200 were expended in buildings—in addition to nearly £900 in the initial effort—towards which many of the county churches contributed liberally; while the work called forth much local enthusiasm and personal consecration. Altogether there is reason for much satisfaction at the growth of a church which "was started, fostered, and nourished by the Union."

[The churches at *Langley Green* (1790) and *Oldbury* (1843), though geographically in Worcestershire, are connected with the Staffordshire Union; and that of *Yardley* (1882) with that of Warwickshire.]

John Alden, of the "Mayflower"

THE *Mayflower* sailed from London near the end of July, 1620. There were on board some merchants' assistants; a few London Separatists, who were about to join the Puritan exiles for the first time; John Carver, Christopher Martin, and James Cushman, the three who had been sent over from Leyden to London to make all arrangements for the journey to America; and, in addition to the crew, John Alden, the ship's cooper.

When the party from Leyden on board the *Speedwell* arrived at Southampton, there was the *Mayflower* awaiting them, riding at anchor "off the north end of the West Quay," and it would be on board the *Mayflower*, in the Southampton waters, that William Bradford, the historian of the party, first met the sturdy stripling, John Alden, then about twenty-one years old.

Some have jumped to the conclusion that because the meeting took place at Southampton, John Alden hailed from that neighbourhood. Southampton was but a small port in those days, and the ship's cooper an important personage, whose engagement would certainly not be left till the last day. It would be in London that John Alden would be "booked," sailing with the ship from the commencement of her journey, doubtless, secured by Christopher Martin, who had such a large share in seeing to the details for the voyage.

It will be a surprise to some to know that Christopher Martin had been a member of John Robinson's church at Leyden, where Carver, his companion, had been deacon. Martin came from Billericay, Essex, William Bradford supplying that information in his journal. From the Chronicles of the Billericay Congregational Church, I copied this extract: "Christopher Martin was summoned before the Archidiaconal Court for allowing his son to answer that his father gave him his name. He and others were officially monished and commanded to appear again in a month to be examined further. Three of these confessors after earned for themselves a good name among the fathers of New England. Prower and the two Martins fled to Leyden where the elder Martin became a member of John Robinson's church and went in the *Mayflower* in 1620. He and his son died in New England."

William Bradford, in speaking of Martin, added the remark that others of their number came from "those parts." What more natural, then, to suppose that Martin engaged a cooper of whose family he had some knowledge? I should not even be surprised to find some relationship between them. The more the story is known of the *Mayflower* party, and the other contingents that followed, the more it will be found how closely connected they were. The Cooks, Saltonstalls, Rogers,

Fullers, Carvers, Whites, Vassalls, Cottons, Winthrops, Brights, Eliotts, are but a few instances.

Some say the name Alden is found in Saxon Chronicles, others that it is of Norwegian origin, and that through religious persecution a family of that name escaped to England, settling in one of the eastern counties.

Having occasion to look through the lists of those who paid the Hearth Tax in Raleigh, Essex, in the year 1666, I found the name "John Alden" very clearly written. To make it quite certain, I asked the superintendent of the office. "John Alden" was his reply, "without a doubt." Raleigh is seven miles from Billericay, on the same London high-road to Leigh, then a considerable port.

It is quite possible John of the Hearth Tax, and John of the *Mayflower* were cousins or uncle and nephew. I have had a facsimile sent me of the latter's signature which is in Plymouth Hall, New England. It is so similar to the name in the tax list, that the John of the *Mayflower* and the old tax-gatherer might well have had the same schoolmaster.

John of the Hearth Tax paid on two hearths, costing him two shillings and sixpence for each, annually. This "find" led me to search the lists of Subsidy Taxpayers during the reigns of Elizabeth and James I. Twice I thought I could trace the name, but the parchments are so mutilated and discoloured, having suffered so much in the Great Fire, it is difficult to be quite certain. This Subsidy Tax, I understand, did not include artisans, so that the omission of the name would not necessarily prove non-residence. Whatever station in life the parents of John Alden were in, they managed to give their son a good education.

There is record in the little town of Raleigh that a hundred and fifty years ago there lived in one of the oldest houses a cooper who did a thriving business. How long before no one knows. When passing the

door I have often wondered if John Alden of the *Mayflower* learnt his trade there, and whether it was in the old church close by where James Eliot was rector, relative of the famous missionary, John Eliot, the sweet voice of the New England choirmaster was first heard!

When nine years later leaders from this same district landed in New England, did John Alden give them an extra grip of the hand, seeing they came from the same romantic corner of the old Homeland as he had himself?

The parish registers of the district might perhaps throw some light on the subject, but these are not always obtainable. In some there are gaps of many years: in one parish near by the mice ate them, in another the churchwarden was known to use the leaves in wrapping up the goods in his grocery store. It must also be remembered that very often parents objected to the registration of their children. We need another Old Mortality to rise up, whose work it shall be to trace the birth as well as the death of the brave.

CHARLOTTE SKINNER.

“Freedom after Ejection”

I N *C.H.S. Transactions*, vol. v, p. 326, and vol. vi, p. 1, mention was made of a document which Dr. J. P. Longstaff discovered in 1912 among the archives of the English Presbyterian Board, which seems to have been forgotten by its custodians, and which has certainly never been used by any historian of Nonconformity. It may be described as A Survey of the Dissenting Interest, made in the years 1691-2 for the purposes of that Benevolent Fund which was constituted soon after the “Happy Union” of the

Presbyterian and Independent Ministers of London in 1690. It contains a list of ministers, arranged by counties; distinguishing (1) pastors who have adequate maintenance; (2) pastors who need assistance; (3) ministers not in charge; (4) persons qualified for the ministry but not settled; (5) persons qualifying (i.e. students); (6) places where there have formerly been congregations, or where there is fair prospect that congregations may be raised. The London pastors are for the most part not included in the Survey. There is a large amount of incidental information about the circumstances of Ejected Ministers, stipends, numbers in congregations, etc.; and the Survey fills a serious blank in our Original Records, going far to bridge over the interval between the Licence Documents of 1672 and the "Evans" List of 1716 or 1717.

It was at first thought that the "Survey" might be printed in our *Transactions*, and it was partly transcribed with that intent. But the Trustees of the Presbyterian Fund wisely decided that it should appear as a separate publication, with such annotations as would greatly increase its utility. The task of editorship was undertaken by Rev. Alexander Gordon, M.A., and the fruit of his labours at length appears in a handsome 4to volume issued from the Manchester University Press. The 99 pages of the MS. are reproduced in 150 pages of the printed volume, the utmost care being taken to represent all cancellations, interlineations, etc.; while 240 pages are devoted to notes and comments, which include a condensed biography of almost every person mentioned in the MS. These notes are evidently the fruit of an enormous amount of labour, and add greatly to the value of the publication. The light thus cast on a somewhat obscure chapter of Church History places all serious students of the subject under a deep obligation alike to the discoverer of the MS., the Presbyterian Trustees, and the Editor.

A few facts extracted from the MS. will be of interest to our readers. We find some ministers in easy circumstances, not dependents on their hearers. T. Dawson, of Abingdon, and Mr. Swinhoe, of Prince's Risborough, lived on their own estate; W. Rawlinson at Brackstead had “a good estate of his own, and supported divers meetings at his own charge”; S. Atkinson, of Hescott, “refuseth to have anything from his people; taketh his share when any comes from London; hath real estate near £20 per an.” Of ministers who have “a competent supply,” from their congregations, Mr. Pike, of Burton-on-Trent, receives £50 per an. T. Taylor, of Cambridge, and Mr. Rand, of Baddow, £40 each; S. Smith, of Eton, and Mr. Flemming, of Soham, £30; S. Clark, of Aylesbury, and Oliver Heywood, of Northowran, £20. Of course the purchasing power of money was then much greater than in more recent times. On the other hand, the poverty—or frugality—of some congregations was remarkable. Mr. Giles Firmin, of Ridgewell, has “little of his own, gets somewhat by practise of physic, has subscriptions per an. £12.” At Stroud “the people poor, not able to raise above £10 per an.” At Culcheth 100 or 150 hearers raised for Thos. Risley £10 per an. Robert Ekyns has been at Oakham for 17 years, “has a wife and five children, a numerous auditory, yet are able to raise not above 5 or 6 pounds per an. for his maintenance.”

In several places the services of ministers were paid for by the week, or by the sermon. Ten shillings was a common fee for a Sunday's services, and 8s., 7s., or even 5s. for a week-day lecture. There are numerous cases of aged ministers, several ejected in 1662, who, being disabled by blindness or other infirmity, were unable to preach, and were sorely in need of charitable assistance. The names are given of about 60 ministers in London and 50 in the country who were not in settled pastorates; of the latter, above 30

were itinerants. There are also between 60 and 70 "qualifying for the ministry"; some students in the various small academies that were springing up, and some, apparently, lay preachers. Here and there we have suggestions of help to be given to these aspirants in the pursuit of their studies.

It is to be remembered that the inquiries made were into the circumstances of ministers rather than of churches. Little is therefore to be gathered as to the inner life of the latter, and it is often left doubtful whether an organized church existed. The chief concern was for the preaching of the gospel, the need for this is illustrated by the case of Rayleigh, Essex: "a small market town, a known Papist in the church, seven adjacent parishes without preaching. One Mrs. English offers to give any minister 12 months boarding." At Leigh in Lancashire, again, "Thos. Collins, a young man, is lately come, yet his stay must be short without some aid; and if this meeting fails the country for 9 or 10 miles long and 5 or 6 miles broad is utterly destitute." "At Ruthin in Denbighshire is a Lecture once a month supplied by Mr. James Owen; there is a serious people; they call for the Lord's Supper, but it is not yet administered for want of a minister."

As to the meeting-places occupied by dissenters, the information supplied is fragmentary, but interesting. A few ministers still preach in their own houses, some in schoolrooms and barns—duly registered according to the Toleration Act. Here and there a meeting-house is mentioned; and there are a few exceptional cases in which parochial chapels are in the hands of dissenters, e.g. Moseley and Oldbury. Still more remarkable is the case of Wombridge, where "the meeting is kept in the parish church . . . a peculiar, which the bishop has no power to visit. No ministers reside within seven miles of the place."

At least 130 places are named where congregations are destitute of a regular ministry, or "where there may

be opportunity of religious assemblies”; as well as about twenty-five where congregations formerly existed but had become extinct. Of some of these interesting accounts are given, notably of Lutterworth, where one Mr. Lee had preached for a little time in an old barn. His health failing, the meeting was variously supplied. At length one Peter Dowley, who lived twenty miles off, visited them, and continued to do so occasionally for two years. “He found a very great blessing on his ministry,” and “is now desirous to fix among them. That which weighed most with him was the remembrance of Mr. John Wickliffe being minister of that place.” Mr. Dowley settled there, and held the pastorate for many years, on a stipend which, with assistance from the Fund, amounted to £28 per an.

Among congregations “now discontinued” we find the name of “Thorpe Waterfield”—undoubtedly Thorpe Waterville in the parish of Achurch. This entry strongly corroborates the local tradition mentioned in *Transactions*, vol. ii, p. 244, that Robert Browne gathered a congregation in the “Chapel House,” which he built in 1618 (see illustrations in vol. iii, pp. 308 and 312). It is interesting to read that one Thomas Loftus, a resident in that village, was “qualifying for the ministry,” but “wants education”; and that this was one of eight places in Northants where “if they had ministers, there is a likelihood of great Good.”

Of the “Proposals” sent up from various counties not much is to be said. One from Yorkshire, however, is characteristic of the period. It is that “an annual stipend might be set apart with respect to the places that want it . . . or if could prevail wth the K. & Q. that any p^t of the Pention Settled by Q. E. on Itenerant Preachers in y^e Northern Counties might be Employed this Way.”

The title of Mr. Gordon’s volume is *Freedom after Ejection*; the price, 15s. We heartily commend it to all students of our Free Church History.

State Prayers—The Niblock Collection

THE Congregational Library possesses a Collection of above 200 Forms of Prayer, issued by authority for use on various public occasions between 1660 and 1860, with a few of earlier and later date. This Collection was made by Rev. J. W. Niblock, D.D., F.S.A., during a period of thirty years. It originally consisted of 141 printed items and 50 in MS., the latter being carefully copied from rare originals. Unfortunately, six of the MSS. and two printed documents were lost before the Collection was acquired by the Congregational Library. A few forms, chiefly Victorian, have been added subsequently.

Many of these State Prayers are very uninteresting, being slight modifications of the order prescribed by the Act of Uniformity, with special Psalms and Scripture Readings, more or less appropriate, and Collects, Responsories, etc., judiciously vague, so as to be capable of a very elastic "intention." But some, on the other hand, are of great historic interest; and of these we think a selection may be acceptable to our readers.

(1) The earliest-dated document is *A Form of Penance and Reconciliation of a Renegade or Apostate from the Christian Religion to Turcism*: 1637. [At this time it was not uncommon for English seamen to be taken captive by Barbary Corsairs; and some obtained alleviation of their bondage by "turning Turk," i.e. professing to become Mohammedans. A case of reconciliation of such a renegade occurred at Minehead, Somerset, on 16th March, 1627. The MS. copy is difficult to read, and two or three words may not be correctly reproduced.]

"O Lord God of Heaven and Earth, be merciful to me a most wretched sinner: (*this said, let him smite his breast three times* :) I confess, O Lord, I have justly deserved to be utterly renounced by Thee, because I have yielded to renounce my Saviour, and that holy profession which I had formerly made of His Name when I was received into Thy church. O Lord, forgive me this heinous and horrible sin, with all other my grievous sins against Thee; and let me, upon Thy gracious pardon and infinite mercy, be restored to the rights and benefits of this blessed sacrament (?) which I have so wickedly abjured;

and be received, though most unworthy, to Thy gracious favour, and the communion of Thy faithful people, even for Thy great mercy's sake, in Jesus Christ, my blessed Lord and Saviour."

After a confession addressed to the congregation he shall say "Our Father," etc. Then let the priest say:—

"O most merciful God, who according to the multitude of Thy mercies dost so put away, etc. (*as in the Visitation of the Sick*): preserve and continue him in the unity of the church, consider his contrition, and accept his humiliation; and, forasmuch as he puts his full trust only in Thy mercy, impute not to him his former abrogation (?) of Thee, but receive him into Thy favour, through the merits of Thy blessed Son Jesus Christ our Saviour. Amen."

When he receives the Holy Communion, let him make a solemn oblation, according to his ability, after the order set down in the Service book.

(II) *A Forme of Common Prayer to be used upon the eighth of July, on which day a Fast is appointed by his Majesties Proclamation For the averting of the Plague, and other Judgements of God from this Kingdome* 1640. [The entire Morning and Evening Service is printed as in the Prayer Book, with certain adaptations and additions. A compiled Canticle takes the place of *Venite*; the Psalms are 6, 32, 38, 39, 51, 90, 91, 102, 130, 143, such as were omitted in the morning to be read in the evening; Scripture Lessons, 1st, 1 Kings 8 c., 2 Sam. 24 c., Joel 2, or Jonah 3; 2nd, Matt. 6, 8, or 9, Luke 13, at the minister's discretion. The special Collects are as follows:—]

i. "O most merciful and gracious Lord, we wretched and miserable sinners humbly beseech Thee in mercy and compassion to behold our great afflictions; for thy wrath is gone out, and thine indignation is kindled against us. We confess, O Lord, that thy Judgements are just, for we have multiplied our transgressions like the sand of the sea, and the cry of them hath been so great that it hath pierced the heavens, and called for vengeance against us. But we beseech Thee, O Lord, forget not thou to be gracious, and shut not up thy loving kindnesse in displeasure; turn thee again, and be merciful unto thy servants. Help us, O God of our salvation, for the glory of thy Name; O deliver us, and be merciful unto our sins for thy Name's sake: Take thy Plague, and all other Judgements from us, that we be not consumed by the means of thy heavy hand upon our sins. O satisfie us with thy mercy, and that soon; so shall we that be thy people, and sheep of thy pasture, give thee thanks for ever, and will always be shewing forth thy praise from generation to generation. Grant this, O merciful Father, we beseech thee, for Jesus Christ his sake our onely Saviour and Redeemer. Amen."

ii. [*After the Litaney*] "O Eternal God and most gracious Father,

we confess that by our manifold transgressions we have deserved whatever thy Law hath threatened against sinners ; Our contempt of thy Divine Service is great, and we hear thy Word, but obey it not ; Our charity to our neighbour is cold, and our disobedience aboundeth. Religion is with many of us, as in too many places besides, made but a pretence for other ends than thy service ; and there hath been little or no care among us to keep Truth, and Peace together, for the preserving of both Church, and State. Forgive us O Lord, forgive us these and all other our grievous sins. Send us light in our understandings, readiness and obedience in our wits, discretion in our words and actions, true, serious, and loyall endeavours for the peace and prosperitie of our Jerusalem, the Unitie and Glory of this Church, and State, that we may love it, and prosper in it, that we may be guided by thy Grace in this life, and received to thy Glory in the life to come, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen."

iii. "Almighty and most merciful Father, who for our many and grievous sinnes (those especially which we have committed since our last solemn humiliation before thee) might most justly have cut us off, but in the multitude of thy mercies hast hitherto spared us ; Accept, we most heartily beseech thee, our unfeigned sorrow for all our former transgressions, and grant that we may never so presume of thy mercy, as to despise the riches of thy goodnesse, but that thy forbearance, and longsuffering may lead us to repentance, and amendment of our sinful lives, to thy honour and glory, and our eternal salvation at the last day through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen."

[*The Homily "Of Repentance" is printed at the end.*]

(III) [*A Form of Prayer, with Thanksgiving, to be used of all the King's Majesties Loving Subjects the 28th of June 1660, for His Majesties Happy Return to His Kingdom. Set forth by Authority 1660.*

Proper Psalms—20, 21, 85, 118.

First Lesson—2 Chronicles 1 c.

Second Lesson—Romans 13 c.

Collect.—O Lord God, thou who hast dealt exceeding graciously with this our sinful land, who by a manner, which passes all humane understanding and skil hast been pleased to grant us so suddain and miraculous a producing of Light out of Darknesse : We therefore thy most unworthy Creatures, finding ourselves so undeservedlie and yet so infinitelie blessed, in the safe return of our dread Sovereign Lord thy Servant King Charles, are at this time here most humbly gathered together, before Heaven and before Thee, disclaiming all Interest of us sinful men therein ; and with joyful and faithful hearts, through the Spirit of thy Grace, blessing thy holy name alone, for this thy unspeakable Goodnesse ; and with all sinceritie, and prostration of our Spirits offering up these our

Vows, and Sacrifices of true Thanksgiving unto thy Divine Majestie. We fall down before the Throne of grace, and most humbly beseech the Lord of Heaven and Earth, in the infinite merits of our Redeemer Jesus Christ, the Eternal Son of the Father, God and man, to accept now from us, this most unworthy Oblation of ourselves; who here now do vow, without all dissimulation or any disloyal affections, all holy, and free obedience, in thought, word, and deed; First unto thee, O Lord, our Creator and Redeemer; and next, under thee, in thee, and for thee, through thy blessed assistance, unto our Sovereign Lord the King, whom thou hast so graciously restored unto us. We therefore, O Lord, unfeignedly now promise for ever hereafter all Loyaltie, and unstained (*sic*) Allegiance unto him, his Heirs and Successors; And we beseech the Majestie of Heaven, that thou wouldst daily, O Lord, more and more endue his Royal Heart with Holinesse, and thy Heavenlie grace, and begirt his Sacred Person with the increase of all Honour, Health, and Happinesse in this World; and at last, crown him with immortality and glory in the world to come; and that, for Jesus Christ his sake, our onely blessed Lord and Saviour. Amen.

After the Litany.—O Lord God and most mercifull Father, who of thine especial grace and favour, hast placed thy servant King CHARLES, our Sovereign, in the royal Throne of this kingdome, thereby assuring us of the continuance of thy Gospel and sacred truth amongst us, to the great joy and comfort of our hearts: We thine unworthy servants, here assembled together in memorie of this thy mercy, most humbly beseech thy Fatherly goodness, to grant us grace, that we may in word, deed, and heart shew ourselves alwayes thankfull unto thee for the same; and that his Majestie through thy grace may in all honour, vertue, and godliness continue his glorious reign over us many and many yeers yet to come, and we dutifully obey him as faithfull and loyall Subjects: that so we may long enjoy him with the continuance of thy great blessings which by him thou hast powred upon us, through Jesus Christ our Lord.

In the Communion Service.—O most gracious God, and merciful Father, we thine unworthy servants acknowledge it thy special care and fatherly providence over us, that it hath pleased thee, for the good of thy Church, and glory of this land, to place thy servant King Charles our Sovereign Lord in the Royal seat of this Kingdom, giving us by him and with him a happy restoring of thy sacred truth and Gospel, and of our former peace and prosperitie, together with a great increase of honour, power, and dignity: we beseech thee to grant unto him the defence of thy salvation, and to shew forth thy holy kindness and mercy, both to his Majesty thine Anointed, and to thy servants Mary the Queen mother, the illustrious James Duke of Yorke, with the rest of the Royal seed for

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evermore: and to stirre up in our hearts a dutiful and Loyal obedience unto this thy ordinance, and a religious and holy thankfulness unto thee for these thy great mercies, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

[*There is another collect in the same strain, which need not be reproduced.*]

Brief Historical Sketch of the Church of Christ Meeting in Helen's Lane, Colchester.

(By Rev. Joseph Herrick, pastor there 1814-65.)

THE congregation of Protestant Dissenters (Independents) assembling in Helen's Lane, anciently called in books and writings Bucklersbury Lane, or Bucklersbury, is the oldest of all the Dissenting congregations in the town;¹ though it does not rank so high in antiquity as some few others in different parts of the kingdom. It was originated by the Act of Uniformity which took place in 1662 on Bartholomew's Day, and silenced 2,257 ministers of religion; among which were two very excellent men in Colchester, viz., Rev. Owen Stockton, M.A., minister of St. James's Church, member of Christ's College, Cambridge, and afterwards Fellow of Gonville and Caius College. He was a man of great worth; as was also his colleague, Rev. Edmund² Warren, of St. Peter's, whom Dr. Calamy calls "a pious and learned divine, a man of singular abilities, good education, and great humility."

Of the former gentleman, Owen Stockton, there is a large memoir in "Clark's Lives," which shows him to have been a great and good man. Of the latter, Ed. Warren, I can add nothing to Calamy's account, but this short passage from the church-book: "He practised physic, continuing his ministrations to the great benefit and satisfaction of many; and died April 20th, 1690"; so that he survived his co-pastor 10 years. Owen Stockton died 10th September, 1680, in the 51st year of his age.³

¹ Questioned; Lion Walk *claims* to date from about 1640.

² So MS.: but Calamy and Licence Documents say Edward.

³ Under the Indulgence, 1672, Stockton was licensed to preach in a house called Greyfriars, Ipswich, on 16th April; in the house of Robt. Howlett in St. Martin's Lane, Colchester, on 22nd May; and in John Smith's house at Hadleigh on 22nd July. Warren was licensed to preach in his own house at Colchester on 17th April.

As Mr. Stockton divided his labours between the Dissenters of Colchester and Ipswich, Mr. Warren seems to have followed his profession as a medical man, and filled the pulpit in the intervals of Mr. Stockton's absence, till the latter died, from which time he appears to have been sole pastor; as no document is left of any other.¹ Mr. Stockton, it appears, lived and preached to this congregation about eighteen years after his ejection, and Mr. Warren about twenty-eight.

Till his decease, the congregation assembled for worship in a large room in the Castle;² but the place was too strait for them, and therefore with a new pastor a new place of worship was determined upon; and the following year, 1691, Mr. Daniel Gilson succeeded to the pastoral office. A piece of ground was purchased in Bucklersbury Lane—now Helen's Lane—and a large commodious building erected for the better accommodation of the assembly.

Rev. Daniel Gilson was the son of Rev. Thomas Gilson, M.A., of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, and afterwards of Corpus Christi College, Oxford. At the general ejection he was at Little Baddow, in this county; from which place he removed to London, and was pastor of a Dissenting congregation at Radcliff, where he died, much lamented, in 1680. His son, Daniel Gilson, was by no means discouraged by the difficulties his father had experienced, and which still attended Nonconformity; but, like him and many other eminent worthies, he preferred a good conscience to a good living; and therefore, being inclined to engage in the work of the ministry, and not being able to see how a good conscience could be maintained in a worldly establishment, under a notoriously corrupt hierarchy, he readily, manfully, and conscientiously determined (though the times were very trying to God's faithful servants) to take his lot with the Dissenters. Among them he officiated as circumstances might direct during the younger part of his time, till the happy and glorious Revolution took place, when the late King William of immortal memory, out of a proper regard for the honour of God and the credit of religion (which will always suffer by a bigoted and persecuting zeal), gave liberty to scrupulous consciences to worship God in that way which they preferred, the Scripture dictated, and the primitive Christians evidently practised.

About this time, and under these happy auspices, Mr. Gilson began his ministry in Colchester, when he was about 35 years of age. His labours appear to have been very acceptable and

¹ This is an error: William Folkes, ejected from All Saints, Sudbury, succeeded Stockton, but died before Warren.

² Probably the Chapel of the Castle, which was extra parochial, and the private property of James Northfolk, Esq. In 1683 his son sold it to John Wheeley, who began to demolish it, but found the building too solid. It is likely, however, that the havoc he wrought made the chapel untenable.

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useful, as he seems to have had a large number of communicants in the church and subscribers to his support.¹ He was a man of a peaceable disposition; his integrity and uprightness caused him to be respected by many. An earnest and sincere desire of promoting the divine glory, and furthering the salvation of souls, breathed forth in all his sermons; but notwithstanding this he could not escape the common scourge of good men—reproaches and censures of a party spirit. But it was with him as with many others, truth and goodness were concealed for a while under the clouds of prejudice. But soon these clouds were dispelled by the light which shone from himself, for he shone as a light in the world; and he lived to see his character cleared, and himself acknowledged not only a man of talent, but a pious and orthodox preacher. "His moral character (says one who knew him well) was unblemished, his greatest enemies themselves being judges; and in the course of nearly forty years as minister of this people, he behaved in such a manner as that, now he is dead, the world may and do say 'he was a truly upright, faithful, and peaceable man.' So much was his heart set upon his Master's work that he went through the greatest difficulties in the discharge of his duty. He preached when in danger of imprisonment, and has often ascended the pulpit when his friends thought him, through bodily weakness, unable to bear up. But God supported and strengthened him to perform the duties in which he delighted to an advanced age. . . ." He died on 8th February, 1728, aged 71 years; having ministered to this church and congregation about 37 years.

Mr. Gilson was succeeded by Mr. John Tren, who for some years had been his assistant, and who preached his funeral sermon, from which the above extracts are taken.

In his (Mr. Tren's) time, 23rd June, 1734, the plan was first adopted which with some few interruptions has been continued until now, of having a committee separate from the deacons—though they may be upon it—for managing the seats and other secular concerns. There was nearly the same number then as now, the following persons being chosen for this purpose: Alderman Johnson, Alderman Daniell, Messrs. Jones, Shearn, Birgis, Streeton, Fairbrother, Harny, Daniell, and Bowler.

Mr. Tren died on 17th June, 1738. The church-book says, "He was a man universally respected in his ministerial character, and officiated among this people ten years." He published a volume (12mo) of useful sermons; among which are the funeral sermon of Mr. Gilson, his predecessor, and the sermon preached at the first opening of the Gift Houses²—an establishment near Col-

¹ According to the Evans MS. he had 1,500 hearers. On the same authority the three Dissenting congregations in Colchester—Presbyterian, Independent, and Baptist, had among them 150 County and 400 Borough voters.

² This was the institution known as "Winsley's Hospital," founded by the

chester for the residence and support "of tradesmen who have lived well, and have fallen into decay": some of the first trustees of which were chosen out of Mr. Tren's congregation; and the others from the other Independent congregation in the town.

The most remarkable circumstance related traditionally of Mr. Tren, and which his present successor has often heard mentioned by one whose father was one of Mr. Tren's hearers, is that he preached his own funeral sermon, and died very soon after. About a month after his death, 23rd July, a notice is recorded that Mr. Richard Harrison was unanimously chosen. The stay of this gentleman must, however, have been very short, for in 1739 Mr. Bulkley was the officiating minister, and it appears that in 1740 there was no pastor.

In 1741 Mr. Gillibrand officiated for some months; but nothing further is known of him. On 27th June, 1742, Mr. James Throgmorton was invited to the pastoral office and settled. During his time it is likely the interest was in a flourishing state, as there is mention of an election of *six* deacons and 17 additional trustees (see Church Book, 23rd September, 1750).

Mr. Throgmorton died in 1753, having been minister eleven years, and with him expired for the time the faith of the Gospel as declared in the New Testament and professed by the founders of this interest.

Mr. T. appears to have been a faithful man. He was followed by a Mr. Wren, who preached about a year, but was not settled as pastor. He was succeeded in 1754 by Mr. T. Stanton, who soon declared enmity to the doctrines of the Cross, kindled the flames of controversy, gave the people a relish for error, and planted the deadly Upas-tree of Socinianism on that spot which had seen the Holy and Divine Plant of Renown flourishing and affording both fruit and shade to weary and hungry souls. Thus matters continued till 1776, when Mr. (then Dr.) Stanton resigned his connexion here and went to settle near Norwich.

Mr. Wm. Waters came in April the same year, and watered the pestiferous plant Dr. Stanton had planted. He was ordained on 9th October following by Drs. Furneaux, Kippis, Savage, Rees, and Stanton. He continued pastor about six years, relinquishing his charge 24th June, 1782.

His successor was Mr. Rees Harris, who began to preach here in May, 1783, and was ordained in May of the following year. He maintained the same evil tenets as his predecessor, and pursued a course of practice not very consistent; but continued minister of this place thirteen years, when in September, 1795, finding all anxious for his departure, he resigned his office. He was a man of no religion, and therefore fell a prey to the temptations of

will—dated 28th March, 1726—of Arthur Winsley (see Morant's *History of Colchester*, p. 170), and opened 1st January, 1736.

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sociality, and at his farewell adopted the following text as the ground of his discourse: "I was a reproach among all mine enemies, but especially among my neighbours, and a fear to mine acquaintance: they that did see me without fled from me" (Psalm xxxi. 11).

In the month of November in the same year Mr. Isaac Taylor, deacon of the church at Lavenham, in Suffolk, began to preach to the people. He settled with them as pastor in the next year, being ordained on 21st April, 1796. Mr. Taylor continued pastor of the church from the above date until 30th September, 1810, when the congregation had so fallen away that he resigned his charge, "Having met," he said, "with so many discouraging circumstances which seemed to intimate that his work was done in Colchester." He removed to Ongar in the same county.¹

Though Mr. Taylor preached here fifteen years, the old Socinian leaven was not thoroughly eradicated; and of course it presented a very formidable obstacle in the way of usefulness.

Mr. Joseph Drake preached here the first time on the next Sabbath after Mr. Taylor's farewell, viz., 7th October, 1810, and, being approved, was invited to settle, which he did. As he was an ordained minister a few ministers were invited to sanction the settlement, and recommend it to the Divine blessing. This connexion, though promising happiness, was very unhappy, and soon dissolved. Mr. Drake came from Newport in the Isle of Wight; he was settled on 27th March, 1811, and resigned his charge the 25th December following, having been pastor only nine months. This hasty dissolution was in great measure owing to some Antinomians, who had obtruded on the people the occasional services of a favourite preacher of theirs, one John Church; a wretch in form human, but in his nature so vile that it would dishonour the most unclean beast to compare him to it. Mr. Drake removed to Ridgewell in the same county.

For nearly two years after the resignation and removal of Mr. Drake things were in a confused state. The Antinomian party retired, and obtained a place for themselves in another part of the town; and this place was supplied with students from Hoxton Academy; after which, on 25th December, 1813, the present minister, Joseph Herrick, preached for the first time among them. After a few weeks he received an invitation, signed by all the members, and unanimously agreed to by the congregation, to continue some time on probation; in compliance with which he preached among them till 27th April, 1814, when he became their pastor, and was ordained in the manner usual among Protestant Independent Dissenters. On that occasion the

¹ He is commonly distinguished as "Taylor of Ongar"; he was the father of the more widely known Isaac Taylor, of Stanford Rivers, also of Ann Taylor (Mrs. Gilbert), Jane, and Jeffreys Taylor.

services were very solemn and interesting, and were conducted in the following manner : Rev. J. Savill, of Colchester, commenced with reading and prayer. Rev. S. Douglas, of Chelmsford, explained the nature of a Gospel church, asked the usual questions, and received the Confession of faith ; Rev. W. B. Crathern, of Dedham, prayed the Ordination prayer ; Rev. J. Thornton, of Billericay, under whose tuition Mr. H. sometime was, gave the Charge in a most excellent and impressive discourse on " Preach the Word " ; Rev. J. M. Ray, of Sudbury, preached to the people from " Suffer the word of exhortation " ; Rev. C. Atkinson, of Ipswich, concluded with prayer. In the evening Rev. J. Savill prayed ; Rev. Robt. Stevenson, of Castle Hedingham, preached on " We seek not yours but you " ; and Rev. S. Coppin concluded. Many still remember the day with great pleasure.

The appearances of that day, and circumstances for a considerable time after, promised a perpetuity of as much comfort and usefulness as it is reasonable to expect in a world daily groaning under the effects of sin. But toward the autumn of the following year some circumstances occurred which developed facts greatly to be deplored. It was soon found that there remained a small party still attached to the old Socinian system ; and every week elicited new proofs that they could not be at rest till the Gospel of Jesus Christ was again rooted out. Every engine was set to work, war was formally declared, the minister's salary was in part held back, the place was repeatedly locked against him ; a warning was given him to leave, signed by seven persons only, although the congregation consisted of at least seven hundred, and every kind of ill-treatment was adopted to drive him away. And he would cheerfully have retired, but the earnest solicitations of a people to many of whom he had been made useful induced him to stay, notwithstanding a constant and most serious expense of feeling, which continued till 3rd June, 1816, when the Socinian trustees (having clandestinely enlarged their own number without the knowledge or consent of four of the old trustees, and thus secured a large majority) sent persons early in the morning who, under pretence of repairing the building, beat the whole of the roof through the rafters into the pews ; not a tile or lath was left. And thus a large congregation of Protestant Dissenters were, by men calling themselves Dissenters, though a reproach to the name, thrown into the utmost consternation and distress, without the least previous notice. The congregation met on Lord's Days, sometimes in Mr. Savill's meeting [*Lion Walk.*—ED.], sometimes in the garden of the minister's house ; and after long deliberation it was deemed not to be worth while to go to law to obtain the old building, as it was old, and would cost, for law and repairs, almost as much as a new building. The congregation therefore, with the minister and friends, after many anxious fears, determined on a

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new erection, which was accordingly accomplished, and the new place, situated about fifty yards from the old one, in the same lane, was opened for worship on the 13th November, 1816, when two sermons were preached, that in the morning by Rev. R. Stodhart, of London, from "Other foundation can no man lay than that is laid, Jesus Christ," and that in the evening by Rev. J. Thornton, of Billericay, from, "O Lord, I beseech Thee, send now prosperity." Many other ministers were present, and a crowded congregation contributed liberally to the help of the minister and his friends.

Since that time the church has increased, and the congregation has become very regular, and large enough to be often inconvenient to some. The building will hold 600 well, and it is in contemplation to render it capable of holding 200 more. The minister who weathered the storm with the congregation still continues with them, well respected by them, and useful among them, having admitted upwards of sixty regular communicants in the seven years of his ministry among them (many of whom were brought to the knowledge of the truth under his ministry), beside many others who are occasional members [*Q. Communicants?—Ed.*]. It is now matter of thankfulness continually to this church that the old connexion is dissolved, as they were before always hampered with persons who had power and place in the church or congregation, but no religion, unless the semi-deism of Socinians may be so called. They are now alone, and have done better as to both temporal and spiritual concerns ever since—a clear proof that believers should "come out" and "be separate."

The old meeting-house, after laying completely open for about a year and eight months, has been repaired and reopened by the London Socinians, who have settled one of their students there; but they have never gained any ground. Such as are living of those who were foremost in their opposition to Evangelical religion still go, and have been joined by a very few others, among whom is a Jew and his wife; but they cannot always collect as many as thirty persons in a place that is capable of seating 700 and of holding 800 or 900.

JOSEPH HERRICK,
31st March, 1821.

To the Rev. Jno. Blackburn,
Finchingfield, near Braintree, Essex.

[In Morant's *History and Antiquities of Colchester*, 1768, the congregation of St. Helen's Lane is called Presbyterian. Evidently, although practically Independent, it was not truly Congregational, or the clandestine packing of the trusteeship would not have been possible. The Socinian capture of the old building did not yield

them permanent satisfaction, and after some vicissitudes it came finally into the hands of the Wesleyan Reformers. Mr. Herrick retained the pastorate of the new building, called Stockwell Chapel, to the end of his life; about four years before his death he was able to boast that in forty-six years he had never been one single Sunday out of the pulpit. He died in 1865 (see memoir in the *Congregational Year Book* for 1866). He was succeeded by Rev. Thos. Batty, a Hackney Student, who held the charge for thirty years, retiring in 1906 and dying in 1909. Another Hackney student followed, Rev. D. L. Ward, under whom the interest declined. In 1914 he passed over to the Presbyterian Church. The pastorate is now vacant, and the latest statistics indicate that the church is in a depressed condition.—Ed.]

Sir John Hartopp as Reporter

AMONG the MS. treasures of the Congregational Library is a folio volume in sound vellum binding, having on the fly-leaf, twice repeated, the names of John Hartopp and Elizabeth Hartopp, and the date 1660. The pages measure 14 in. by 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. ; there are 503 written pages, averaging about 40 lines to a page and 10 or 11 words to a line, followed by about 70 pages blank. The handwriting is clear and distinct, and each page has a margin of 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. The handwriting, spelling, and punctuation all indicate the work of a young man of good education and abundant leisure : and there need be no hesitation in assigning it to Sir John Hartopp—the son-in-law of Fleetwood and the early patron of Watts—whose age, at the date given on the fly-leaf, would be about 23.

The contents of the volume are twenty-eight sermons by six authors, all preached on various dates, ranging from April, 1660, to April, 1661. According to a note on p. 124 they were taken in shorthand by "J. H.;" the arrangement is not strictly chronological ; and there is generally no indication of the places where they were delivered. Two, indeed, are said to have been preached at a "Hackney Lecture"; and in two headings a word has been very carefully obliterated, *perhaps* to conceal the place of delivery.

The following is the order:—

- Mr. Cox. Seven sermons on Haggai 1:7, preached on Apl. 22 and 29, May 20, June 10, July 1 and 22, and Aug. 5, 1660.
pp. 1-124.
[The entire treatise is written continuously, separate sermons not being distinguished.]
- Mr. Knollys. Sermon on Psalm 119:175, preached 6th Dec., 1660. pp. 124-136.
- Mr. Watson. Sermon on *Esaiah* (sic) 43:4, preached at Hackney Lecture, 22 Aug., 1660. pp. 136-148.
- Mr. Bull. Sermon on Rom. 8:35, preached at Hackney Lecture, 21st (or ?26th) Sept., 1660. pp. 148-164.
- Mr. Calamy. Sermon on Philipp. 4:5, "Before the Parliament, never printed," 30 April, 1660. pp. 164-186.
- Mr. Cox. Seven (of eight) sermons on Hebrews 11:6 ; preached on 26 Aug., 30 Sept., 14 and 28 Oct., 11 Nov., 2 and 16 Dec. 1660. pp. 186-317.

[The second sermon of the series, pr. on 23rd Sept., is wanting; but the heads are recapitulated in that which follows.]

- Mr. Cox. Sermon on Acts 14:22; preached 30th Dec., 1660.
pp. 317-342.
- Mr. Jenkins. Eight sermons on 1 Peter 4:18; preached on 24 Feby., 10 Mar. M. and A., 17 Mar. M. and A., 24 Mar. M. and A., and 31 Mar., 1661. pp. 342-487.
- Mr. Jenkins. Sermon on John 16:22; preached 7th Apl., 1661.
pp. 487-504.

[Incomplete: breaks off abruptly after line 7 on the page.]

About most of these authors there is no possibility of doubt. "Mr. Knollys" must be Hansard Knollys, the eminent Baptist confessor. "Mr. Watson" is Thomas Watson, M.A., ejected from St. Stephen's, Walbrook; "Mr. Bull" can scarcely be any other than Daniel Bull, rector of Stoke Newington; "Mr. Calamy" must be Edmund Calamy, B.D., of Aldermanbury; and "Mr. Jenkins" can scarcely be other than William Jenkyn, M.A., of Christ Church, whose *Exposition on Jude* is still prized by lovers of Puritan literature. About Cox there is some obscurity. The only similar name among the Ejected Ministers is Henry Coxe, of Bishopstoke, Hants, who is unlikely. In Brook's *Lives of the Puritans* we find mention of one Benjamin Cox, a Baptist, who held a discussion about Baptism with Baxter, and was for some time resident in or near London. He may possibly be the man; and as "Mr. Cox" contributes fully half towards the content of our MS., further light on his personality seems desirable.

The Canterbury Church-Book

[See *Trans.* vol. vii, No. 3, pp. 181-96]

Supplementary Notes

AFTER the Restoration the members of the church must for some years have held their meetings in privacy. In Williamson's *Spy Book*, 1663 (see *C.H.S. Trans.* v, 255) we find this entry:—

"Ventriss (Pastor) meets frequently in and about Canterbury wth one Durant: Major Broadnax, Capt. Munnings, Capt. Mascal, Capt. Lee, Hatter, M^r Scot Esq^r are members to their Church."

Ventris, it is to be observed, was the ejected minister of St. Margaret's Church, and was a Presbyterian.

From the Sheldonian return, 1669, we find that there were then four conventicles in the city: one of Quakers, "numerous, but not considerable for estate"; one of Baptists, "not numerous, and mean in quality"; one of Presbyterians in St. Dunstan's parish, having Mr. Ventris and two other ejected ministers as their teachers; and the "Independ^{ts}, 500 at least; They meete in y^e morning in St Pet^r, afternoone in St Pauls";¹ of their "Principalls & Abettors" the first named is "Tho. Scot Esq: a Ringlead^r of the Peticōn for the K^e tryall"; and their "Preach^r or Teach^{rs}" are "John Durrant, excom^m Independ^t Preach^r, once a Wash ball maker, Frances Taylo^r, excom^m N. Conf. min^r, once Presbyt., now Indep^t." The latter was the blind rector who had been ejected from St Alphage.

Under the Indulgence of 1672 Mr. Durant obtained a licence dated 2nd April, "To be a Congregational Teacher in Almerny Hall without Canterbury." In the application the place is described as "The Almirey Hall (her'tafore belonging to Ethelbert's Pallace) near and without y^e walls of y^e city of Canterbury in or near y^e Burrough of Longport." (The place was also called the Aumory or Almonry). On 29th May Messrs. T. Scott, Esq., Zach. Lee, Hatter, Edward Hirst, Attorney, and John Jacob, Gentleman, all members of the Congregational Church, obtained licences as preachers. Also on 1st May licences were granted to Mr. Ventris and Mr. Robert Beak, the ejected vicar of St. Stephen's, to preach to a Presbyterian congregation in "M^r Roper's Hall, in the parish of St. Dunstan's."

From the revocation of the Indulgence till shortly before the Revolution we have very little information about Nonconformity in Canterbury. An Episcopal Return for the diocese, in 1676, represents the *Adult* inhabitants of the Rural Deanery as 5,427, of whom 36 were papists and 1,894 "other dissenters"; of these the greater part are said to have been Walloons.

¹ This must mean the parishes so called; that conventicles should at that time be held in the churches is inconceivable.