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EDITORIAL

WE hope to hold our Annual Meeting in the Memorial Hall on Wednesday 8th May, 1918, at 3 o'clock p.m. A paper is expected from Rev. G. L. Turner, M.A., and the necessary business will be transacted.

* *

As a Society we are not concerned with present-day controversies within the Congregational fold. We have therefore taken no notice of a discussion which has lately been carried on in pamphlet form as to what is "the centre principle, the great element in Congregationalism," whether *Autonomy* or *Spirituality*. To us it seems that the absence of either is necessarily fatal. But we have pleasure in commending a small sixpenny pamphlet by Dr. Nightingale, entitled *Congregationalism Re-examined*, in which may be found, in more concise form than elsewhere, a summary of the opinions that have been held by Congregationalists on both sides of the Atlantic during the last three hundred years, not only on the "centre principle," but on such intimately related topics as the Relation of the Church to the Churches, the Status of the Ministry, Ordination, Presbyters at Large, etc., etc. It is not necessary to agree with the author on all points, to find in the pamphlet a store of valuable information about the thoughts and doings of our ancestors; information which should be of great utility in view of current discussions and probable developments.

* *

We are requested to call attention to a mis-spelling which occurs three times on p. 244 of the current volume of *C.H.S. Trans.* In each case "Raleigh" should be "Rayleigh."

* *

Dr. Peel sends us the following extract on English and German Characteristics in 1563.

Trans. Vol. VII, No. 5, p. 265.

Readers might find the following from the 1563 edition of Foxe's *Acts and Monuments* timeous and interesting. After describing "a false, fearful imagination of fire at Oxford University," the martyrologist writes :—

"Such is the order and manner amongst the Englishmen ; much diverse and contrary to that which is used among the Germans. For whensoever any fire happeneth in Germany, by and by the bells ringing in all the steeples stir up the people to help. Who immediately are all ready in armour ; some go unto the walls, others beset the ways, and the residue are appointed to quench the fire. The labour is diversely divided amongst them, for whilst some fetch water in leather buckets, other some cast on the water, some climb the houses, and some with hooks pull them down, some again attend and keep watch without, riding in the field : so that by this means there lacketh neither help within, neither safeguard without. But the like is not used here in England : for when any such thing happeneth, there is no public sign or token given : but the outcry of the neighbours doth stir up all the others to help. There is no publike or civil order in doing of things, neither any division of labour ; but every man, running headlong together, catcheth whatsoever cometh next to hand to quench the fire."

* *

The Editor would be glad of information about extinct Congregational Churches and preaching-stations, especially in the counties of Cornwall, Leicestershire, Lincolnshire, and Sussex. According to a list "prepared by permission of the Registrar-General," there were in 1854 between 70 and 80 "Independent Chapels" in those four counties, the names of which do not appear in our present county lists. Many of these were, no doubt, temporary preaching-places ; while others, especially in Sussex, were congregations of High Calvinists which were never in fellowship with the County Associations. But ten had regular pastors whose names are given in the Alphabetical List of the 1855 Year Book ; and some were "vacant and awaiting the settlement of pastors."

Taunton School

UNTIL quite recent times the great public schools of England were practically closed against Nonconformists, if not by any formal test, yet by their ecclesiastical atmosphere. This was of such a character that it would have been little short of a miracle for a boy to pass through the curriculum without learning to identify religion, or at least Christianity, with "the Church by Law Established." To mitigate this grievance, Mill Hill School (of which the history is told in vol. iii, pp. 171 flg.) was founded in 1807; and its success has led to several more or less courageous imitations.

In 1845, at the invitation of the Rev. Henry Addiscott, several gentlemen met at the manse attached to Paul's Meeting, Taunton, "To consider the provision of a boys' school, where the sons of Nonconformists should receive a first-class liberal education, free from Church of England control." The projectors included James Bunter, Esq., banker; John Clitsome Musgrave, Esq., of Pyrland; and Rev. James Taylor, of Fulwood; and the scheme secured the approval and support of many leading men in Bristol, Somerset, and Devon. Among these appear the names of Revs. David Thomas, of Highbury, Bristol; Henry Quick, of Bath; James Allen; Messrs. R. Ash, P. C. Clarke, F. S. Gervis, J. Heudabourck, J. B. L. Pike, J. P. Spencer, T. Sully, H. O. Wills, W. D. Wills, and many others. Accordingly, in 1846, "The West of England Dissenters' Proprietary School, Taunton" was founded, under a Trust which provided that no proprietor should hold more than

fifteen shares of fifteen pounds each (ten pounds being paid up); and that no larger dividend than five per cent. per annum should be paid, all surplus money being spent in the provision of improved premises for the comfort and advancement of the scholars. Three newly built houses in Wellington Terrace, with the field adjoining, were secured on a twenty-one years' lease; and these having been properly fitted up, the school was opened, with the Rev. James Bewglass, LL.D., formerly of Dublin, as Headmaster.

It is interesting to notice among the first boys many sons of the founders, who, by their professional or commercial success, have done credit to the school. Among these may be named R. Alsop, Allen, Edward G. Clarke, Daw, J. Derry, J. B. Figgis, Samuel Figgis (since president of the School Council), Frederick Gervis, Henry Gervis, E. Goddard, C. Layton, Musgrave, J. C. Parkyn, Pike, Pollard, Colmer B. Symes, Edward Payton Wills, Frederick Wills, Samuel Day Wills, Wilson, W. F. Windeatt, etc.

The first annual meeting of subscribers was held in 1847, under the presidency of Mr. W. D. Wills, when Rev. H. Addiscott, as Honorary Secretary, reported excellent support, and such a number of scholars as to require immediate increase of accommodation, and the completion of the large schoolroom block. In this year the school was recognized by and affiliated to the University of London.

Dr. Bewglass having resigned in order to undertake the Headship of Silcoates School, in Yorkshire, the Headmastership was held from 1854 to 1856 by Rev. Thomas Clarke, M.A., whose success was by no means equal to that of his predecessor.

In 1857 Rev. W. H. Griffith, M.A., was appointed to the vacant Headship. He was formerly one of the tutors in the Western (Theological) College, Plymouth, had taken great interest in the school, and had acted on its committee. This appointment was

more than justified by the success of his twenty-four years' Headmastership.

The report for 1859 shows that the school had so increased as to make it necessary to secure a site on which to build a permanent school-house. The committee had purchased a property called "Mount Nebo" for that purpose; but it was not so utilized, for the wealthy owner of land near by paid £1,500 to the funds of the school to prevent it.

Not till 1868 was the present site—then called Fairwater House and fields—purchased. The committee at once proceeded to erect, at a total cost of about £20,000, the handsome buildings so long to be known as "The Independent College, Taunton." On 10th June, 1870, the opening ceremony took place. The boys, with their band playing, and led by the Headmaster, Messrs. J. J. Storar, B.A., J. G. Loveday, and other masters, marched from their old quarters in Wellington Road to the new schoolhouse, where they were received by J. B. Spencer, Esq., the Chairman, W. H. Wills, Esq., and the committee. At 11 a.m. a religious service was conducted by Revs. E. J. Hartland, David Thomas, and Jas. Taylor, which was largely attended. A public dinner in the schoolroom, at 2 p.m., was presided over by G. B. Sully, Esq., and amongst those who were present and spoke were the Borough Members, Messrs. Barclay and James; A. Rooker, Esq., of Plymouth; R. Symes, Esq., of Bristol; Revs. J. B. Figgis, of Brighton, and Septimus March, of Southampton (both Old Boys), Revs. D. Hewitt, H. Quick, D. Thomas, C. Wilson, S. Wilkinson, and Wm. Young. In the evening prizes were distributed by Mr. Wills, and recitations and music were given by Allen, Burrington, Cox, Frost, D. Johnstone, Lepard, Loveday, P. Money, John Odgers, and others. "A memorable day, never to be forgotten by those present."

About 1876 a Junior School was inaugurated under the superintendence of Mrs. Milne.

In 1881 Rev. W. H. Griffith was compelled by ill-health to resign, much to the regret of all concerned. He carried with him to his short retirement at Clifton the satisfaction of having educated hundreds of men to take their parts worthily in the battle of life, and many of them to attain considerable distinction.

Rev. Frederic Wilkins Aveling, M.A., B.Sc. (son of Rev. Thos. Aveling D.D. of London), was elected in his thirtieth year to the responsible position of Headmaster. An "Old Boy," he brought to his new post ability, enthusiasm, and a lofty ideal, which in a few years carried the school on a flowing tide of prosperity. During these years a number of additions and improvements were made; amongst others, the organ formerly in use in St. Mary Magdalen Church was secured for the schoolroom. In 1894, however, some disagreement occurred; Mr. Aveling left to establish a school of his own at Blackheath, and about sixty of the boys followed him thither.

Mr. J. B. Ridges, M.A., of St. John's College, Cambridge, succeeded to the Headmastership; and found that he had an arduous task before him—that of restoring the depleted roll of scholars. Still, his five years' work, supported as he was by Mr. G. B. Sully, the President, Sir William H. Wills, Bt., and several Old Boys, was not without a beneficent influence on the affairs of the school.

In 1899 the shareholders freely surrendered their interest, so that the institution might be refounded as a purely Trustee Endowed School under a scheme approved by the Board of Education. Thanks to the kindly influence of Sir W. H. Wills, the scheme was signed and confirmed by the Charity Commissioners on 16th May, 1900: and henceforth "Taunton School"—such is its new and simpler designation—becomes a Public School in the fullest sense of the term. The refounding of the school was taken up most heartily by the former shareholders and a large number of

"Old Boys," who, besides freely surrendering their shares, contributed a sum of £3,000 towards a Sustainment Fund.

The appointment to the Headmastership of Mr. C. D. Whitaker, M.A., LL.D. (Camb.), B.A., B.Sc. (Lond.), formerly senior assistant master at Bishop's Stortford, proved a wise step; and, with the confidence inspired by the new foundation, soon led to a large increase in the number of new boys. The roll, which stood at 210 in 1902, rose to 300 in 1906, and to 400 in 1911, a little over which is its present number, the teaching staff being about thirty.

Buildings necessary by reason of this increase, or desirable with a view to improved teaching, were rapidly added; including classrooms, laboratories, new servants' quarters in a separate block, and a covered and heated Swimming Bath; and in 1905 Sir W. H. Wills (lately raised to the peerage as Lord Winterstoke) built at his sole expense the handsome School Chapel in memory of his deceased wife.

In 1907 the institution sustained serious losses in the deaths of Mr. G. B. Sully, son of one of the founders, who had been an active governor for fifty years, during thirty-two of which he had been its able and genial President; of Mr. Henry Addiscott, an Old Boy, an active governor and a liberal donor; and of Mr. Jonathan Evans, a wise counsellor and generous supporter of many years' standing.

In 1909, by the kind gifts of the Headmaster and his friends, the well-equipped and heated Dressing-rooms, Fives Courts, and large covered playground were erected. About the same time suitable houses were built for the Headmasters and for a Masters' Boarding House.

In 1911 the school was deprived of its oldest and most noted benefactor, by the death of Lord Winterstoke, who was called away in the midst of his good works. This year Dr. Whitaker formulated a scheme

for scholarships, tenable at the Universities by boys who enter direct from the school, and thus more firmly placed the school on that higher plane to which he has lifted it by his wise and strenuous labours. These scholarships are tenable at Oxford, Cambridge, and Bristol.

The year 1912 saw the dedication of the "Winterstoke Library and Common Room," and the block of hostels, both the generous gift of Miss Stancomb Wills. These complete the design of Lord Winterstoke, and contribute largely to the comfort and well-being of the boys.

It remains to mention a few of the Taunton Old Boys who have in various ways attained distinction:—

Hon. Sir S. W. Griffith, G.C.M.G., Australian Statesman.

Sir Edward Payson Wills, K.C.B.

Sir Frederick Wills, Bt., M.P.

Mr. H. J. Wilson, M.P.

James Sully, LL.D., Educational Psychologist, Emeritus Professor of Logic in University College, London.

Dr. C. M. Thompson, Professor of Chemistry at Cardiff.

Dr. Jervis, of St. Thomas's Hospital.

Dr. J. J. Perkins.

Mr. W. J. C. Millar, for many years Registrar of the General Medical Council.

Professors Seymour, Thompson, Symington, and Allen, all of Cambridge.

Dr. Hicks, Anglican Bishop of Bloemfontein.

Rev. J. B. Figgis, of Brighton.

Rev. Colmer B. Symes, M.A., of Exeter.

Rev. E. Walrond Skinner, of Newport.

Rev. E. J. Hawkins, of Exeter.

Rev. F. W. Aveling, M.A., B.Sc., sometime Headmaster.

Capt. H. M. Greenfield, who was killed with Major Wilson's patrol in Matabeleland.

Sidney Goodman and Griffith Jones, barristers-at-law.

W. H. Trood, animal painter.

Sir Herbert Ashman, Lord Mayor of Bristol.

Sir Robert Symes and Mr. C. H. Bond, both Lord Mayors of Cardiff.

And the following noted athletes: S. Savery, J. L. Mathias, W. F. Long, J. C. White, and L. P. Marshall.

G. E. COLTHURST.

The Book of Sports

ON Sunday, 17th August 1617, James I was sumptuously entertained at Hoghton Tower; when a petition was presented, nominally from peasants, tradesmen, and servants, that they might no longer be debarred from those Sunday Sports which had been usual before the Reformation, but which had been forbidden by proclamation under Edward VI and Elizabeth. On that day Bishop Morton, of Chester, preaching before the King, is reported to have said that "God had repealed the old law of the Sabbath by the work of His earthly representative and vicegerent!" And soon afterwards Morton, by the King's command, drafted "The Book of Sports."

The name of this amazing monument of State folly is familiar to every one; and its general purport is widely known from characteristic extracts freely quoted by many writers. But the document as a whole is not easily accessible. Professor Arber, indeed, reprinted it in the fourth volume of his *English Garner*, reproducing the title-pages of both editions, and indicating the two additional passages which are found only in the second. But he has modernized the spelling, and corrected the punctuation and use of capitals according to his own judgment. It is thought that a strictly accurate reprint, taking account of all such minutiae, may be acceptable to our readers. We therefore present a transcript, *verbatim et literatim*, of the first issue, followed by the title-page of the second edition and the two added paragraphs.

THE KINGS MAIESTIES

Declaration to His

Subjects

CONCERNING

lawfull Sports to

be vsed



LONDON

Printed by BONHAM NORTON,
and JOHN BILL, Deputie Printers
for the Kings most Excellent
Maicstie

M.DC.XVIII

[On the back of the Title Page are the Royal Arms, without supporters,
but having the Crown between the Rose and Thistle.]



[1]

By the King.



Hereas vpon Our returne the last yeere out of Scotland, Wee did publish Our pleasure touching the recreations of Our people in those parts under Our hand: For some causes Us thereunto moouing, Wee haue thought good to command these Our directions then giuen in Lancashire with a few words thereunto added, and most applicable to these parts of Our Realmes, to be published to all Our Subjects.

Whereas Wee did iustly in Our Progresse through Lancashire, re-[2]buke some Puritanes and precise people, and tooke order that the like vnlawfull cariage should not bee used by any of them hereafter, in the prohibiting and vnlawfull punishing of Our good people for vsing their lawfull Recreations, and honest exercises vpon Sundayes and other Holy dayes, after the afternoone Sermon or Seruice: Wee now find that two sorts of people wherewith that Countrey is much infested, (Wee meane Papists and Puritanes) haue maliciously adruced and calumniated those Our iust and honourable proceedings. And therefore lest Our reputation might vpon the one side (though innocently) haue some aspersion layd vpon it, and that vpon the other part Our good people in that Countrey bee misled by the mistaking and misinterpretation of Our meaning: Wee [3] haue therefore thought good hereby to cleare and make Our pleasure to bee manifested to all Our good people in those parts.

It is true that at Our first entry to this Crowne, and Kingdome, wee were informed, and that too truely, that Our County of Lancashire abounded more in Popish Recusants than any Countie of England, and thus hath stil continued since to Our great regret, with little amendment, save that now of late, in Our last riding through Our said County, Wee find both by the report of the Judges, and of the Bishop of that diocesse that there is some amendment now daily beginning, which is no small contentment to Us.

The report of this growing amendment amongst them, made Us the more sory, when with Our owne Eares We [4] heard the

generall complaint of Our people, that they were barred from all lawfull Recreation, and exercise vpon the Sundayes afternoone, after the ending of all Diuine Seruice, which cannot but produce two euils: The one, the hindering of the conuersion of many, whom their Priests will take occasion hereby to vexe, perswading them that no honest mirth or recreation is lawfull or tollerable in Our Religion, which cannot but breed a great discontentment in Our peoples hearts, especially of such as are peraduenture vpon the point of turning. The other inconvenience is, that this prohibition barreth the common and meaner sort of people from vsing such exercises as may make their bodies more able for Warre, when Wee or Our Successors shall have occasion to vse them. And in place [5] thereof sets vp filthy tipling, and drunkennesse, and breeds a number of idle and discontented speaches in their Alehouses. For when shall the common people have leaue to exercise, if not vpon the Sundayes and Holy dayes, seeing they must apply their labour, and winne their liuing on all working dayes?

Our expresse pleasure therefore is, that the Lawes of Our Kingdome, and Canons of Our Church, bee as well obserued in that County, as in all other places of this Our Kingdome. And on the other part, that no lawfull Recreation shall bee barred to Our good People, which shall not tend to the breach of Our aforesaid Lawes, and Canons of Our Church: which to expresse more particularly, Our pleasure is, That the Bishop, and all other inferiour Churchmen, and Churchwardens [6] shall for their parts bee carefull and diligent, both to instruct the ignorant, and couince & reforme them that are misled in religion, presenting them that will not conformance themselues, but obstinately stand out to Our Iudges and Iustices: whom We likewise command to put the Law in due execution against them.

Our pleasure likewise is, That the Bishop of that Diocesse take the like straight order with all the Purilans and Precisians within the same, either constraining them to conformance themselues, or to leaue the Countrey¹ according to the Lawes of Our Kingdome, and Canons of Our Church, and so to strike equally on both hands, against the contemners of Our Authoritie, and aduersaries of Our Church. And as for Our good peoples lawfull Recreation, [7] Our pleasure likewise is, That after the end of Diuine Seruice, Our good people be not disturbed, letted, or discouraged from any lawfull Recreations; Such as dawning, either men or women, Archerie for men, leaping, vaulting, or any other such harmlesse Recreation, nor from hauing of May-Games, Whilson Ales, and Morris-dances, and the setting vp of May-poles and other sports therewith vsed, so as the same be had in due and conuenient time, without impediment or neglect of diuine Seruice: And that women shall have leaue to carry rushes to the Church for the decoring of it, according to their old custome. But withall We doe here accompt still as prohibited all unlawfull games to bee vsed

¹ 1633, County.

upon Sundayes onely, as Beare and Bull baitings, Interludes, and at all times in [8] the meaner sort of People by Law prohibited, Bowling.

And likewise, Wee barre from this benefite and libertie, all such knowne Recusants, either men or Women, as will abstaine from comming to Church or diuine Seruice, being therefore vnworthy of any lawfull recreation after the said Seruice, that will not first come to the Church and serue GOD: Prohibiting in like sort the said Recreations to any that, though cōforme in Religion, are not present in the Church at the Seruice of GOD, before their going to the said Recreations. Our pleasure likewise is, That they to whom it belongeth in Office, shall present and sharply punish all such as in abuse of this Our libertie, will vse these exercises before the ends of all diuine Seruices for that day. And We likewise straightly [9] command, that euery person shall resort to his owne Parish Church to heare diuine Seruice, and each Parish by itselfe to vse the said Recreation after diuine Seruice. Prohibiting likewise any Offensive weapons to be caried or used in the said times of Recreations. And Our pleasure is, That this Our Declaration shal be published by order frō the Bishop of the Diocesse, through all the Parish Churches, and that both Our Iudges of Our Circuit, and Our Iustices of Our Peace be informed thereof.

Given at Our Mannour of Greenwich the foure and twentieth day of May, in the sixteenth yeere of Our Raigne of England, France, and Ireland, and of Scotland the one and fiftieth

God save the King

[Title Page of second issue]

THE KINGS MAIESTIES

DECLARATION to

His Subjects,

The Book of Sports
CONCERNING

lawful SPORTS to
bee used



Imprinted at LONDON by
Robert Barker, Printer to the Kings
 most Excellent Maiestie : And by
 the Assigns of *Iohn Bill*

M.DC.XXXIII

[On the back of the Title Page are the Royal Arms, with supporters,
 Crested Helmet, and Mantling.]




[I]

By the King.

Q*Vr Deare Father of blessed Memory, in his returne from Scotland, comming through Lancashire, found that his Subiects were debarred from Lawful Recreations vpon Sundayes after Euening Prayers ended, and vpon Holy dayes : And Hee prudently considered, that if these times were taken [2] from them, the meaner sort who labour hard all the weeke, should haue no Recreations at all to refresh their spirits. And after His returne, Hee farther saw that His loyal Subiects*

in all other parts of His Kingdome did suffer in the same kinde, though perhaps not in the same degree: And did therefore in His Princely wisdom, publish a Declaration to all his loving Subjects concerning lawfull Sports to be used at such times, which was printed and published by His royall Commandement in the yeere 1618. In the Tenor which hereafter followeth.

[The Original Declaration is then reproduced, differing from the former issue only in unimportant variations of spelling, e.g. We and Wee, sory and sorry, dayes and daies, Puritans and Puritanes. The only differences of the slightest importance are the two indicated in footnotes; both of which are probably, the second certainly, misprints. At the end of the Declaration the following is added:—]

 ^[15] Now out of a like pious Care for the seruice of God, and for Suppressing of any humors that oppose truelth, and for the Ease, Comfort, and Recreation of Our well deseruing People, Wee doe ratifie and publish this Our blessed Fathers Declaration: The rather because of late in some Counties of Our Kingdome, Wee find that vnder prelence of taking away abuses, there hath been a generall forbidding, not onely of ordinary meetings, but of the Feasts of the Dedication of the Churches, commonly ^[16] called Wakes. Now Our expresse will and pleasure is, that these Feasts with others shall bee Obserued, and that Our Iustices of the peace in their seuerall Diuisions shall looke to it, both that all disorders there, may be preuented or punished, and that all neighbourhood and freedome, with manlike and lawfull Exercises bee used. And Wee farther Command Our Iustices of Assize in their seuerall Circuits, to see that no man doe trouble or molest any of Our loyall and ductifull people, in or for their lawfull Recreations, having first done their duetie to God, and continuing in ^[17] obedience to Vs and Our Lawes. And of this Wee command all Our Iudges, Iustices of the Peace, as well within Liberties as without, Maiors, Bayliffes, Constables, and other Officers, to take notice of, and to see obserued, as they tender Our displeasure. And Wee farther will, that publication of this Our Command bee made by order from the Bishops through all the Parish Churches of their seuerall Diocesse respectively.

Giuen at Our Palace of Westminster the eighteenth day of October, in the ninth yeere of Our Reigne

God saue the King.

John Warner, M.A.

A forgotten Nonconformist Leader in South-West Hampshire 1646-1668

THE above-named controversialist and divine, who was content to retire into obscurity in A.D. 1660, is no doubt typical of many others in that stormy period. He occupies only one line in Calamy's Memorials (vol. ii, p. 7 of ed. 1775). He is not named in Brook, Neal, or Bogue and Bennett; and as he retired quietly from the vicariate of Christchurch in Hampshire in 1660, and was dead before 1669, his name is not included in Professor Lyon Turner's magnificent work on the early trials, etc., of the ejected. We gave a brief notice of Mr. Warner in our paper on Hampshire Congregationalism in *C.H.S. Transactions*, 1904, p. 294; but further researches have enabled us to recover more of his history as one of the pioneers of Nonconformity, and these details enhance the value of the scholar, patriot, and theologian.

John Warner was the son of William Warner, a wealthy clothier and small landowner, of Haresfield, Gloucester. He was born there about 1611, he entered Magdalen Hall, Oxford, in 1628, became B.A. in 1632, and M.A. 1634. From the University, by Episcopal induction of the Bishop of Bath and Wells, he was made Vicar of Bathford (Som.) in 1636 (Foster A1: Oxon). It is significant to note at this point, as we shall presently see, that Mr. Warner followed Mr. John Lisle to Magdalen Hall and Mr. John Imber in New College. While Vicar of Bathford Mr. Warner published his first work; the title was *Temporal Losses Spiritually Considered*, London, 1643. According to Anthony à Wood he was the author of several treatises on divinity (Wood, *Athen. Oxon.* ii, 142). Mr. Warner was therefore an author at the age of thirty-two.

Now we must turn for a moment (to become intelligible) to his fellow-University student John Imber, who won his M.A. and then became a minor canon of Winchester Cathedral, and a little later (on 30th January, 1640) Vicar of Christchurch. These were troublous days in England, and not long afterward ensued the



ST. MICHAEL'S CHAPEL, CHRISTCHURCH.

great civil war betwixt Charles I and his Parliament. The Rev. John Imber became involved with the Royalists, and was actually captured in arms by Sir William Waller in Christchurch Castle, and was imprisoned in consequence (see Waller's letter dated Ringwood, 7th April, 1644, in S.P.D. and Whitelock's Memo. p. 82, or Godwin's Civil War, p. 195). Later, in 1646, he was deprived or sequestered by the Triers. These facts are the basis of the statement in Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy that Mr. Imber was plundered and imprisoned—the vicariate of Christchurch thus become vacant. At this point John Lisle, the other Oxford student of earlier days, reappears on the scene. Since the Oxford Terms Mr. Lisle had become a lawyer and politician. He was M.P. for Winchester and an energetic Parliamentarian; but, what is more to our purpose, one of his country seats was at Moyles Court, only a few miles north of Christchurch; and also that on the 31st July, 1641, Mr. Lisle had been elected a Burgess of the town of Christchurch. It seems natural therefore, with full knowledge of the crisis that had occurred at the vicarage in 1646, that Mr. Lisle thought of his old fellow-student at Oxford, and persuaded Mr. Warner to leave Bathford for the vacancy at Christchurch. The dedication of Mr. Warner's book on *Justifying Faith*, published in 1657, is proof of this fact; it runs thus: "To the Right Hon: John Lisle one of the Lords Commissioners of the Great Seal of England," in which occurs an expression of "thankfulness" because his (Mr. W.'s) interest had been promoted by Mr. Lisle, and that as "a tree planted by your Lordship and supported by the benign influence of your favour" (Preface to *Diatriba*, p. 3). That there had been, and was, personal correspondence and respect betwixt these two Oxonians is clear, and Warner proceeds to pass a glowing eulogy on Lisle as a devout Christian man, which is valuable as a published contemporary record. But here we must notice the fact that both—and Mr. Warner especially—had committed the clerical offence of "intrusion"—an old sin, by the by (see 9 Mark 38, 9)—for the doctrine of apostolic succession admits fouling of its supply, or (as in the case at Christchurch) an arrestment by civil process while ignoring the need of the people, or clerically treating it as of secondary importance. Many godly preachers of the ages have been dubbed "intruders" as an excuse for their persecution.

But it is now our business to see what sort of a minister was found for Christchurch, for "wisdom is justified of her children." Our evidence, though somewhat scattered, is fairly abundant and complete. The Vestry Minute Book shows John Imber's signature for 1643, and he does not sign it again until 1660, and after that date it is consecutive for many years. The first signature of John Warner as minister is dated 6th March, 1646, and

with one interruption (in 1651) is of yearly occurrence until 23rd April, 1661; from thenceforth Mr. Imber reappears and Mr. Warner neither signs as an official or parishioner. We are not left in any doubt as to his activities in Christchurch. First of all we have Mr. Warner's own testimony in the preface to his work on *Justifying Faith* in these words: "The order I have observed for many years is in the morning to deliver something concerning faith, repentance, conversion, how to bring men to Christ, and in the afternoon some text that may concern the saints' edification on Christ or walking in Christ. It is now two full years since I preached over Matt 5, and I am now (i.e. 1657) on the decalogue and Colos 3rd" (Preface to Reader, A 2). On the same page is a reference to the people of "my synagogue" which the late Rev. Jos. Fletcher, of Christchurch, was the first to point out "as language peculiar to the Independents to which Lisle and Cromwell belonged."

Another proof of Mr. Warner's ministry may be seen in the following parochial entry. "Anno 1651; We whose names are here subscribed together with the names of our children baptized do solemnly protest and promise that if we and our children do live together till they come to the age of nine years we will bring or cause our children to come to the congregation of Christchurch before our present minister Mr. Warner or his successors and there renew their covenant made in baptism, and to answer and give a reason of their hope by way of a catechisme so often as the said Mr. Warner or his successors shall require us to do." Is not this idea a foreshadowing of later Sunday School systems?

About this time Mr. Warner appears to have revived a school which, in late pre-Reformation times, had been held in St. Michael's Chapel, or Loft, which is above the "Lady Chapel" in the Priory Church. This was founded as a school wherein "a master taught children grammar," etc., and "lectures on divinity were delivered" (see S.P.D. Hen. viii). Of course these educational processes were interrupted by the dissolution of Twynham Monastery in 1539. We have no proof of their existence until Mr. Warner restarted the school afresh in the Commonwealth era, and this short period ended with his retirement in the spring of 1660. Soon after the actual Restoration the "Assembly of the Sixteen" petitioned Bishop Morley (of Winchester) for permission to use this spacious room for a school, and they (the petitioners) would undertake all costs and charges. This was evidently granted, because the Vestry Minute Book, under the date of 7th March, 1662, recites that "St. Michaels Loft shall for ever hereafter and is hereby set apart and appointed for a Free Grammar School" according to articles and agreements. If the date on the Royal Arms exhibited in the room can be trusted, it was restarted in 1664 and continued until its final closure in 1869.

We must refer now to Mr. Warner's chief work that has come down to us—it is dated "from my study at Christchurch Hantshire 10 Sep 1657." It is a small 8vo of 516 printed pages, its title is "*Diatriba Fidei Justificantis qua Justificantis*, or a Discourse on the Office of Faith as Justifying in opposition to Pontificians, Socinians, Arminians, and others, by John Warner, M.A., sometimes of Magd: Hall Oxon and now Pastor of the Church of Christ at Christchurch Hantshire. Oxford Printed by H. H. for Ed and John Forrest 1657." The first 15 pages are a Dedication to John Lisle, already quoted; then follow two pages of a letter from George Kendall, D.D., of Kenton, Devon, highly commending the work and saying that he had written to Dr. Owen, quoting from it. After this in the book are 22 pages of an "Address to the Reader," in which is the statement that it was published at the request of some judicious hearers and was submitted to several divines, of whom it seems Dr. Kendall (afterwards one of the ejected of 1662) was one. The body of the work consists of nineteen chapters, occupying, with its index, 479 pages of letterpress. There are one or two vague references in the book to the great civil war, which sufficiently indicate the preacher and author's sympathies; and they prove that he was more Independent than Presbyterian, which helps us to understand his early and quiet retirement at the Restoration of Charles II. Although Wood says that Mr. Warner was much resorted to at Christchurch by those of the Presbyterian persuasion (Wood, Ath. Ox. ii, 142) it must not be inferred that he was a bigoted partisan. He appealed to the Commonwealth authorities for leniency to Royalists, and oftentimes successfully, as the Calenders for compounding in the State Papers show. In 1658 a Christchurch charity, formed about half a century earlier, was put on a more equitable basis for the benefit of the poor; and the deed itself, although it bears the superscription of "Oliver Lord Protector," was made permanent by Sir M. Hale, and is in the parish chest and still operative.

The restoration of Charles II in 1660 made a change inevitable at Christchurch as elsewhere. Mr. Imber was probably not far away, and had relatives in the district; besides he was entitled to his fifths by Act of Parliament as a sequestered person. As Mr. Warner retired Mr. Imber resumed his functions. A deep silence has fallen on the time of the change. The vestry record gives no clue, and the town records have been manipulated—possibly to prevent trouble. Mr. Warner did not go far away until compelled by the Five Mile Act, but his patron, John Lisle, was shot dead when going to church in Switzerland. Mr. Warner did not go back to Bathford; he is marked as ejected in 1663, but how Bathford vicarage was supplied from 1646 to 1663 is unknown. We get just a glimpse of Mr. Warner through the

Will of Thomas Browne (PPC Hene 75), a Christchurch parishioner with strong philanthropic and Puritan principles. This Will was made 4th February, 1667, and by it Mr. Warner was made a trustee and had a mourning ring as a personal friend. In point of time Mr. Warner died soon after, and his Will is PPC Hene 98. It was made 23rd March, 1667, and proved 2nd July, 1668, so that his death occurred between these two dates. In it Mr. Warner styles himself as clerk, late of Lymington, but now of Sopley. He left one married daughter as Mrs. Martha Hayley, who seems to have made some financial arrangements with her father out of some farm property at Harbridge, Hants, and no doubt on some of the Lisle estates, as Abraham Browne, Mrs. Lisle's steward, is one of Mr. Warner's executors. Two unmarried daughters are also named, Mary and Elizabeth. The youngest is left in charge of J. Newburgh, Esq., of Netherbury, Dorset, who has a MSS. commentary on Romans, with authority to publish it if he pleases. Besides these family arrangements, Mr. Warner left forty shillings for the poor of Christchurch, and another forty shillings for a gravestone in memory of his wife. This Will gives us the probable clue to Mr. Warner's movements after 1660. For a time, as we may presently see, he was in the town, until the Five Mile Act (1665) caused him to remove to near Lymington. There two of his friends had influence, Thomas Browne and John Hildesley. Mr. Browne we have noticed: Mr. Hildesley, another philanthropist, lived at Hinton Aumerle (or Admiral); he was a party with Mr. Warner and others in the charity rearrangements at Christchurch in 1655. He sometimes attended the parish vestry. He was a burgess of Lymington in 1635, M.P. for Winchester in 1654, 1656, 1659, and for Christchurch in 1660. He was a well-known friend of the ejected clergy, and at his death in 1680 he left by Will to a relative, a Mrs. Phelps, "the sum of £5,000 to be disposed of at discretion as annuities to the poor, learned and godly Nonconformist ministers." This philanthropic gentleman possessed considerable house property in Christchurch, and one of his tenants in 1680 was Martin Stoakes, about whom a little more presently. Then at Sopley, as well as around Moyles Court and Harbridge, Mrs.—or she is sometimes called the Lady—Alice Lisle, held considerable property in her own right. In this way the seeming wandering addresses of Mr. Warner's Will become intelligible. No doubt he would be protected by old parishioners and friends, and in return he would help the private religious life in that ungodly age.

But were these ministrations of Mr. Warner only outside the town of Christchurch?—were they not also within? Even this question may be answered quite satisfactorily, although the evidences are disconnected or indirect. The oldest deed belonging to the Congregational Church is dated 29th September, 1655,

and it describes the property as "a barn newly erected on a close of about half an acre of land called Culverhays." This barn, in the revision of 1730, is further described as being "used for many years past as a meeting-house for dissenters called Independents." The purchaser in 1655 was Martin Stoakes, a member of an old family of Christchurch residents, and a number of their Wills are in the Winchester Probate Registry. Thus—for our purpose—the first Martin Stoakes, of 1655, we find died in 1664, and left his son Martin the barn and field called Culverhays. This Martin Stoakes the second died in 1712, leaving his son Martin "the land called chapel land" . . . "also the meeting-house with all and every other appurtenance," and "he has other instructions" no doubt because there were dark days ahead for Nonconformists in the early years of the eighteenth century. An interesting discovery may be related here. In June 1909, during some alterations at the old Manse corner of the chapel premises a broken oblong tombstone was found face downward on the earth, bearing the following legible inscription :—

HERE LIETH THE BODY OF MARTIN
STOAKES SEN^R WHO DEPARTED
THIS LIFE THE 20TH DAY OF OCTOBER
ANNO DOMINI 1712
AGED 63 YEARS
HERE A . . . H JANE THE
WIFE OF . . . N STOKES
SEN^R WHO DEPARTED THIS
LIFE THE 20TH DAY OF APRIL
ANNO DOMINI 1715
AGED 63 YEARS
HERE ALSO LIETH MARTIN STOKES

The rest of the inscription is lost, but the information is sufficient for our identification. The Martin Stoakes, 1649-1712, was possibly a member of Mr. Warner's catechism class, and dared to have his grave in unconsecrated soil. As he is a recorded tenant of Mr. Hildesley in 1680, we may also identify him as the tenant of Mr. Hildesley's house which was licensed under the Indulgence, see Professor Lyon Turner's *Records*, vol. ii, p. 1041. This family record may be placed thus :—

Martin Stoakes, or Stokes I, purchased site of Congregational church in 1655, died in 1664
Martin Stoakes, or Stokes II, inherits by Will from his father
—mentions meeting-house, dies 1712

Martin Stoakes, or Stokes III, inherits by father's Will—
respects property see slab, dies ?

Martin Stoakes, or Stokes IV, admitted a member of Christ-
church Independent Church on 1st May 1798.

Such a pedigree is noteworthy, though the family has left the town nearly a century. We are sorry now to add that the Christchurch Congregational authorities, instead of treating the tombstone as one of their valuable historic relics, have thrown it into a lumber cupboard adjoining the church, with wastes and refuse !

The problem yet remains—no doubt there were secret conventicles in the town of Christchurch, but was there a "gathered fellowship" ? This is sometimes difficult to prove for the times of persecution, but for Christchurch satisfactory proof has come from an outside and an unexpected quarter. The *Broadmead Records* of Bristol, published by The Hanserd Knollys Society, contain the interesting case of Mr. Whinnell, who applied for admission into that famous Baptist Church in 1680. Mr. Thomas Whinnell had been "dismissed from a church at Christchurch, in Dorsetshire, to a people here in Bristol walking with one Mr. Kitchin." This fellowship, which met in the Castle, had been broken up in the persecution, so Mr. Whinnell wished to join that in Broadmead. The Broadmead membership feared he was an Arminian, and suggested another transfer from Christchurch. This was refused on the ground that Mr. Whinnell had been dismissed from them "many years ago," that is to say, *before* 1680. From the Rev. M. Caston's *Independency in Bristol* we learn that there were six separatist communions in Bristol before 1670 : 3 Baptist, 2 Independent, and 1 Presbyterian. The Castle Green conventicle was dissolved between 1670 and 1675, so that neither church was in error in the course they adopted, and Mr. Whinnell became a member of Broadmead by examination and confession of faith (*Broadmead Records*, pp. 427, 452, 453, etc.). There is no Christchurch in Dorsetshire, but it is sufficiently near that county boundary to be included in Association work (see *Evan. Mag.*, 1797 and 1809). Our inference from this Mr. Whinnell's case is that there was a fellowship in Christchurch in 1670, or even earlier, to have dismissed Mr. Whinnell to Bristol, and that date is only two years later than Mr. Warner's death in 1668. We may now add to this—that at Arnewood, near Hordle, there was a small meeting or conventicle reported in the Episcopal Returns of 1669, whose leader or teacher was Robert Ellyott, of Christchurch, a silkman (*Lyon Turner's Records*, i, 142). As regards the Indulgence, there are licences issued for John Hildesley's house and William Marshall's house as meeting-places in Christchurch (*L. Turner*, ii, 1041), and for Sopley the Widow

Sanders' house. Is this spot—a small country village—significant of the last days of the Rev. John Warner about four years earlier? Where they buried him and his wife is now unknown—it may be in Sopley or Christchurch churchyard or it may be not far from friend Stoakes in Millhams Street. His rest is undisturbed and sweet, yet at the front of the Nonconformists of Christchurch and Bournemouth nearly 250 years ago we beg to place the name, memories, and works of John Warner, M.A.—not lost, but gone on before!

We have pleasure in annexing a print of the "Loft," or chapel, which is in much the same condition, architecturally, as when Mr. Warner used it, except as it is the worse for two centuries' age. The style of architecture is late fifteenth-century work. Access by turret stairways still exists, both from within as well as outside the church. Behind the master's desk, attached to the east wall, was an ancient altar, and near its site is still an elegant piscina over which hangs the heraldic badge (three fusils in fess), of the Monteautes, baronial lords in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. On the same wall, but on the north side of the master's desk are the Royal Arms with the initials C.R. and the date 1664.

GEORGE BROWNE.

Congregational Hymnody

(Continued from vol. vii, p. 234.)

IN *C.H.S. Trans.* vol. vii, pp. 224 flg., we brought the history of Congregational Hymn Books down to the publication of the Official Hymn Book of the Congregational Union in 1835, closing with a remark that this very soon supplanted all previous Supplements to "Watts's Psalms and Hymns," very few such publications appearing at a later date. Indeed the few of later origin had for the most part a merely local circulation. The following have come under our notice: W. Jay, Bath, 1833 (quite distinct from his former compilation), 535 hymns, of which 22 are original; R. Bell and J. C. Hoatson, Halifax, 1834, 2nd edition 1839, 520 hymns; John Cass Potter, Tintwistle, 1835, 370 hymns, half of which are still in use; S. Parrott, Devonport, 2nd edition 1836, 600 hymns, strongly Calvinistic; John Griffin, Portsea, 1837, 302 hymns; Timothy East, Birmingham, 1839, 287 (quite different from his earlier selection); Anonymous, Bridport, 1840, 316 hymns promiscuously arranged; Anonymous, Watford, 1840, 105 hymns and doxologies; T. Raffles, Liverpool, 1852, 491 hymns in alphabetical order, 48 of them original, but of no great merit; Robert W. McAll, Sunderland, 1852, 700 hymns, many altered and abridged, but intensely Evangelical. With these must be associated the "Original Hymns . . . by various authors; edited by John Leifchild," 1843; the names of twenty principal contributors are given, including Conder, Mrs. Gilbert, Grant, Montgomery, a number of unpublished hymns by Charles Wesley, etc. But the book was a complete failure; it is doubtful whether, of the 370 original hymns here first printed, as many as half a dozen ever came into common use.

Apart from these supplementary selections, the twenty years following the publication of the "Congregational Hymn Book" saw an output of selections designed for public worship at the rate of nearly one per annum. Most of these were local, and designed for single congregations. Those which we have seen

(there were probably more) are Thomas Reid, Cole Street Chapel, Southwark, 4th edition, 1834, 366 hymns, strongly Calvinistic; R. H. Shepherd's, for Ranelagh Chapel, 3rd edition 1837, contains 728 hymns, of which 28 are original; Alexander Fletcher's "Finsbury Chapel Collection," 1835, a greatly enlarged edition of his book of 1822; Samuel Martin's "Collection of Hymns for Prayer-meetings," Trowbridge 1837, 130 hymns; H. F. Burder's "Psalms and Hymns," for St. Thomas's Square Chapel, Hackney, 2nd edition 1838, 600 hymns, more than half from Watts, the rest from about 50 authors; R. T. Hunt, collection designed for Colliers' Rents Chapel, 2nd edition, 1839, 464 hymns, moderately Calvinistic; W. B. Leach, selection for Robert Street Chapel, Grosvenor Square, 2nd edition 1840, 759 hymns, moderately Calvinistic; James Sherman, "Psalms and Hymns for the use of Surrey Chapel," 1841, 642 hymns; this passed through several editions, and was used by other congregations; Anon, "A Selection of Hymns and Psalms for the use of Working Men's Churches," Dock-head, Bermondsey, 1842, 158 hymns and 47 psalms; G. Whitefield's Collection, enlarged by M. Wilks, and further enlarged by J. H. Mann, for the use of the New Tabernacle and Tottenham Court Road congregations, 1845, 575 hymns.

Of the collections which appealed to a wider constituency than a single congregation or a narrow circle, the first place is claimed by "The Comprehensive Hymn Book; or, One Thousand Hymns, Selected and Original, for Congregational, Domestic, and Private Worship" by John Campbell, 1837; this, like the last mentioned, is based upon Whitefield's selection, and contains several hymns of the most pronounced Calvinistic type. "The Hymn Book," compiled in 1842 by Andrew Reed, had a wide circulation. It contains 840 hymns, and is truly catholic in its selection; about a third of its contents remain in use in various associations. The "Psalms and Hymns for Congregational Worship" selected by Ridley H. Herschell, 1846, contains a complete metrical psalter, mainly, compiled from Watts, Tate, and Brady, and the Scots' version, followed by 500 hymns of fair average quality and wide selection. There are no fewer than 41 hymns for the Lord's Supper, and 19 relating to the Jews; as was natural, Mr. Herschell being of Hebrew ancestry. The same year Dr. J. Leifchild issued a small volume of 74 "Hymns Appropriated to Christian Union, Selected and Original"; it was designed for Interdenominational meetings, and does not seem to have been reprinted. In 1849 Dr. W. L. Alexander, of Edinburgh, edited "A Selection of Hymns for Public Worship in Christian Churches," which came to be popularly known as "The Augustine Hymn Book" from the name of the church for which it was chiefly compiled. It is good commonplace; the editor has not scrupled to alter whatever

offended his taste, and he has systematically rejected hymns of intricate and unusual metres. It reached a third edition in 1865 and a fifth in 1872. It was subjected to several revisions; and the latest edition contained 552 hymns, with doxologies and anthems bringing up the number to 616.

In 1850 a book appeared which, though not widely—if at all—adopted for a church hymn-book, was in its own place of great value: this was “The People’s Service of Song, a Tune Book for the Pew,” edited by John Curwen. It contains about 200 hymns set to appropriate tunes, with references to other hymns to which the tunes are suitable. It was much used in singing classes, etc., and may fairly be claimed as the *precursor* of the whole family of hymn-books with tunes which have since come into general use. A passing word is due to a belated experiment by John Burder, of Bristol, in 1851. This was a revised and classified edition of “Watts’s Psalms and Hymns,” those portions which were by common consent obsolete being omitted. Mr. Burder had proposed such a publication to the Congregational Union nearly twenty years before; and at that time it might possibly have been successful. But now the opportunity had lapsed, and Burder’s “Watts Revised” was never reprinted. “The Evangelical Hymn Book,” compiled in 1853 by Rev. J. H. Rutherford, of Newcastle, passed through several editions, one as late as 1873. It contains 1,056 pieces, which seem to have been “drawn together with a rake.” Some of the finest hymns in the whole treasury of the church stand side by side with the prosiest of doggerel, and few books exhibit more ruthless mutilations. The tone is, however, thoroughly evangelical, and the large number of hymns embodying the Gospel Call furnish a redeeming feature.

We now come to a book which may fairly be claimed as epoch-making:—“Psalms and Hymns for Christian Worship, compiled by the Congregational Ministers of Leeds,” 1853. In the compilation they were much aided by the sound judgment and fine literary taste of George Rawson, Esq., himself a hymn-writer of no little merit. The “Leeds Hymn Book” contained about 900 hymns, together with 40 psalms and other portions of Scripture pointed for chanting, and the words of a few easy anthems. The authors represented are 163 in number, beside about 50 hymns that are anonymous or of uncertain origin. This statement allows for corrections; for a few of the assignments of authorship are incorrect, and some of the contributors, notably Mr. Rawson, withheld their names from publication. As might be expected, Watts is by far the largest contributor, the hymns which bear his name being 266; next comes C. Wesley with 78, Montgomery 54, Doddridge 46, Rawson 24, Conder 23, Heber 21, Newton and Kelly 17 each, Lyte 13, Ch. Elliot 12, Cowper, 11, Keble 10; while 95 authors provide one hymn apiece. Ten

pieces are translations from Latin hymns of the Unreformed Church. Regarded as a literary compilation the "Leeds Hymn Book" is far superior to anything that preceded it; and it is not surprising that for nearly forty years it was extensively used; and not exclusively in the North of England.

In May 1855 the Executive of the Congregational Union appointed a committee to prepare a hymn-book on similar lines to the Leeds publication. The result was the issue, in 1858, of "The New Congregational Hymn Book." It contained a thousand hymns, the work of about 160 authors, only about 27 of the hymns being anonymous or unassigned. The assignments are not invariably correct, but the errors are fewer than in almost any other collection. Of one thousand hymns no fewer than 370 are from Watts; an enormous disproportion which may be accounted for partly by the fact that 173 are metrical versions or imitations of psalms, and partly by the expectation that the book would widely supplant the "Complete Watts," with its intricate enumeration of about 700 hymns in four distinct series, which with supplements of varying bulk were still in common use. Next in frequency to the name of Watts is that of Charles Wesley with 72 hymns, Doddridge with 50, Montgomery 40, Conder 30, Newton 25, Lyte 21, Cowper 19. A remarkable drop is then observable in the order of frequency; 9 selections are taken from the Tate-and-Brady psalms; 9 each from Fawcett, Keble, Kelly, Steele, and Toplady; 6 each from Beddome, Hart, and Heber; and smaller numbers from other writers, of whom 77 are represented by a single hymn apiece. The one serious blemish in the book is that it is overladen with third-rate pieces of Watts, which were already obsolescent at the time of publication.

As the "Leeds" and "New Congregational" hymn-books were distinctly rival publications, it is worth while to notice that 517 hymns were common to both.

While the "New Congregational Hymn Book" was in process of compilation, a violent controversy broke out over a small volume of sacred poems by Rev. T. T. Lynch, entitled "The Rivulet." The hymns in this volume were marked by a careful avoidance of dogmatic assertion, but also by firm reliance on and devotion to the Person of the Saviour. Certain newspaper writers furiously assailed Mr. Lynch's "Negative Theology," which others as eagerly defended; and altogether about a score of pamphlets were printed on one side or the other. So keen was the "Rivulet Controversy" that in 1856 it was deemed inexpedient to hold the usual Autumnal Meeting of the Congregational Union. The outcome of the whole business was that henceforth it could no longer be said, as formerly, that Calvinism was the dominant creed of the Congregational churches.

Most of the hymn-books issued within fifteen years after the

"New Congregational" are of local rather than general interest. An exception is "The Sabbath Hymn and Tune Book," edited by John Curwen, 1859. It contained 467 hymns with tunes, a dozen easy anthems, and about 40 psalms and portions of Scripture pointed for chanting. Prefixed was a course of music lessons, and appended was the Anglican Church Service according to the use of Westminster. It is unlikely that the book was extensively adopted as a church hymn-book; but its utility in the family circle, in Sunday Schools, singing classes, etc., was no doubt very great.

We have not ascertained the original date of the collection made by Rev. Joseph Sortain for the Countess of Huntingdon's Chapel, Brighton, which reached a fifth edition in 1866. Neither it, nor that selected and arranged by Rev. John Hutchinson, of Dunfermline, in 1861, call for any special notice; both are good commonplace. Much the same may be said of a huge compilation of above 1,400 "Psalms and Hymns for the Service of Song in the Christian Church, Home, and Sunday School," which was put forth in 1861 by W. H. Davison, of Bolton, and reprinted in 1876. There are a few good hymns by little-known writers, "but what are they among so many"? Of more interest is the "Supplementary Hymnal," compiled in 1862 by Rev. U. R. Thomas and H. O. Wills, Esq., for use in Redland Park Church, Bristol, as a supplement to the "New Congregational Hymn Book." It is a work of quite exceptional literary merit, containing 320 hymns; 8 of these are from Greek originals and 37 from Latin sources—some ancient or mediæval, and some from the great singers of the Gallican Church in the seventeenth century. No other Free Church hymn-book has drawn in so large proportion on the treasures of the Unreformed churches.

The "Cavendish Hymnal," compiled by Dr. Parker for Cavendish Church, Manchester, not without a hope that it would appeal to a wider constituency, is a good commonplace collection of 900 hymns and 118 chants and anthems: but there really seems no reason why it should have been printed, seeing that the "Leeds" and the "New Congregational" were already on the market. "The Evangelical Union Hymn Book," Glasgow, 1866, 559 hymns with an addendum of 45 for children, calls for no special remark. In 1868 Dr. H. Allon, of Islington, put forth a volume of 239 "Supplemental Hymns," which were extended to 341 in an enlarged edition, 1875. Nearly all these are good hymns, and most of them are now in general use. "Our Hymn Book," compiled in 1868 by Edwin Paxton Hood, was a purely local publication for use at Queen's Square Church, Brighton. The arrangement is promiscuous, about 80 psalms and Scripture passages for chanting being interspersed among the hymns, bringing the number up to 803. Some of the Original Hymns

are of great beauty, and ought to be better known. "A New Supplementary Hymn Book," by E. T. Prust, 1869, contained 282 hymns, most of which have been introduced into later collections. This seems to be the most convenient place to mention "The Augustine Hymn Book," compiled by Dr. D. Thomas, of Stockwell, on the principle that every hymn should be directly addressed to Deity. This plan was consistently carried out as far as No. 615, but so many really indispensable lyrics were thus excluded that about fifty such were appended as "Sacred Poetry." The volume is undated; and does not seem to have been used outside the Stockwell congregation.

By 1874 it had become evident that both the "New Congregational" and the "Leeds" hymn-books were seriously defective. Thereupon Rev. G. W. Conder put forth a well-selected appendix to the latter, consisting of 205 hymns by 114 authors. Of these 15 are translations from old Latin hymns, ranging from the fifth to the seventeenth century. The only authors who contributed more than five hymns were Bonar 12, Lynch 7, Neale 9, and Caswall 6, the last two including translations. Appended are half a dozen passages of Scripture and a few ecclesiastical canticles for chanting, the Advent Antiphons, five metrical litanies, and the words of about 35 anthems. About the same time the Congregational Union entrusted a committee with the task of compiling a Supplement to the "New Congregational Hymn Book." The finished production contained 281 hymns by 143 authors, of whom 104 contributed single hymns, and only eight more than five apiece. The largest contributors were Bonar, 17, Monsell 12, Rawson and Neale 9 each. Five of the hymns are from Greek and thirteen from Latin sources; of twelve we have not been able to ascertain the origin. As a rule the selection is admirable, but the editing is atrocious. Of the 281 hymns no less than 103 have been altered, generally for the worse. Julian is not too severe when he says: "The mutilations in the texts, made without any reason on poetical, theological, or ecclesiastical grounds, are very numerous, and are distinguished by extreme poetical weakness, and by lack of sympathy with the authors." A few specimens shall justify this criticism.

No. 1016 "Now from all men be outpoured
Alleluia to the Lord:
With Alleluia evermore
The Son and Spirit we adore."

Altered thus:—"From all let gladsome praise arise
To Him who formed the earth and skies:
With Hallelujah evermore
The one true living God adore."

No. 1038 "Inscribed upon the Cross we see
In shining letters "God is Love."
He bears our sins upon the tree,
He brings us mercy from above."

Altered thus :—"Inscribed upon the Cross we see
 In crimson letters, darkly bright,
 Of Holy Love the mystery :
 For "God is Love," and "God is Light."

No. 1204 "And thronging angels never cease
 Their deathless strain . . ."
 "Where Thou, Eternal Light of Light,
 Art Lord of all."

Altered thus :—"Where hymn and anthem never cease
 Their joyous strain . . ."
 Where Thou, the Lamb, its Living Light
 Art Lord of all."

Soon after the issue of this unfortunate Supplement the Congregational Union published "The Abridged Congregational Hymn Book," consisting of 270 hymns selected from the 1,281 already in the hands of the people. It was thought that such a small selection might be useful for prayer-meetings, cottage services, etc., where a large book would be cumbersome. The hymns were well selected; but the experiment had only a limited success.

In 1874-5 the American evangelists, Messrs. Moody and Sankey, paid their first visit to England. The small book of "Sacred Songs and Solos" which they introduced had amazing popularity; and year by year new editions were produced, gradually increasing in bulk from about 60 to above 1,000 pieces. Though not of Congregational origin (for the book seems to have been merely a publisher's fortunate speculation) "Sankey" found a welcome in Congregational churches in all parts of the country, usually as a supplement, but often as the sole vehicle of praise in mission chapels, etc. And though many of the hymns and tunes are light and frivolous to such a degree as to be quite unworthy of a place in the sanctuary, its popularity is by no means exhausted.

In 1876, owing to the expiry of a lease, the old Surrey Chapel built for Rowland Hill was abandoned, and the congregation migrated to the new Christ Church at no great distance. Thereupon Rev. C. Newman Hall took occasion to introduce, only for local use, the "Christ Church Hymnal," containing 576 hymns and 14 Scripture canticles. They are well selected, and the literary tone of the book is above the average. It is overweighted, however, by 80 of the compiler's original compositions, of which a few deserve wider publicity. Another huge compilation of 1,500 hymns and 65 doxologies and benedictions, is the "Trinity Hymns" of John Vaughan, 1876, strongly Calvinistic in tone, and designed for Trinity Chapel, Hackney. Among so many there must be some good hymns, but the collection as a whole is not meritorious. Much better is "The New Sabbath Hymnal" by W. H. Davison, 1877, containing 429 hymns, chiefly selected from his larger collection, which is here winnowed with very satisfactory results.

"The Evangelical Union Hymnal," Glasgow, 1878, is a very creditable selection of 420 hymns, 15 doxologies, and 40 chants. It contains a few good hymns of little-known authors; its chief fault is injudicious abridgment. "The English Hymnal," of 1,260 hymns, was edited by Dr. R. W. Dale in 1879, primarily for the use of Carr's Lane Church, Birmingham, but also with a view to its adoption by "Congregational Churches, both Baptist and Pædobaptist." The editor was "anxious to preserve the national type both of faith and feeling," and "avoided whatever seemed foreign and unfriendly to our traditions and habits." But many of the hymns are of mediæval and German origin. Excellent as the collection is in many respects, it has not become popular, and even at Carr's Lane it has given place to a revised and reduced edition. Perhaps its most striking feature is the large number of hymns, nearly 40, by Thomas Hornblower Gill. In 1879 Rev. E. P. Hood, having removed to Manchester, issued a revised edition of "Our Hymn Book" for use in Cavendish Church. It is decidedly improved by the classification of its contents, but never had more than a local circulation. In 1882 a collection of 296 hymns in alphabetical order, with tunes, was printed for the use of the congregation at Norwood presided over by Rev. S. A. Tipple. It can scarcely be said to have been published; but it is noteworthy that there is scarcely a poor hymn in the book. A second edition, 1899, calls for no special remark.

As far back as 1865 Rev. H. Allon and his organist, Dr. Gauntlet, had published a useful collection of Church music entitled "The Congregational Psalmist." Many editions followed each other with successive enlargements, including a copious supply of chants and anthems; and at length, in 1886, the most useful of the tunes were combined with an equally useful selection of hymns under the rather clumsy name of "The Congregational Psalmist Hymnal." The hymns number 921, including most of those contained in the "Supplemental Hymns" of 1868 and 1875; and, viewed from the standpoint of Evangelical Conservatism, the book is one of uncommon excellence—the "poor" hymns being remarkably few. The hymns are drawn from 323 authors and translators, of whom 193 furnish single contributions. Nearly eighty of the hymns are translated—39 from German, 27 from Latin, 6 from Greek, and 6 from other foreign sources. The authors most fully represented are C. Wesley 73, Watts 72, Montgomery 32, Bonar 29, Doddridge and Monsell 20 each, Ellerton 16; others range from 15 downwards, and 15 English hymns are anonymous.

The "Congregational Psalmist" hymns were selected by a single editor: the same was the case with "Congregational Hymns," compiled by Rev. W. Garrett Horder, and published

in 1884. This contained 841 hymns, the work of 332 authors and translators (19 hymns being anonymous), together with 61 chants, anthems, etc. From a literary point of view the collection has great merit. Its theological outlook differs considerably from that of Allon's book, as may appear from a summary of the authors most fully represented, viz.:—C. Wesley 31, Watts and Montgomery each 26, Bonar 23, Monsell 17, Ellerton, Faber, Heber, Lynch, and Rawson 14 each, and Doddridge only 8; while 74 hymns are contributed by 36 writers who are understood to be more or less pronounced Unitarians.

The relation of these two books to each other was distinctly competitive; and though both were good, neither seemed quite satisfactory to the Executive of the Congregational Union. It was therefore decided to produce an entirely new book, which should be free from the dead weight of obsolete matter that cumbered the book of 1858 and its supplement, and should be furnished with appropriate music. Rev. G. S. Barrett, of Norwich, was appointed responsible editor, and was assisted by an advisory committee consisting of experienced pastors and persons understood to have extensive knowledge of hymnology. The work was harmoniously carried through, the only serious difficulty being that the limits of space imposed by the executive compelled the omission of above a hundred hymns which the editor and his colleagues desired to include. The complete work, published in 1887 as "The Congregational Church Hymnal," contains 775 hymns, the work of 305 authors and translators, of them 170 are represented by single hymns, and 13 hymns are anonymous. There are 7 translations from the Greek, 30 from the Latin, and 32 from the German. The theological complexion may be described as Broadly Evangelical, as will appear from the following list of the largest contributors:—Watts 62, C. Wesley 42, Montgomery 22, Bonar, Monsell, and Rawson each 16, Ellerton 15, Gill 14, Doddridge and Thring 13 apiece, J. Conder and How 12 each, Faber, Heber, Lyte, and Newton each 11, Neale 10, and C. F. Alexander, E. S. Armitage, Caswall, Cowper, Lynch, and John Wesley each 9. No hymn was included to which three members of the advisory committee took exception. The book was an immediate success; criticism was directed rather to the music than to the words. It was quickly followed by a Second Part, consisting of Metrical Litanies, Psalms, Scripture and Ecclesiastical Canticles, and Anthems. Of the 775 hymns 445 are found in the book of 1858 and its Supplement, 395 in the "Leeds Hymn Book" and its appendix, 464 in Allon's book, and 389 in Horder's.

In 1890 the Union issued "The Congregational Mission Hymnal" of 300 hymns, in the hope that it might supplant the almost ubiquitous "Sankey." It contained 91 hymns from the "Con-

gregational Church Hymnal," 114 of the best from Sankey, and 122 from other sources. It was a useful Mission book, but did not achieve the success that was hoped for by the compilers.

"Hymns of Faith and Hope, collected and edited by Rev. John Hunter," first appeared in 1889 with 695 hymns; and in a revised and much-enlarged edition (917 hymns) in 1896. It is distinctly and pronouncedly "Modernist," and is very fairly characterized by Julian as follows: "A considerable proportion of the pieces are really undogmatic religious verse, often of great beauty and significance, and gathered from a wide circle of English and American authors; but even less suited for public worship than the doctrinal hymns in the earlier Congregational books." Only 227 of the hymns in Hunter's book are found in the "Congregational Church Hymnal."

In 1894 Rev. W. G. Horder edited an interesting volume of "Hymns Supplemental to existing Collections," 239 in number; the work of 148 authors and translators, of whom a considerable number are American. The book was useful in that it introduced to English readers many good hymns—chiefly of a meditative or an ethical type—which were previously unfamiliar.

No other hymn-book of any importance appeared in Congregational circles till 1905, when Mr. Horder produced a revised edition of his "Congregational Hymns" under the title of "Worship Song." Indeed the revision was so thorough as to constitute practically a new book; for of the authors and translators represented in the book of 1884 no less than 70 disappear, and are replaced by 83 others. "Worship Song" contains 803 hymns by 345 authors and translators, 18 hymns being anonymous. Appended are 149 psalms and canticles for chanting, and 134 anthems, the whole being furnished with music. The older writers are much less conspicuous than in the former book; Watts only appears 14 times, C. Wesley 15, Doddridge 4, Cowper 6, Newton 4, Conder 5: on the other hand we find Bonar, Faber, Ellerton, Gill, Lynch, Monseil, Montgomery, and Rawson, on an average about 15 times apiece, while American names are frequent. S. Longfellow appears 10 times, Hosmer 12, and Whittier 25. About 40 of the contributors are Unitarians, and their contributions are 103. Still, the general complexion of the book, though "Broad," is certainly *not* Unitarian.

It is perhaps scarcely worth while to mention a purely local book, the "Hymnal," compiled by Rev. J. C. Martin, of Portsmouth; of which a seventh edition, making up 11,000 copies, was printed in 1906. It contains 593 hymns, alphabetically arranged, and is strongly Calvinistic, but contains a few pieces of considerable beauty by little-known writers. Of a totally different character is "The Song-Companion to the Scriptures," compiled by Dr. G. Campbell Morgan. Of the 610 hymns which it contains

many have little of literary quality to commend them; nevertheless, the book is well suited for its avowed purpose—"to meet the demand created by the growth of the Bible-school movement." The compiler had also in view the needs of assemblies "unaffiliated with any of the great Denominations . . . who would object to using any hymnal which bears a denominational stamp." As a Mission hymn-book it seems likely to be very useful.

Congregationalism is an Ecclesiastical, not a Theological system, and is congruous with any school of religious thought which repudiates the priest, and insists on personal reliance on and loyalty to the Lord Jesus Christ. No doubt for several generations the dominant creed of the Congregational Churches was more or less pronounced Calvinism; but the "Rivulet" controversy of 1855-6 made it evident that this was no longer the case. Indeed in our day the churches embrace almost every shade of theological opinion, from Calvinism to Universalism, and from Athanasian Orthodoxy to something not easily distinguishable from Unitarianism. In general there are two distinct—even antagonistic—schools of thought, one of which may for convenience be called Conservative or Evangelical, and the other Advanced or Modernist. Many hymns which are highly valued and constantly used by the former school are useless and positively offensive to the latter.

About 1909 it began to be said that the "Congregational Church Hymnal" was no longer quite satisfactory, and that there was need of some means for bringing into general use many excellent hymns of more recent origin. The question arose, Is a Supplement desired, or an entirely new book? And the marked preference shown for the latter by the "Advanced" school seemed to indicate a wish not merely to make modern hymns generally available, but to withdraw from notice, as much as possible, those older hymns which were distasteful to Modernism. Eventually the task of compiling a new book was entrusted to a committee on which both schools were fairly represented, and which included literary and musical experts. Six years were spent in honest endeavour to produce a result satisfactory to both parties, and the inevitable outcome was a compromise—how far generally acceptable remains to be seen. The "Congregational Hymnary," published in the summer of 1916, contains 771 hymns, 116 chants and canticles, and 117 well-selected anthems. Of the hymns about 500 are identical with as many in the "Congregational Church Hymnal." The hymns are the work of 328 authors and 28 translators, of whom 227 are represented by a single hymn apiece: 16 of the English hymns and the originals of 14 translations are anonymous. An interesting feature is the presence of a selection of Christmas Carols, some of them traditional, and of a large proportion of so-called "ethical hymns." By way of comparison with

the "Congregational Church Hymnal" we may give the number of hymns assigned to the largest contributors. Charles Wesley comes first with 32 and Watts next with 24 (as against 42 and 62 in the older compilation); Montgomery has 19 hymns, Bonar and How 16 each; Neale 16, all translations; Ellerton has 12, Doddridge and Whittier 11 each, and Cath. Winkworth 11 translations; Rawson contributes 10, C. F. Alexander, H. E. Lewis, Lynch, Monsell, and Newton each 9; Cowper, Caswall, Gill, Hosmer, Lyte, Ray Palmer, and Thring 8 apiece; while Baker, Conder, Faber, Heber, Havergal, Keble, and S. Longfellow each yield 7 to the total. Of the authors, 20 are professed Unitarians, and their contributions number about 50, of which, however, a large proportion have long been familiar in Evangelical hymn-books. On the other hand about 50 contributors to the "Congregational Church Hymnal" are totally unrepresented in the later publication. Unquestionably the "Hymnary" contains much that is both new and valuable, but whether this might not have been better supplied by means of an appendix is a point on which there is very wide difference of opinion.

The Ancient Merchants' Lecture

THE "Ancient Merchants' Lecture" is an interesting survival from the days when English Nonconformity was engaged in a struggle for existence, in which the Indulgence of 1672 first afforded an earnest of victory. Within a few weeks of its publication application was made on behalf of two silenced ministers, Anthony Palmer and George Fownes, for licence to preach in what was called "The Glass House," a part of the old Augustinian Monastery, which in the time of Queen Elizabeth had been used by a firm of Venetian glass-workers. More recently it had been bought by the Pinners' Company (makers of pins and needles), which had been incorporated by Charles I in 1636, and had thus acquired the name of "Pinners' Hall." It was located in a court opening from Old Broad Street; had a floor area of "17 squares," i.e. 1,700 sq. feet—say about 45 ft. by 36, and had galleries in two tiers on three of its sides. Whether Palmer and Fownes obtained the desired licence is very doubtful; their application is dated 18th April; there is no record of a licence being granted in accordance therewith, but on the very next day they were licensed to preach in the house of John Savage on London Bridge. Professor G. L. Turner is decidedly of opinion that the licence for Pinners' Hall was refused, but it is certain that not long after, licence or no licence, it was occupied by the applicants and their congregation, who held it on a lease which only expired in 1778.

The Society to which Palmer and Fownes ministered was of the Congregational order, including both Baptists and Pædobaptists. Four other ministers followed

them in succession, the last two of these being Unitarians; and the society was only disbanded when the lease expired. But they were not the sole occupants of the hall; indeed they only used it on Sunday mornings. In the afternoon another Independent society occupied it till 1704, Dr. Watts's congregation from 1704 to 1708, a Particular Baptist society from 1708 to 1723, and after an interval a congregation of General Baptists from 1741 to 1778. Beside these, it was used on Saturdays by a society of Seventh-Day Baptists from 1686 to 1727. Before the end of 1672, several wealthy merchants and tradesmen, desiring to support the doctrines of the Reformation against the prevailing errors of the day, and to show the substantial agreement in all essentials of Presbyterians and Independents, resolved on establishing a weekly lecture, to be preached by the most distinguished and popular ministers of both denominations. No attempt was made to provide a permanent endowment, the promoters feeling sure that adequate means for necessary expenses would always be forthcoming; and it was arranged that the lecturers should be chosen by vote of the subscribers. The lectures were to be delivered on Tuesday about midday; and whatever may be the fact as to the licensing of the building, all authorities agree that from the first the place was Pinners' Hall.

The lecturers first appointed were Dr. Thomas Manton, Dr. Wm. Bates, Mr. Richard Baxter, and Mr. Wm. Jenkyn, all reputed Presbyterians, and Dr. John Owen and Mr. John Collins accounted Independents. The lectures were largely attended; some constant hearers were accustomed to come from considerable distances, one Amos Harrison, from as far as Croydon. Within a couple of years, however, the institution was imperilled by *odium theologicum*. Mr. Baxter had preached from "Ye will not come unto Me, that ye may have life," pointing out that the perdition of sinners is due not to the purpose of God,

but to their own guilt. As some hyper-Calvinists took exception to this discourse, he followed it up with another on, "Without Me ye can do nothing," and his critics being still dissatisfied, he printed a broadsheet entitled, *An Appeal to the Light*. Dr. Manton severely rebuked those who had misrepresented Baxter, and the dispute was allayed for a time, but only to break forth more violently twenty years later. This was in connection with the Antinomian Controversy, of which a sufficient account may be found in *C.H.S. Trans.* vol. vi, pp. 389-396. It is enough here to say that in 1694 the four Presbyterian lecturers, Dr. Bates, John Howe, Vincent Alsop, and Daniel Williams withdrew from Pinners' Hall, and, associating with them Richard Mayo and Dr. Annesley, set up a rival lecture at Salters' Hall. The two Independents who remained, Thomas Cole and Matthew Mead, were reinforced by Nathaniel Mather, Timothy Cruso, Stephen Lobb, and Thomas Gouge, all high Calvinists. The lecture at Salters' Hall continued with varying fortunes till about 1788, when it dwindled to nothing; its collapse being largely due to the tendency toward Unitarianism that was manifested by several of the latest lecturers.¹ The original Pinners' Hall lecture, through many vicissitudes, has continued to this day. On the expiry of the lease in 1778 it was held for a short time at the meeting-house in Little St. Helens, but in the same year was transferred to New Broad Street, where it continued for sixty-five years, viz., till 1844. From that time onward it has led a migratory existence, and more than once the paucity of hearers has provoked serious thoughts of discontinuance. But these thoughts have been overborne by the recognition that there are certain charitable trusts the administration of which is committed to the lecturers.

¹ The last of these were Revs. Rice Harris, Dr. Andrew Kippis, Dr. Richard Price, Dr. Abraham Rees, Thomas Tayler, and Hugh Worthington.

In 1844 the meeting-house in New Broad Street having ceased to be available, the lecture was transferred to Poultry Chapel; again, for the same reason, to the Weigh House Chapel in 1869, and once more to Finsbury Chapel in 1883. Yet another removal became necessary in 1889, when this place was also closed. All these removals, with one exception, were due to the successive demolition of the several meeting-places, either with a view to street improvements or as a result of the abominable system of building leases.

From 1889 to 1898 the lectures were delivered in the Memorial Hall, Farringdon Street; then till 1906 in the Dutch Church, Austin Friars, and from 1906 to 1908 in the Tabernacle, Tottenham Court Road, once associated with the ministry of Whitefield and Toplady. Here the attendance was usually meagre, and it was thought best to return to the Memorial Hall. Then it was suggested that "if the merchants will not come to the lecture, the lecture shall go to the merchants"; and from 1912 to 1917 short courses were delivered, usually in the evenings, in various suburban churches. By this means new interest was excited; but the managers felt that an institution which originated in the City, and was for more than a century a conspicuous feature in the religious life of the City, ought not to be permanently dissociated from the City. Towards the end of 1917 therefore, by arrangement with the Stationers' Company, the lecture was recommenced in their commodious Hall, it being intended that this shall be its usual meeting-place, but that there shall also be occasional short courses in suburban churches. The time of the lecture has varied considerably. At Pinners' Hall it was every Tuesday; in 1864 it was only the Tuesday after the first Sunday in each month; in 1877 it was again every Tuesday, and the same in 1900, except that there was a vacation from the end of June to the end of September. Arrangements for the future will depend on the success of the present experiment.

We now proceed to give a list of the lecturers from the beginning, so far as we have been able to ascertain, together with the titles of their most notable publications. The dates suggest a possibility that one or two names may be missing; any information on this point will be welcomed.

1. Thomas Manton, D.D.¹ Ejected from St. Paul's, Covent Garden. Works numerous, reprinted in 22 vols. 8vo, include Commentaries on James and Jude, and courses on the Lord's Prayer, Ps. 119, Isaiah 53, and Hebrews 11. D. 1677.
2. Richard Baxter.¹ Ej. Kidderminster, Works numerous, about 150 titles. His *Christian Directory* is a code of Puritan Casuistry; his *Catholic Theology* an attempt to mediate between Calvinism and Arminianism; but best known are his *Saints' Everlasting Rest*, *Reformed Pastor*, and *Call to the Unconverted*. D. 1691.
3. William Jenkyn,¹ Ej. Christ Church, Newgate St.; aftwd. ministered in Jewin Street. Works, *A Commentary on Jude* and some sermons. D. 1685.
4. William Bates, DD.¹ Ej. St. Dunstan's, Fleet St., aftwd. min. at Hackney. Works col. in 1 vol. folio; most important, *Harmony of the Divine Attributes* and *Spiritual Perfection*. Retired 1694. D. 1699.
5. John Owen, DD. Ej. deanery of Christ Church, Oxford; aftwd. min. in Leadenhall St. Works rptd in 28 vols. 8vo; most important, *On Indwelling Sin in Believers*, *On the Glory of Christ*, *The Duty of being Spiritually Minded*, *Exposition of 130th Psalm*, and *Commentary on Hebrews*. D. 1683.
6. John Collins; formerly chaplain to Genl. Monk: aftwd. min. in Lime Street. Publications unimportant. D. 1683.
7. John Howe, M.A. Ej. Great Torrington; aftwd. min. Silver Street: Apptd. 1677, retired 1694. Wks. rptd in 7 vols. 8vo and 2 posthumous; most important, *The Redeemer's Tears*, *The Living Temple*, *Of Delighting in God*, *The Carnality of Religious Contention*, and some sermons. D. 1705.
8. Matthew Mead, Ej. Stepney, aftwd. min. there: Apptd. 1683. Works not numerous. *The Almost Christian Discovered*, and some occasional sermons. D. 1699.
9. Vincent Alsop, Ej. Wilby, Northants; aftwd. min. in Westminster: Ap. 1687, ret. 1694. Works mostly controversial. D. 1703.

¹ These were Presbyterians; all the rest Independents.

10. Thomas Cole. Ej. St. Mary's Hall, Oxford; aftwd. min. at Cutler's Hall and Silver Street: Ap. 1687. Chief works (both preached at M. Lect.). *A Discourse of Regeneration, Faith, and Righteousness*, and *A Disc. of Christian Religion*. D. 1697. [See *Trans.* iv, 233.]
11. Daniel, Williams, D.D. New Broad Street: Ap. 1694, ret. same year. Works mostly controversial. Founder of Williams's Library, etc. D. 1716.
12. Nathaniel Mather. Lime Street—(Paved Alley): Ap. 1694. Publ. 23 *Sermons pr. at Mercht. Lect.*, and some controversial pieces. D. 1697
13. Timothy Cruso.¹ Poor Jewry Lane: Ap. 1694. Published 24 *Sermons pr. at Pinners' Hall*, etc. D. 1697.
14. Stephen Lobb. Fetter Lane, and tutor at Newington Green: Ap. 1694. Works mostly controversial. D. 1699. [See *Trans.* iii, 284.]
15. Thomas Gouge. Three Cranes: Ap. 1694. No works of importance. D. 1700.
16. John Singleton, M.D. Silver Street: Ap. 1696. Works unimportant. D. 1706.
17. John Nesbitt. Hare Court: Ap. 1697. Publ. only a few sermons. D. 1727.
18. Matthew Clarke. Miles Lane, and asst. at Hare Court: Ap. 1697. Publ. only a few sermons. D. 1726.
19. John Galpine. Stepney: Ap. 1699. Publ. nothing. D. 1712.
20. Thomas Rowe. Girdlers' Hall, and tutor at Newington Green and Clapham: Ap. 1699. Publ. nothing. D. 1705.
21. Richard Taylor. Pavement, Moorfields: Ap. 1700. Publ. several vols., theological and practical. D. about 1721.
22. Francis Glascock. Hanover St., Long Acre: Ap. 1705. D. 1706. His *Treatise on the Two Covenants* is posthumous. [See *Trans.* iii, 284.]
23. John Collins, Jun. Lime Street (Paved Alley): Ap. 1706. He published nothing. D. 1714.
24. Thomas Ridgley, D.D. Three Cranes, and tutor in the Fund Board Academy: Ap. 1706. Author of *A Body of Divinity* and other doctrinal treatises. D. 1734.
25. Thomas Bradbury. Fetter Lane, aftwd. New Court: Ap. 1712. His works are mostly sermons, of which *The Mystery of Godliness* contains 61; *The Power of Christ over Plagues and Healths*, 10; *Concerning Offences*, 28 preached at *Pinners' Hall*; also several on the 5th November. D. 1759.
26. Robert Bragge. Lime Street (Paved Alley): Ap. 1714. Author of *Essay concerning the Soul of Man*, and *Church Discipline in Primitive Times*. D. 1738.
27. John Foxon. Girdlers' Hall: Ap. 1717. Not known as an author. D. 1723.

28. Thomas Hall. Moorfields : Ap. 1762. Only published a few sermons. D. 1762.
29. John Hubbard. Stepney, and tutor for King's Head Society : Ap. 1726. No publications mentioned. D. 1743.
30. John Hurriou. Hare Court : Ap. 1727. His principal works are *The Knowledge of Christ and Him Crucified*, *The Scripture Doctrine of the Holy Spirit*, and two vols. of *Pinner's Hall sermons*. D. 1731.
31. Peter Goodwin. Rope-Makers' Alley ; formerly Yarmouth : Ap. 1732. Only published a few sermons. D. 1747.
32. John Guyse, D.D. New Broad Street ; formerly Hertford. Ap. 1734. Author of *The Practical Expositor*—(a paraphrase on the New Testament), and several controversial works. D. 1761.
33. Richard Rawlin. Fetter Lane : Ap. 1738. His chief publication is *Christ the Righteousness of His People*, delivered in several lectures at Pinner's Hall. D. 1757.
34. Zephaniah Marryat, D.D. Zoar Chapel, Southwark ; and tutor at Plasterers' Hall, on the Union of the Fund Board and King's Head Society Academies : Ap. 1743. Not a prolific author ; we have only met with two small treatises relating to the Salters' Hall controversy. D. 1754.
35. William King, D.D. Hare Court : Ap. 1748. He never appeared in print. D. 1769.
36. Samuel Pike. Three Cranes : Ap. 1754. Joint author with Samuel Hayward of *Religious Cases of Conscience answered in an Evangelical Manner*. A correspondence between him and Robert Sandeman ended in his adopting the peculiar views of the latter, and in his exclusion from the lectureship in 1759. [See also *Trans.* iv, 230.] D. 1773.
37. Samuel Brewer. Stepney ; and tutor at Mile End : Ap. 1758. Not conspicuous as an author. D. 1796.
38. John Conder, D.D. Pavement, Moorfields ; and tutor at Mile End : Ap. 1750. Publications not important. D. 1793.
39. Richard Winter, D.D. New Court : Ap. 1759. Author of numerous sermons, including nine on the "70 weeks" of Daniel's prophecy. D. 1799.
40. Thos. Gibbons, D.D. Haberdashers' Hall ; and tutor at Mile End (aftwd. Homerton) : Ap. 1761. Author of *Memoirs of Rev. Isaac Watts*, many sermons, hymns, etc. D. 1785.
41. James Webb. Fetter Lane : Ap. 1762. Printed only one sermon, but a vol. of sermons was published posthumously. D. 1782.
42. Joseph Barber. Founders' Hall, aftwd. Aldermanbury

- Postern; and tutor at Mile End: Ap. 1769. His only publications were funeral and occasional sermons. Retired 1809, D. 1810.
43. William Bennet. Pavement, Moorfields: Ap. 1781. Principal works, *Memoirs of Mrs. Grace Bennet* (Wesley's Grace Murray), *The Gospel Constitution*, and some controversial tracts on the Origin of Evil. Ret. 1793, D. 1821.
 44. Daniel Fisher, D.D. President of Homerton Academy. Ap. 1782. No publications of importance. Ret. 1803, D. 1807.
 45. Benjamin Davies, D.D. Fetter Lane, and tutor at Homerton: Ap. 1785. Published only a few occasional sermons. Ret. 1795, D. 1817.
 46. John Clayton. King's Weigh House: Ap. 1793. Published various sermons and pamphlets, some of which excited controversy. D. 1843.
 47. John Goode. White's Row, Spitalfields: Ap. 1795. No publications known. D. 1831.
 48. George Ford. Stepney: Ap. 1796. No recorded publications. D. 1821.
 49. John Humphreys, LL.D. Union St., Southwark: Ap. 1799. Published nothing of importance. Ret. ?¹ D. 1837.
 50. George Burder. Fetter Lane, formerly Coventry: Ap. 1806. One of the founders of the Missionary Society. Author of *Cottage, Village, and Sea Sermons*; *Sermons to the Aged*; *Missionary Anecdotes*, etc. Editor of a Hymn Book which reached a 28th edition. D. 1832.
 51. Robert Winter, D.D. New Court: Ap. 1809. Author of *Pastoral Letters on Nonconformity*, numerous sermons, etc. D. 1833.
 52. John Pye Smith, D.D., F.R.S., etc. President of Homerton College: Ap. 1821. Of his numerous works the most important were *Scripture Testimony to the Messiah* and *Relation between Scripture and some parts of Geological Science*. His *First Lines of Christian Theology* was posthumous. D. 1851.
 53. Joseph Fletcher, D.D., Stepney: Ap. 1829. Author of various tracts, lectures, and sermons. D. 1843.
 54. Henry Foster Burder, D.D. Hackney: Ap. 1829. Author of *Lectures on the Pleasures and Essentials of Religion*, *Mental Discipline*; *Law of the Sabbath*, etc. D. 1864.
 55. George Clayton. Walworth: Ap. 1831. Publications mostly sermons. D. 1862.
 56. Thomas Binney, LL.D. King's Weigh House: Ap. 1833. Works, above 40 titles, some controversial, besides two vols. of sermons. The most notable are *Dissent not*

¹ Date of retirement not given in available records.

- Schism, Micah the Priest-maker, Is it Possible to Make the Best of Both Worlds; Money; Maidens and Mothers*, etc. Ret. 1872, D. 1874.
57. Robert Vaughan, D.D. Kensington: Ap. 1842. Works numerous, including *Life and Times of John de Wycliffe; Memorials of the Stuart Dynasty; Revolutions in English History; English Nonconformity*, etc. Ret.? D. 1868.
58. John Blackburn. Pentonville: Ap. 1843. Not a prolific writer. D. 1855.
59. Samuel B. Bergne. Poultry Chapel: Ap. 1850. Writings not important. Ret.? D. 1880.
60. Samuel Martin. Westminster: Ap. 1857. Publications mostly sermons. Ret. 1875, D. 1878.
61. James Spence, D.D. Poultry Chapel: Ap. 1854. Author of *The Intercessory Prayer of Our Lord, Sunday Mornings with my Flock*, etc. Ret. 1871, D. 1876.
62. James Sherman. Surrey Chapel: Ap. 1856. Published *Memoir of Mrs. Sherman, The Christian's Death and Heaven*, various sermons, etc. D. 1862.
63. Thomas W. Aveling, D.D. Kingsland: Ap. 1856. His chief work is *Memoirs of the Clayton Family*. D. 1884.
64. Alexander Raleigh, D.D. Canonbury: Ap. 1862. Author of volumes on Jonah and Esther, and several vols. of sermons, *Quiet Resting-places* being the most popular. D. 1880.
65. Chr. Newman Hall, LL.B., D.D. Surrey Chapel; aftwd. Christ Church: Ap. 1863. Works, about 20 titles, 3 of them poetical, including *A Practical Meditation on the Lord's Prayer* and *The Land of the Forum and the Vatican*. Of his tract *Come to Jesus* over a million copies were circulated. His Autobiography is notable for its strange omissions. D. 1902.
66. James Baldwin Brown, B.A. Claylands: Ap. 1871. His works include *The Divine Life in Man; The Soul's Exodus and Pilgrimage; The Higher Life*, etc. D. 1884.
67. John Davies, late Hackney Gravel Pits: Ap. 1872. Ret. 1874, D. 1894.
68. Henry Allon, DD. Islington, Union Chapel: Ap. 1876. Publications, mostly sermons, also *Memoir of Rev. Jas. Sherman*. D. 1892.
69. John Kennedy, D.D. Stepney. Ap. 1878. His numerous works include *A Popular Handbook of Christian Evidences, Memoirs of John Morrison, D.D., Daniel the Prophet from a Christian Standpoint*, An Autobiography, etc. Ret. 1896, D. 1900.
70. Edward White. Kentish Town: Ap. 1880. Best known by his *Life in Christ only* and *Mystery of Growth*; editor of *The Christian Spectator*. Ret. 1893, D. 1898.

71. James Guinness Rogers, D.D. Clapham : Ap. 1884. His writings are mostly controversial. Ret. 1909, D. 1911.
72. J. Morlais Jones. Paddington Chapel : Ap. 1884. Published little except *A Cup of Cold Water, and other sermons*. Ret. 1886, D. 1905.
73. Alfred Rowland, LL.B., D.D. Crouch End : Ap. 1888. Author of an *Exposition of 1 Timothy*, and some vols. of sermons.
74. Alfred Cave, D.D. Principal of Hackney College : Ap. 1893. Author of *An Introduction to Theology, The Scripture Doctrine of Sacrifice*, etc. Ret. 1895, D. 1900.
75. James Morgan Gibbon. Stamford Hill : Ap. 1894. Author of an *Exposition on Galatians*, and several vols. of sermons.
76. Wm. Hardy Harwood. Islington, Union Chapel : Ap. 1895. Author of a *Life of Dr. H. Allon*.
77. Alfred E. Garvie, D.D. President of New College : Ap. 1909. Author of *The Ritschlian Theory, Studies in the Inner Life of Jesus*, etc.
78. Thomas Yates. Allen Street, Kensington : Ap. 1917.
79. George E. Darlaston, M.A., Crouch End : Ap. 1917.

Considering that since 1672 not less than 5,000 discourses must have been delivered as *Merchants' Lectures*, it is somewhat surprising that so few of them have taken a permanent place in our theological literature. No doubt many of the divines above named have embodied the substance of their addresses in their published works : but it is doubtful if as many as a score of volumes have been made up of avowed "Pinner's Hall" or "Merchants'" Lectures.

As to the topics dealt with, they have been mostly of the ordinary sermonic type. Some, especially during the twenty years following the Revolution, have been controversial, others apologetic ; a few casuistical ; but these have usually dealt rather with such "cases of conscience" as deal with the doubts and fears of the inner life than with disputable questions of outward conduct. Where criticism has been ventured on it has mostly been of the conservative order. Of late, however, the tendency has been in the direction of greater freedom.

The London Itinerant Society

ON 8th December, 1796, about ten persons, ministers and others, met in the schoolroom of Surrey Chapel to consider the most effective means of propagating the Gospel in the towns and villages within twenty miles of London. It was unanimously agreed that a Society for sending itinerant preachers, instituting Sunday Schools, visiting the sick, and relieving the poor in the area specified was a desirable object. Some subscriptions were then promised; and within a few months schools were opened and preaching commenced at *Norwood*, *Lewisham*, and *Sydenham*. It was resolved "that every means should be used to obtain the patronage and support of the most respectable and zealous men, as Directors of the (proposed) Society."

As a result of these efforts, a meeting was held at the "Castle and Falcon," Aldersgate Street, on 14th July, 1797, Mr. David Kincaid, of Kingsland Road, in the chair. The steps which had already been taken were narrated, a plan for future management was read and approved, and the meeting resolved itself into a Society for the purpose above indicated. A provisional committee of 12 was nominated, who were to revise the plan, co-opt 19 other members of Committee, and convene another meeting to consider the plan as revised.

A General Meeting was held at the "Castle and Falcon" on 18th August, John Rainer, Esq., in the chair, when the revised plan was agreed to as follows:—

1. This Society shall be called the London Itinerant Society.
2. Its principal design is to spread the knowledge of Christ and His Salvation in the villages which are destitute of the Gospel within about *ten* miles of London, by opening Sunday Schools and prayer-meetings, by catechizing children, by visiting and relieving the sick and afflicted, by reading sermons, by distributing religious tracts, and by preaching in or out of doors as occasion may offer.
3. The Funds of the Society shall be supplied by monthly or annual subscriptions, by donations and collections.
4. Any person subscribing sixpence per month and upwards

shall be considered a member; and every person presenting to the Society a donation of ten guineas or more shall be constituted a member for life.

5. A Treasurer, Secretary, and Committee shall be annually chosen.

6. The whole direction of the operations of the Society shall be vested in a Committee consisting of 31 members, seven of whom shall be ministers.

7. No person shall be accepted by the Committee to be employed in public exercises, who has not previously belonged to some Christian Society for the space of twelve months, or who cannot produce satisfactory testimony of his character.

8. Monthly meetings of the Committee shall be held at the "Castle and Falcon," Aldersgate Street, on the third Friday of every month, at six o'clock in the evening; and any members of the Committee present at a quarter of an hour after the time appointed for meeting may proceed to business.

9. A General Meeting of the Society shall be held annually on the third Friday in January at the above place, at five o'clock in the evening, and oftener if necessary.

10. That a sermon be annually preached before the Society.

It was further resolved that at the annual meeting ten members of the Committee shall retire by lot, the number to be made up by ballot.¹

James Neale, Esq., was requested to undertake the office of Treasurer, and Rev. William Francis Platt that of Secretary. The Committee was made up as follows:—

Original Nominees.—Revs. Messrs. Wilks, Eyre, Bryson, and Platt; Messrs. Kincaid, Youl, Clark, Flint, Carter, Medley, Newsom, and John Smith.

Co-opted.—Revs. Barker, Durant, Williams, and Hill; Messrs. Warner, Hoppus, Howard, Densham, Briggs, Brooks, Clarke, Cole, Lovell, Neale, Rainer, Wm. Smith, Whitaker, Yockney, and Thos. Wilson.

At a meeting of Committee on 1st September two Sub-committees, each of seven persons, were appointed: one for examinations, to meet monthly, and inquire into the experience, morality, and talent of persons desirous of being employed in the service of the Society; the other to meet weekly and appoint the rounds of the various preachers and teachers: this latter to continue in office three months. It was reported that the work at *Lewisham* prospered beyond all expectation, and that the people there desired the building of a chapel, for which a site was available, but were unwilling to take any steps without the approval

¹ This rule was afterwards altered; the Committee was made up to 40, the ten who made fewest attendances in the year retiring, and not being eligible for re-election. The number was subsequently reduced to 20.

and encouragement of the Society. This led to some debate, but at a later meeting it was resolved: "That it is not inconsistent with the principles of this Society to erect buildings for the worship of God, where absolute necessity may require them." Ultimately the Society agreed to co-operate with the people at Lewisham in building a chapel there—a decision which produced awkward complications.

In November the Committee for Examinations reported that they had approved of nine preachers and fourteen teachers, and that others had offered their services. During the first half-year of the Society's existence we find in the minute-book several notices of purchases of tracts, of 200 of Watts's hymns and of his Catechism, donations of tracts, and a grant of Bibles and other books from the Sunday School Society. The first of a long series of annual sermons was preached in Surrey Chapel on the third Sunday in January 1798, by Rev. Rowland Hill, the preachers and teachers participating in the Lord's Supper.

In February 1798 an unsuccessful attempt was made to obtain possession of a disused meeting-house *between Morilake and East Sheen*. About the same time the question was raised whether persons holding Baptist opinions were eligible as preachers, etc., in connection with the Society. After a month's consideration it was resolved: "That in the opinion of this Committee the Pædobaptists and Antipædobaptists can best serve the general interest of our Lord Jesus Christ by preaching and teaching among the societies of their own persuasion."

In the summer of the same year a meeting was commenced on Tuesday evenings for assisting teachers and preachers in their mental improvement, correcting educational deficiencies, etc. But after two years and a quarter it was discontinued, owing to the very small number of attendants.

On 17th August, 1798, it was represented to the Society that some of the preachers had been called before local magistrates, who had treated them with becoming courtesy, but advised them to discontinue preaching in the open air, as it was open to question whether (at that time) the practice was lawful.

On 21st December, 1798, it was reported to the General Committee that the people at some of the preaching stations were desirous of having the Lord's Supper ministered among them. The suggestion was favourably received, and it was referred to the Committee of Examination to select one or two of the itinerants who should be ordained for this especial purpose. But it does not appear that anything further was done in the matter till five years later.

The minute-book usually notifies the occupancy of a new station, especially where rent is paid or other expense incurred. But it does not always indicate the *discontinuance* of a station; the

preaching arrangements being in the hands of a Sub-committee, the presentation and approval of whose reports is recorded, without giving particulars. It is not, therefore, possible to give a complete list of all the stations occupied at any one time, or usually to state when a station was relinquished. We may, however, enumerate the several places occupied, in the order in which they appear on the minutes.

Dulwich. Some months before the foundation of the Society, Mr. Youl, one of its original promoters, impressed with the general ignorance and spiritual destitution of this village, began preaching in the open air. When the Society was constituted, it was proposed that this should be one of the stations, and in September, 1797, it was arranged that preaching should be carried on at Dulwich for an experimental term of twelve months. The success was not great, but the preaching was continued for several years. In April, 1809, it was apprehended that the work must be discontinued, as the lease of the house used for the purpose was about to expire, and the ground landlords, the trustees of Dulwich College, had resolved on a clause in all future leases forbidding the use of any part of their property for public worship. It was thereupon proposed to lease a piece of ground at the foot of Herne Hill for the purpose of building a meeting-house; but this project was abandoned when, in September, 1811, the objections of the ground landlords were withdrawn. The station continued to be supplied until 1828 or later, when a project of building a chapel came to nothing. The place ceases to be mentioned in the minutes about 1832.

Norwood (West). This was one of the earliest stations of the Society. It was carried on in the face of various difficulties for at least twelve years. In 1805 a freehold site was bought, on which a chapel was built. This was opened on 18th August, 1806, with sermons by Revs. W. B. Collyer and J. G. Frey. But soon afterwards steps were taken to dispossess the trustees on the ground of defective title. Lengthy negotiations ended in the surrender of the property, for which, however, a moderate compensation was obtained. A temporary meeting-place was also found, and after considerable delay a new copyhold site was secured, on which a school-chapel was built. This was opened with sermons by Revs. John Sibree, of Frome, and W. Chapman on 31st August, 1811. Afterwards the station was supplied by students from Hoxton, and the congregation so increased that by 1820 a larger chapel was necessary. In 1821 Rev. Wm. Low was called to the pastorate, and a succession of pastors has continued until now.

Lewisham. This was also one of the original stations; the Sunday School, commenced in 1797, is traditionally said to have been the first established in Kent. Preaching seems to have begun in co-operation with members of the Christian Society at Greenwich

Tabernacle ; it was carried on in fine weather on Lewisham Green, at other times in a cottage at Lee Bridge. A meeting-house was built on a leasehold site, and the cost was relieved by placing it over a cellar, which a firm of brewers engaged to rent for the whole term of the lease. The opening services were held on 1st October, 1798, Revs. W. Moorhouse, of Huddersfield, and E. Parsons, of Leeds, being the preachers. In a short time a demand was made for rates on an assessment of £30, but legal advice was taken to the effect that rates could only be claimed on the cellar, which was a source of income. Worship was frequently interrupted by ill-disposed persons. In 1799 the offender escaped with a reprimand, because the certificate of registration of the chapel was not at hand, and the preacher was not licensed as the law then required. Further annoyances of the like nature occurred in 1801 and 1805, when a reward was offered for the conviction of the rioters. The first Communion Service was held in July, 1804, Rev. W. Field officiating ; there were about a dozen communicants. In 1813 the congregation had so increased that additional space was needed. On 22nd May, 1816, a census of attendance was taken : Congregation, M. 93, E. 148 ; Scholars, M. 70, A. 80 ; Church Members, 18. Five years later there were symptoms of decline, and we read of "an effort to revive the drooping cause." The Society continued to supply the pulpit till the expiration of the lease in 1822, when a more commodious chapel was built, and placed on the Hackney College trust. For a few months it was supplied by Hackney students ; then Rev. Thos. Timpson was called to the pastorate. Under him and his successors the church at Lewisham has continued to enjoy great prosperity.

Sydenham, the fourth of the original stations, had Nonconformist traditions going back at least as far as 1707 ; but the old congregation had been dispersed, and the meeting-house, being private property, had come into the possession of an episcopal clergyman. In 1797 "a school had been opened, and some one appointed to preach at Sydenham." At first the preaching was in the open air, and the preachers were interrupted by ringing a bell and other annoyances. Then a tent was used, and after a time a cottage was hired. The work was continued in the face of much difficulty, attempts to secure a site for a meeting-house being constantly unsuccessful. On a Sunday in May, 1816, there were 16 scholars and 18 worshippers. But by 1819 a site was obtained, on which a chapel was built, and dedicated on 19th August. The Society continued both to supply the pulpit and to provide teachers for the school till August, 1825, when a Congregational Church was formed of twelve members. For seventeen years longer the Society provided preachers, and the station occasioned much anxiety, largely on financial grounds. At length, however, Rev. A. S. Ray, who had occupied the pulpit for

about a year, was called to the pastorate, and ordained on 6th June, 1843. Since then the church has had varying fortunes, but has now been for many years in a prosperous condition.

Streatham. In December 1797 it was agreed to rent a disused meeting-house at Streatham for an experimental term of one year. The tenancy was renewed from year to year, but without satisfactory results, and the station was finally abandoned in March, 1816.

During the years 1797-8 preaching was commenced at Scotland Green, Wimbledon, Mortlake, Barnes, and Ealing. In the two places last named there had been violent opposition, and the man in whose house meetings were held at Barnes had been much persecuted. But spiritual fruit had been gathered, and in some of the villages a desire had been expressed for the Administration of the Lord's Supper. This desire was represented to the Committee, who resolved that the wish ought to be satisfied, and that one or two of the itinerant preachers should be ordained for that purpose. But the matter was not proceeded with till some years later.

In the course of this year the Society took leave of two of its most energetic workers. Mr. W. Densham accepted a call to the pastorate of a Congregational church at Haslemere, where after a few years his useful ministry was abruptly terminated by a fatal accident. Mr. John Youl, to whose suggestion the origin of the Society is said to have been due, joined the first party of missionaries who visited the South Seas. He was on board the *Duff* when it was captured by a French privateer; he laboured in Tahiti from 1801 to 1807; returning to England he took orders in the Episcopal Church, spent his later years in Tasmania, and died there in 1827.

Of the stations first mentioned in 1798 :—

Scotland Green (near Ponder's End) was undertaken in April, but no further mention of it appears on the minutes, unless perhaps later as Ponder's End.

Barnes. In April a room was engaged and preaching commenced; there was violent opposition, and some downright persecution reported in July; nothing later.

Mortlake. The work of the Society here was highly encouraging. In 1802 an unsuccessful attempt was made to gain possession of an old chapel which had been converted into a dwelling-house. This failing, a leasehold site was obtained, on which a small chapel was built, and opened on 30th May, 1803. It was supplied by the itinerants till about the end of 1813, when Rev. W. Field was called to the pastorate. He ministered there until his death in 1816. Intimate relations continued between the Society and the church at Mortlake; but although the latter was "supplied" from 1816 to 1821, and again from 1827 to 1834, these supplies were arranged by the church, not by the Society. Rev. C. Riggs became

the pastor in 1834, and two years later the old chapel—built about 1718—was recovered, and the newer building converted into cottages. Since then there has been a succession of able ministers, some of eminence; and in 1902, under the pastorate of Rev. E. E. Cleal, a handsome new church was erected.

Wimbledon. In 1798 the Society was invited to send preachers hither, and, encouragement being found in the result of a few experimental visits, the station was definitely adopted—a small grant being made for incidental expenses, owing to the poverty of the people. The work was difficult because of the inconvenience of the only room that could be hired and the impossibility of obtaining at a reasonable price a plot of ground on which to place a building. In 1812, however, arrangements were made for the erection of a chapel to be leased to the Society. This was carried into effect, and the chapel was opened on 17th August in that year. It was bought for the Society in 1819, the tenure being understood to be copyhold. Most of the references to this station have to do with the need of assistance to the Sunday School, grants of books, deficiency of teachers, etc., or with repairs to the building, disputes about fences and about a right of way, etc. But a few points are worth noting. In October 1823 the Dean of Westminster, who evidently had some authority in the parish, forbade the children to attend the Mission Sunday School, which was thereby reduced to 11 children. It was therefore resolved to hold services morning and afternoon and close the school unless local teachers could be found. In September 1836 the Secretary was directed to confer with neighbouring ministers about dispensing the Lord's Supper in the chapel. A year or two later it was deemed necessary to inquire into the actual tenure of the property. In March 1841 dissatisfaction is expressed at the distribution of Chartist tracts at a temperance meeting. In December 1844 the chapel was thoroughly repaired at a cost of £178. In 1847 the services were well attended, often not a seat vacant. The Sunday School numbered about 80; the superintendent had held that post for 25 years. Here the minutes cease, but the Congregational Year Books show that the station was "supplied" till 1867, then attended to for three or four years by New College students, and finally closed. There seems to have been some dispute between the deacons or trustees and the ground landlord or lord of the manor, which ended in the property being surrendered in consideration of a sum of money. This was banked by the senior deacon, and formed part of the purchase price of the land on which Worple Road Church was built, thus linking the present church with that which grew out of the work of the Itinerant Society.

Ealing. Here, from the first, was a large attendance and much opposition; "but the work of the Lord appeared to prosper." In

September 1801 there was riotous conduct—stone throwing, battering of shutters, etc. The Society prosecuted the ringleaders, who tendered a written confession and apology, and were thereupon dismissed on payment of costs. In May 1802 it was proposed to build a chapel, but the suggestion was premature. In December 1805 rioting was renewed; nevertheless, the work prospered, and in September 1809 it was reported that there was “much encouragement. Some respectable persons in the neighbourhood would readily promote the building of a place of worship.” In June 1813 it was reported that an offer had been made of a piece of ground and a sum of money to build a chapel thereon; but the minutes do not inform us why the project did not take effect. About this time there was some discussion whether Ealing should continue to be supplied by this Society or by another called “The Village Itinerancy.” In May 1816 however, we find reported an attendance at Ealing of 60 in the morning, 100 in the evening, 30 at a prayer-meeting, and 110 Sunday scholars. Half a year later the numbers were diminished, but there were 19 communicants. The services were still held in a rented room, and the rent was deemed excessive. At length, in November 1819 the Society engaged to raise £100 towards the cost of a chapel if it were built and put in trust. In December 1821 it was resolved that the Society would continue to send preachers if desired, but expenses must be met locally. Finally it was reported in November 1822 that the long-talked-of chapel had been actually built. The only subsequent references to Ealing are as to occasional sermons.

The Annual Sermon to the Society was preached in 1799 by Rev. M. Wilks at Tottenham Court Road, and in 1800 by Rev. John Eyre in Islington Chapel. The records for these two years are largely occupied with matters of finance; though the services of preachers and teachers were all gratuitous, there were incidental expenses, and it was difficult to make income balance expenditure. During these years about eight new stations were undertaken; a proposal to establish one at *Datchet* being declined on account of the distance—24 miles from London.

Enfield Highway is first mentioned in February 1799. A Mr. Dagnal offered to the Society the use of his house without charge. He was a poor man, and in accepting his offer the Committee voted him a gratuity of two guineas. A room was also obtained for use as a school, which by April 1800 was overcrowded with from 100 to 120 children, so that more space was necessary. The preaching station and school were carried on by the Society till 1817, when a Rev. Mr. Hatch, minister of a neighbouring chapel, offered to take over the school, etc. This proposal was adopted in committee by the casting vote of the chairman, and strongly resented by the teachers, who

declared their intention of carrying on the school apart from the Society.

Garrell (the name, now almost obsolete, of a hamlet between Wandsworth and Tooting). In June, 1799, it was reported that a room had been rented at 2s. a week, where a school had been gathered of 60 or 70 children—"nearly all the children in the village." In 1808 a larger meeting-place was required, and in 1809 a resident presented five guineas to the Society "for the benefit he had seen resulting from the exertions of the Society, especially among the children." In 1815 it was suggested that J. Tozer, of Tooting, or Jas. Elvey, of Wandsworth, might take charge of the station. The former seems to have accepted the proposal, but he died in 1822, and the work fell again on the Society. In the spring of 1824, however, the station was discontinued, though worship appears still to have been carried on under local management.

Putney. A room was opened here in 1799 by the Surrey Mission; in July of that year the Itinerant Society made proposals for co-operation, which do not seem to have had any result.

Acton. In July 1799 a room was rented for an experimental term of three months, and the results appeared to warrant a continuance of the work. After six years the aspect of affairs was represented as "depressed and discouraging"; but a copyhold site was offered for building a chapel. In June 1816 the attendance was only 15 in the morning and 50 in the evening, with a school of 12 or 14 children; however, a committee was formed to try if it were possible to raise funds for building. The Society was at that time so burdened with debt, that it was compelled, reluctantly, to refuse assistance. In October the ground was bought, the estimated cost of a sufficient meeting-house was £350, half of which the people at Acton were ready to guarantee if the Society would provide the other half. In some unexplained way the necessary funds were raised, and the chapel was opened on 1st July 1817, and by October the morning congregation had increased to 70 and the evening to 150. Collections were made at most, if not all, of the Society's stations towards the Acton Building Fund. In the summer of 1821 the supply of the pulpit was arranged locally. The Society deemed it proper to arrange for the dispensation of the Sacraments, but what was done the minutes do not explain. A Congregational Church was constituted in 1823. The assistance of the Society in building the chapel at Acton was given on condition that the place should be properly put in trust, but owing to the obstinacy of one interested person, it was about twelve years before this could be effected! Nevertheless, Acton is to-day the seat of a large and flourishing Congregational Church, which has grown out of the work initiated by the Itinerant Society.

Bromley. A chapel had been built here in 1788, and a Congregational Church constituted in June 1790. The minister having resigned, and the church being in difficulties, application was made to the Itinerant Society for aid. Preachers were sent, but for two years there were difficulties and misunderstandings, debts were incurred for meeting which little or nothing was done locally; and more than once notice was given, that unless certain arrangements were made the Society would cease to supply the pulpit. There were long discussions as to the terms on which the Society would take over the lease of the chapel. About July 1801 the situation was cleared by the resignation of some trustees, and the appointment of others nominated by the Society.

In 1801, and again in 1804, expense was incurred owing to disturbances caused by disorderly persons during the time of worship. But from this time there were appreciable signs of progress; and in 1816 the congregations were reported as M. 55, E. 130, prayer-meeting 10, church members, 18, Sunday scholars 35. Until 1821, not only pulpit supplies, but teachers were sent by the Society, but thenceforward the latter were provided locally. About that time Rev. Mr. Browning, one of the Society's preachers, took up his residence at Bromley; and the church undertook the conduct of their own affairs under his superintendence. He died in 1827, and a similar arrangement was made with Rev. W. Holland, who took charge from 21 July 1828. As the lease of the site expired at the end of 1829, a new building became necessary, toward the cost of which members and friends of the Society collected £314. But there were still difficulties and cross purposes, until Mr. John Bromley—who for many years had preached almost every Sunday at one or other of the Society's stations, gave a freehold site on which a chapel was erected. This was dedicated on 1st December, 1835. But there were still disagreements, and a secession led to the opening of another chapel in January 1837. To this the Society was requested to send preachers, which was done for a few months, after which all further responsibility was declined. In May 1839 Rev. George Verrall was ordained to the pastorate of the original church, to which he ministered efficiently for twenty years. Under him and his successors the church has continued to prosper, and it is now one of the strongest churches in the southern suburbs.

Southend (between Lewisham and Bromley). In February 1800 an offer of a room in this hamlet was reported, and it was agreed to adopt it as a station experimentally for twelve months. In June 1804 it was reported that the room was found to be too small, and negotiations were entered into for a larger place, but with what success does not appear, nor how long the station continued to be supplied.

Merton. In April 1800 a request was received for preachers, the people engaging to defray all expenses. The station was taken for a probationary term of six months. It so prospered that in 1811 a gentleman offered to raise £500 for the building of a chapel. This project did not take effect, but in 1816 the house hitherto used was altered and adapted as a regular meeting-house, and a new front erected. In 1818 a Congregational Church was constituted of 45 members. Rev. A. Erlebach was called to the pastorate, and remained 16 years. A new and larger chapel was opened in 1840. There was a succession of ministers till 1904, when the church was in a very feeble condition. It was then adopted as a branch or mission by the church at Worple Road, Wimbledon, and the chapel refitted as a modern mission hall. This arrangement still continues.

Ponder's End. A Congregational Church in this village is said to have originated as far back as 1745. The pulpit being vacant in 1800, it was for a time supplied by the Society, which also conducted a school. In 1801 there is a note of a gratuity to the chapel-keeper, and in 1804 of thanks to the minister of Edmonton for co-operation. In February 1805 it is recorded that, a new minister having been appointed, the Society had ceased to send preachers to Ponder's End, but it was not till November 1813 that the Society handed over the management of the school to the local pastor.

In March 1801 the Society complied with a request of Rev. E. J. Jones to take under its patronage the school connected with Islington Chapel. In September the Society found it inexpedient to take over an offered room at *Leytonstone*, where work had been done by the Hoxton itinerants.

During the year 1801 much annoyance was caused by disorderly persons at various stations, especially *Lewisham*, *Ealing*, *Bromley*, and *Ponder's End*. It was resolved to post at the doors of the meeting-places printed extracts of those sections of the *Toleration Act* which impose penalties on such offenders; and at *Lewisham* a reward was offered for evidence leading to conviction. Some prosecutions took place, usually with satisfactory results.

At the annual meeting in January 1802 it was stated that the aggregate congregations at the several preaching-places amounted to about 1,000 persons; and there were 700 children in the Society's schools. It was thought that these numbers were restricted by the facts that some of the preaching-rooms were incommodious, or inconveniently situated, or rented from irreligious persons who had no interest in the aims of the Society; and that meeting-houses should be built if adequate funds could be raised.

In June 1803 a Mrs. Compigne proposed to the Society to take over a Sunday School which she had commenced in *Pentonville*.

Discussions on the subject went on from time to time till near the end of 1805; but the minutes do not make clear what was finally decided.

In November 1803 the question was revived as to ordaining one of the itinerants, that he might dispense the Sacraments where desired. It was unanimously agreed that the most proper person for this purpose was Mr. W. Field. That gentleman took several months to consider the proposal, and it was arranged that the ordination should not be in public. It took place privately, in the vestry of Hollywell Mount Chapel, on 4th April 1804. For nearly ten years Mr. Field served the Society as an itinerant presbyter, until he was called to the pastorate at Mortlake. At the commencement of 1805 he was accustomed to administer the Holy Communion in six places, the number of communicants being 107.

In December 1805 there was a public Thanksgiving for the Victory at Trafalgar, and in many churches collections were taken for a "Patriotic Fund." Collections at the Society's stations at Lewisham, Mortlake, Streatham, and Norwood produced a total of £6 17s. 6d., which was duly paid into the fund. In the same month it was resolved that quarterly collections should be made at all the stations. These were 15 in number.

During the summer of 1806 negotiations took place with a view to amalgamation with the Hoxton Itinerant Society; but ultimately the proposal was declined.

In 1807 attention was called to the fact that Rule 7—requiring that no person should be employed in public exercises who had not been a Church member for twelve months—had not been strictly adhered to. The rule was modified, so that such a person, if of blameless character, might be employed for not more than six months.

The Report in January 1808 stated that the Society had 11 preachers ministering to 1100 hearers, of whom 110 were communicants. The teachers numbered 30, but the number of Sunday scholars had fallen to 600. In March of this year a small Subcommittee was appointed to select among the Society's preachers a suitable person to be ordained as colleague with Rev. W. Field. The Committee recommended Messrs. Howard and Warner; and on 5th May these gentleman were ordained at Silver Street Chapel "with the usual solemnities."

In February 1809 a request was made to furnish preachers for a congregation at *Harrow*, which for some reason the Hackney Academy was unable to supply. A temporary arrangement was made, which lasted till November, when it was found necessary to discontinue the supplies: at the same time proposals from *Isleworth* and *Halfway Street* (near Sidcup) were declined "as being beyond the bounds of the Institution." In January 1811

a considerable revision was made of the original rules, and inducements were offered to some of the stations to undertake the conduct of their own affairs. A little later in the year a plan was adopted for supplying shoes to poor children attending the Schools. At this time it had become customary to hold a *quarterly* communion service, in which the preachers and teachers participated. Considerable space in the minutes is occupied with arrangements for these services. During this spring the Society was requested to take charge of a vacant chapel in *Camberwell*: but a subcommittee to which the question was referred reported "that it did not appear to them consistent with the constitution of the society to take the place at *Camberwell*, as the Gospel is preached in various places in the neighbourhood." This year is memorable for the frustration of Lord Sidmouth's attempt to restrict the liberties of itinerant and lay preachers. In June it was resolved to make collections in all the stations toward the expense incurred in resisting his Bill: eleven such collections produced a total of £30 10s. 3d.

In August 1812 it was ordered that the Licences of the several preaching-places should be examined with a view to their being placed in safe custody. During this autumn there were disturbances at Acton, Wimbledon, and Enfield Highway. In repressing these the Society had the willing co-operation of the Protestant Society for the Protection of Religious Liberty; and an abstract of the Laws against Disturbers of Public Worship was printed and circulated. In December two stations—*Barking Side* and *Woodford Bridge*—hitherto supplied by an itinerant society connected with Sion Chapel were taken in hand. The latter of these was relinquished in 1822, a Wesleyan chapel having been built in the village.

Early in 1814 the Treasurer, Jas. Neale, Esq. died; and his place was taken by his son Benjamin Neale, who had for some time assisted him in that office. At the beginning of the next year, that gentleman being compelled by illness to decline reelection, the treasurership was undertaken by Andrew Birth, Esq.

Mr. Field having become settled pastor at Mortlake, and Mr. Howard being disabled by illness, a Subcommittee was appointed to select one or more of the preachers for Ordination. Messrs. Bromley and Reid were selected; but both declined, and nothing more was done in the matter.

The annual meeting in January 1815 was doubly interesting from the presence of Mr. John Youl, the originator of the Society, who had now spent several years as a missionary in the Society Islands. A little later a Subcommittee, appointed to look into the spiritual condition of the various stations, proposed a set of rules according to which each of the villages should be committed to the spiritual oversight of one of the itinerants,

who would thus hold a quasi-pastoral relation to the congregation. Whether this was adopted at any general meeting is not stated.

About this time the Society seems to have had considerable difficulty about finance ; in many years normal income failed to meet normal expenditure, and the deficit was not always met by legacies and special donations. In 1814 the Society was very unwillingly involved in legal proceedings about a disputed legacy.

Endeavours were made in the course of the year 1814 to get several of the stations taken over by neighbouring ministers, but without much success. One difficulty was met by the offer of Rev. Geo. Evans to visit the various villages to dispense the Sacraments. There are several lacunæ in the minutes for 1816 and 1817, but we gather that it was a time of difficulty. Much space is taken up with financial matters, and with negotiations about the use of chapels for special sermons and collections. We read of an unsuccessful effort to obtain a preaching-room at *Leytonstone*, and of an experimental supply for a month only at *East Ham*. There was some negotiation about supplying a station at *Roe-hampton*, but it does not seem to have taken effect. A resolution at the Annual Meeting of 1816 recommended the establishment of a school for adults, to teach reading and writing, at each of the villages. This was done at *Barking Side* ; but at other places the difficulties were insuperable.

In March or April 1817 a school was commenced at *Wandsworth Common* ; preaching soon followed ; and in half a year's time there were 30 scholars and a like number of adult worshippers. In July 1817 a proposal was made to build a chapel at *Barking Side* : this was successfully carried out, and the chapel was opened in June or July 1818.

(To be continued)

An Unpublished Letter of Oliver Heywood

IN Hunter's *Life of Heywood*, pp. 367-9, some account is given of one Richard Dugdil or Dugdale, of Surey (a hamlet in the parish of Whalley,) who was believed to be "possessed." Several meetings of ministers were held, about September, 1689, to pray for his deliverance; which, it is said, was at last happily effected. Some years later Thomas Jollie published a narrative of the case, under the title *The Surey Demoniac*, to which Zachary Taylor replied under the title *The Surey Impostor*, insinuating, not that Dugdil was an impostor, but that the ministers were impostors in claiming that the cure had been effected through their prayers. Hunter, of course, rationalizes the whole business.

Among the Birch MSS. in the British Museum (No. 4276), is an original letter of Heywood to Jollie, referring to the case. It is undated: but as Jollie's book is alluded to as submitted for Heywood's criticism, apparently before publication, it may be safely assigned to 1697. Unfortunately it is badly torn and worn, so that some words are missing, and others illegible, or only to be guessed at. But as it is not mentioned by either of Heywood's biographers—Fawcett, Slate, or Hunter—it seems worth while to print it word for word, with all its deficiencies.

"As to the book on the Surey Demoniac, I think in the main it's well. . . . There will be defects in all human attempts and achievements; I shall be glad it may be mended, secundo cogitationes &c. There is one thing I am something hesitating in, in a discourse with the demon I see and read . . . in the substance of the narrative to prove the lawfulness of it; but I meet with a small piece of Dr. Hall's Practical Cases of Conscience, wherein he opposeth it. I had put something at the end of my sermon, but tore it out lest it should re . . . he saith doubtless to hold any fair terms of commerce or peace, much more . . . or familiarity with them was no better than to profess ourselves . . . we therefore (?) are wont by our silence to signify our heart burnings . . . person (in that we abide not with speak to those whom we hate) so . . . carry

ourselves towards evil spirits. And if they begin with us, as the . . . serpent with Eve, as that onset was unsafe, so may ours :—(1) because Scr . . . within us, but had none in them: (2) The fort that yields to partly is . . . (3) They are too crafty for us to deal withall. (4) They have great adv . . . in nature, they are spiritual wickedness, we flesh and blood; and in duration . . . or being but of yesterday, they coetaneous with the world and time . . . tell me that our Saviour himself interchanged some speeches with the . . . he ejected, it is easily answered that this act of his was never in . . . imitation since his omnipotence was no way obnoxious to this malice . . . weakness . . . if it be said that Paul spake to the pythonesse, Acts 16 : 18, I . . . word of authority I command thee in the name of Jesus Christ to come out . . . Such power now I think none will arrogate to themselves which Christ gave . . . Mark 16 : 17, 18. I need not mention Père Cotten that had provided . . . 50 questions to ask a demoniac. This will be censured for ungrounded sus . . . [*unintelligible*] fond curiosity as in [*??*] *Lessines licitum est peti . . . diabolo ut nocem desinat*: but what if hatred and abhorring be exp . . . nt in talking with him. I must confess that mitigates the matter . . . may be danger to bystanders 2 yea to ourselves, and 3 the latter . . . course is . . . the Lord as Paul in a later case, who prayed thrice and received a gracious . . . 2 Cor. 12 : 7, 8, 9. Yet he had power to eject evil spirits: but *επέχης* I . . . judgment of my brethren in this case, and if you and other think it ma . . . I am glad that there is such pungent and convincing proofs and tests . . . in confirmation of the Relation; there are notable things in it, many . . . parellel with John Wilson of Stopford, dispossessed upon my relatives . . . but my first wife gave me some account of it: instances great store . . . produced by Mr. Glanvil, Mr. Baxter, Mr. Mather, enow to silence the atheists . . . of the present day. Goe on, dear brother, be not discouraged by men's att . . . your testimony, and God will be with you, since you seek not private . . . publick good, not credit to yourself, but profit to many. Such m . . . censure and scorn: but how can they prove negation after and against you . . . are now going off the stage. My dear brother Mr. Nathaniel Vincent is . . . you are more at ease. I bless God I am better than I have been, but . . . an Exit if you come into Yorkshire, I pray we may see you and give . . . I sent your loving and . . . brother in law My nephew Nath. Heywood is with me. He tells me Mr. Taylor of Wigan is writing against this book, and wills . . . to prove it a cheat, and that Rich. Dugdill was trained up upon a popish design. I give you the hint that . . ."

State Prayers—The Niblock Collection

(Continued from p. 254.)

(IV) *A Form of Prayer to be used in London on the 15th and elsewhere on the 22nd January 1661-2, being the days appointed for a General Fast, "for the averting those Sicknesses and Diseases, that Dearth and Scarcity, which justly may be feared from the Unseasonableness of the Weather."*

Collect.—O Lord God, in whom we live, and move, and have our being; thou hast preserved us hitherto, and held our souls in life; yet givest us cause to fear, by this unseasonable weather, that Sickness and Mortality may ere long take us away: we therefore humbly beseech thee that thou wouldst send us such wholesome seasons, that we may continue in health and strength and safety, and use them to thy honour and glory through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

[*In the Litany, after "We humbly beseech thee, etc."*]:—

Almighty and most merciful Father, we confess that for our many and grievous sins thou mightest most justly punish us with the continuance of unseasonable and unwholesome weather, and thereby bring upon us noisome diseases, dearth, and famine. But we most humbly beseech thee to accept our unfeigned sorrow for all our former transgressions, and grant that we may never hereafter so presume of thy mercy as to despise thy judgements, 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."

(V) *A Form of Common Prayer to be used upon the Thirtieth of January, being the Anniversary Day appointed by Act of Parliament for Fasting and Humiliation. 1661.*

[The Niblock copy is defective. *The Preface, "Dearly beloved Brethren, etc."* proceeds as follows]:—

i. ". . . And although we ought at all times, etc. . . . yet ought we most chiefly so to do when we assemble and meet together as at this time to afflict our souls in the sense of our manifold

iniquities and national provocations of God's heavy wrath and displeasure. Wherefore I pray and beseech you, etc. . . ."

ii. [*The first Collect*] "O Blessed Lord God, who with thy wisdom guidest and orderest all things most suitably to thy justice, and performest thy pleasure always in such manner that thou canst appeal to us whether thy ways are not equal: we thy poor wretched people fall down before thee, acknowledging the justice of thy proceedings with us; and that the amazing judgement which this day befel us (in permitting cruel men, sons of Belial, to execute the fury of their Rebellion upon our late Gracious Sovereign, and to imbrew their hands in the blood of the Lord's Anointed) was drawn down by the great and long provocations of the sins of this nation against thee. For all which we sinful wretches have met together to humble ourselves before thee, imploring thy mercy for the pardon of them all, and that thou wouldst deliver this nation from blood-guiltiness, that of this especially: and turn from us and our posterity all those judgements which we have deserved. 'This we beg for the all-sufficient merits of thy Son, our Saviour Jesus Christ.'"

iii. [*A second Collect*] Blessed God, just and powerful, that did as upon this day give up thy dear Servant, our late dread Sovereign, to the violent outrages of wicked men, to be despihtfully used, and at length murdered by them: which though we could not then behold without the greatest astonishment, nor this day call to mind without horror, yet do we most gratefully remember the Glories of thy Grace which then shined forth in thine Anointed, and how thou wast pleased to own him in the midst of his Enemies and in the hour of Death, and to endue him with such eminent patience, meekness, and Charity, according to the Example of thine own Son exposed to the fury of His Enemies. And albeit thou didst suffer those wicked and cruel men to proceed to so high a pitch of violence against our late Sovereign, as to kill him and take possession of his Throne, yet didst thou in great mercy preserve his son, whose right it was, and whom at length in wonderful providence thou hast brought back, and set on his father's throne; for which we glorifie thy name through Jesus Christ our Saviour. Amen.

[*There was more in the same strain; in one place Charles is called "this thy blessed Martyr." A revised and mitigated form of this Memorial Service continued in use till about fifty years ago. A copy may be seen in any early Victorian Prayer Book.*]