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EDITORIAL

OUR Annual Meeting, on 8th May, was clouded by the absence, through illness, of our esteemed Treasurer, Rev. G. L. Turner, M.A. He was thus unable to read his promised paper, and for the same reason was compelled to relinquish the treasurership of the Society. A hearty vote of sympathy, and thanks for long and valuable services, was passed unanimously. Mr. H. Thacker complied with the earnest request of the meeting to accept the treasurership, at least provisionally; and the other officers were reappointed.

Mr. Turner's paper, which is of great interest, is in the hands of the Editor, who hopes to include it in our *next* issue.

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War conditions led to the abandonment of the usual Autumnal Meetings of the Congregational Union; in consequence there was no Autumnal Meeting of our Historical Society.

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We have recently lost by death several members, two of whom have in time past been acceptable contributors to our pages. We have much interesting matter in hand awaiting publication, and trust that we shall continue to receive the support of our members, and that new subscribers will be forthcoming to fill the numerous vacancies which have been caused by death during the last two years.

* *

On 29th February 1820 Rev. Thomas Woodrow, late a student in the Glasgow Academy, was ordained as pastor of the Congregational Church at Annetwell Street, Carlisle—a church which originated in 1786, and is now located in Lowther Street. Rev. — Ivy of Brampton read a Scripture lesson; Rev. R. Wardlaw, D.D., delivered an introductory discourse; Rev. A. Jack of Whitehaven received the Confession; Rev. Greville Ewing offered the Ordination Prayer; Rev. — Scott of Hexham preached from 1 Thess. 5 c., 12-13 vs., and concluded the service. Little thought any who took part in that ordination that, near a hundred years later, a grandson of the young minister would be received with royal honours, and lodged in royal palaces, as the guest of kings and the constitutional ruler of one of the greatest nations on earth.

Ordination, Primitive and Congregational

[The following essay was written at the suggestion of a distinguished theologian who, however, is in nowise responsible for the contents.]

THE various kinds of ministry given by the Ascended Lord for the edification of the Church are enumerated in Eph. iv. 11 as Apostles, Prophets, Evangelists, Pastors, and Teachers. These were not mutually exclusive, nor necessarily official. The great Commission in Matt. xxviii. 19, Mark xvi. 15, was not limited to an official class of Teachers or Evangelists; the whole Jerusalem Church was scattered, "except the Apostles," by an early persecution (Acts viii. 1), and its members travelled far and wide "preaching the Lord Jesus" (Acts xi. 19, 20). Timothy, undoubtedly a Pastor at Ephesus, was enjoined to "take heed to his Teaching," and to "do the work of an Evangelist" (1 Tim. iv. 16; 2 Tim. iv. 5). The ministry of Prophets, being essentially charismatic, was of necessity unofficial. The Apostles were at once Evangelists, Pastors, and Teachers; and besides the distinction of a personal divine call had the special qualification of having been conversant with our Lord before His death, so as to be competent witnesses of His Resurrection (Acts i. 21-2). A succession of Apostles, therefore, beyond the second generation, was impossible. But the need of Pastoral Oversight in the Church was permanent, and was from the first assigned to a Class or Order of persons who are variously called Pastors, Elders, Presbyters, and Bishops (*i.e.* Overseers). There was also a subordinate class of Deacons (*i.e.* Servitors), to whom the eleemosynary and other secular affairs of the Church were entrusted. Usually each local church had a plurality both of Presbyters and Deacons, and the persons chosen for these offices were ceremonially "Ordained" by prayer and "Imposition of hands," either of the Apostles or of the Presbytery (*i.e.* the Eldership).

The first recorded Ordination is that of the seven deacons at Jerusalem, by "the Apostles," after election by "the whole multitude" of the disciples (Acts vi. 5-6). The next is that of Barnabas and Saul, who were already prophets and teachers. This was done in obedience to a divine monition, presumably by the elders

at Antioch (Acts xiii. 1-3); but it is remarkable that we are nowhere distinctly told by whom it was done. Next we read that Paul and Barnabas ordained (R.V. "appointed") Elders in every church which they had gathered in the Galatian cities (Acts xiv. 23). Subsequently Timothy was ordained by Paul and others (1 Tim. iv. 14 with 2 Tim. i. 6); and the ordination of Titus, though not asserted, is implied in Tit. i. 5, where Paul directs him to "appoint elders in every city" of Crete where a church might be gathered. Nothing is said about election, either in Galatia or in Crete; probably because the churches in those districts were in a very rudimentary condition. That Timothy received a commission similar to that of Titus is clearly implied, though not expressly stated, in 1 Tim. iii. 1-15.

The only other allusion to Ordination in the New Testament is in 2 Tim. i. 6: "Stir up the gift of God, which is in thee through the laying on of my hands." This seems to imply that while the *Ministry of the Pastor* was a gift of Christ to the Church, the *Office of the Pastorate*, with its opportunities of service and the grace necessary thereto, was His gift to the person ordained. An office so solemnly conferred could not be lightly laid aside.

Turning to the earliest known extra-canonical Christian writing, the Epistle of Clement (A.D. 95), we read that the apostles "appointed the first fruits of their labours to be bishops and deacons of those who should afterwards believe" (xlii.), and "gave instructions that when these should fall asleep other approved men should succeed them in their ministry" (xliv.). Nothing is said about Ordination; but the fact that some presbyters at Corinth had been ejected from office, or repudiated by a faction, without proven fault, was censured as highly scandalous. It is to be noted, moreover, that Clement finds an analogy between Christian Presbyters and the priests of the older dispensation.

In *The Didache*, about the end of the first century, the anonymous author directs his readers to "appoint for yourselves bishops and deacons worthy of the Lord"; but nothing is said about ceremonial ordination. Neither is there anything on the subject to be found in the writings of Ignatius (115), Pseudo-Barnabas (120), Hermas (140), Papias (163), Justin (165), Polycarp (167), Tatian (174), Athenagoras (177), or Theophilus (188), nor yet in the anonymous "Epistle to Diognetus," nor in the Martyria of Ignatius or of Polycarp.² This is the more remarkable because of an important development that took place early in the second century.

There can be little doubt that at first the Christians in each town were accustomed to meet in one place; but when believers were

² Hippolytus, about 236, calls bishops successors of the Apostles, participators in their "grace, high priesthood, and office of teaching," and "reputed guardians of the church." But his language does not necessarily exclude presbyters; and he says not a word about Ordination.

multiplied this became difficult, and in times of persecution impossible. Yet it was desirable strongly to emphasize the Unity of the local church ; and this seems to have been done by giving one of the presbyters a general oversight of the whole fellowship—a kind of primacy among his brethren. The person thus dignified was called *The* bishop, *par excellence*, and became the official representative of the whole church. Very soon there was claimed for him a degree of authority which ill accords with anything in the New Testament ; and in the epistles of Ignatius, about 115, we read, "We should look upon the bishop as we would look upon the Lord himself" (Eph. 6) ; and, "Your bishop presides in the place of God, and your presbyters in the place of the assembly of the Apostles" (Mag. 6). It was only natural that the bishop should take the most prominent part in every Ordination, and ere long it came to be thought that his presence was indispensable. Before many decades had passed the differentiation of bishop and presbyter was complete ; the distinction being that the one was, and the other was not, capable of conferring Ordination.

Now there must have been some one occasion on which, for the first time, a presbyter was ordained who was not to be a bishop. This must have been either under divine guidance or as a mere matter of human arrangement. If the former, it is inconceivable that so momentous an innovation should have been absolutely unrecorded ; if the latter, it is hard to see why a precedent of the second century should be more authoritative than one of the tenth, or sixteenth, or twentieth.

It can scarcely be doubted that in the Primitive Church the Holy Communion was the central act of worship, holding a place much like that held by sacrifice in Jewish and heathen religions. A mystical identification of the Sacramental Bread and Wine with the Body and Blood of Christ is found both in Ignatius and in Justin ; and this would lead men to think of the Sacrament as in some way Sacrificial. But sacrifice implies priesthood, and from the time of Justin a sacerdotal character was more and more ascribed to the Eldership ; and this though Justin merely calls the minister who dispenses the sacrament "the president of the brethren," and Irenæus (202) twice affirms that "All the disciples of the Lord are Levites and Priests."

The growth of Sacerdotalism in the Church during the next half-century was rapid, as was also the importance ascribed to prelatial Ordination. Probably the most potent factor in this development was the influence of Cyprian (258), who usually speaks of "priests" rather than "presbyters," and declares that "If any one be not with the bishop he is not in the church," and that "he can no longer have God for his father who has not the Church for his mother!" It is not necessary further to pursue these lofty claims of priest and prelate, which are found on almost

every page of Cyprian, and which contain in embryo all the mediæval ecclesiasticism which had its full development in the spiritual despotism of Hildebrand and Innocent III.

Not only was the bishop regarded as a symbol and centre of local unity, a regular succession of bishops was deemed important as affording some guarantee for continuity of teaching. Great stress is laid on this, both by Irenæus (202) and Tertullian (220). But here we are confronted with a set of curious facts. While the New Testament records, or clearly implies, the regular ordination of the Jerusalem deacons, of Barnabas and Saul, of Timothy, Titus, and certain unnamed elders in Galatian cities, it does not name a single person who was *ordained by any of these*. There are stories of Apostolic ordinations in ecclesiastical romances, such as the *Clementines* and the *Recognitions*, and some Apocryphal Acts; but all these are certainly unhistorical. Irenæus tells us that Linus of Rome was ordained by Peter and Paul; Tertullian tells us that Clement of Rome was ordained by Peter, and Polycarp of Smyrna by John; and Clement of Alexandria (220) relates that John in his old age made a tour among the Asian churches "to appoint bishops . . . and Ordain such as were marked out by the Spirit"; no names are given by Clement, but in addition to Polycarp those of Onesimus at Ephesus, Damas at Magnesia, and Polybius at Tralles are highly probable. There seems no good reason for rejecting this testimony.

Platina, the mediæval historian of the papacy, affirms that Linus, in his capacity as bishop of Rome, ordained eleven bishops and eighteen priests; and that Clement, his successor, ordained fifteen bishops, ten priests, and two deacons. But *of all these fifty-six persons, not a single name is forthcoming*. Neither have we the name of a single person ordained by Polycarp, Onesimus, Damas, or Polybius.

From the time of Cyprian onward it was commonly believed that grace was mediated by sacraments, the efficacy of which could only be relied on if they were administered by a priest; and that his essential qualification consisted in a mysterious "Order" derived from the Apostles through an unbroken series of Episcopal Ordinations. But it is chronologically impossible that any contemporary of Cyprian could have been ordained by Timothy, Titus, Linus, Clement, Polycarp, the unnamed Galatian elders, or the Asian bishops said to have been commissioned by John. We have fairly reliable lists of the successive bishops at Jerusalem, Antioch, Alexandria, and Rome; but prior to 250 not a word about their ordination, except the instances above mentioned. Irenæus and Tertullian rely on *Succession in Office*, not on *Traduction of Order*, as witness to continuity of teaching; which is a very different thing. No chain is stronger than its weakest link; and whatever of truth there may or may not be in the doctrine of

Apostolical Succession, the chain of recorded Ordinations is not merely weak, it fails altogether in the second century. The result is that there is no priest or bishop of any church in Christendom, East or West, Reformed or Unreformed, who is able to *prove* the tradition of his own Orders in direct succession from the Apostles.

The spiritual dominion asserted by Ignatius and Cyprian, and developed amid the growing superstitions of the Middle Ages, came at length to claim control over every department of individual and social life, until by the beginning of the sixteenth century it had become intolerable. The Reformation assumed various forms in different countries. In Germany, Denmark, and Norway it followed the Lutheran pattern, retaining as much of the old-established order and practice as was not absolutely contrary to the teaching of the New Testament. In France, Switzerland, and Scotland the more radical Calvinistic idea prevailed; the existing order was too bad to be mended, it must be ended, and a new foundation laid, conforming as nearly as possible to what was believed to be apostolic precedent. In Germany and Scotland there was a popular religious revolt against mediæval ecclesiasticism, which gladly accepted the aid and patronage of the civil power. In England there had long been a leaven of Lollardry working secretly in spite of ruthless persecution, by utilizing of which a despotic monarch was able to transfer to himself the ecclesiastical power which had long been exercised by the papacy. Incidentally, and for purposes of his own, Henry VIII favoured the circulation of the English Bible, whereby instruction was diffused, and the Lollard sentiment widely propagated. But ecclesiastical reformation was a State matter, which fluctuated with the varying dispositions of successive monarchs. The violent reaction and attendant persecution that occurred under Philip and Mary drove many of the English clergy into exile, and these, while on the Continent, became acquainted with various types of reformation. Not a few of them were strongly inclined to the Calvinistic discipline, which was in force at Geneva, and these, returning to England on the accession of Elizabeth, sought to promote a more advanced type of Reformation than found favour with those in authority.

Most of the early reformers—as Luther, Zwingli, Knox, Cranmer, etc.—had been regularly ordained as priests in the Unreformed Church, Calvin being the most conspicuous exception. How far these retained or rejected the mediæval belief that some mystic grace was conferred in Ordination, by which the validity of sacraments and the legitimacy of pastoral authority was assured, is not easy to say: but they certainly had no intention of refusing any grace which a legitimate ordination could confer. The Reformed Churches in Switzerland, France, and Scotland repu-

diated Prelatical Episcopacy; but they deemed it important that pastors should be "set apart" for their office according to Apostolic precedent, by "prayer and laying on of hands of the presbytery" (Acts xiii. 3, 1 Tim. iv. 14). This, whatever else it might or might not signify, implied that the pastor thus ordained was regarded as holding some kind of relation to the Church at large, and not merely to a particular congregation.

If, as these Reformed Churches maintained, and as seems clearly demonstrable from Acts xx. 17-28, the offices of Bishop and Presbyter are identical, Ordination by Presbyters *is*, in fact, Episcopal Ordination, and carries with it whatever virtue any kind of Ordination can possess. Nothing more, therefore, needs to be said about Ordination in the Presbyterian Churches, whether in Scotland, on the Continent, or in America, except that they all agree in its value as an element of discipline, as well as being a witness to the unity of the Church.

The refugees who at the accession of Elizabeth returned to England would have been satisfied with very moderate concessions. A "reduced episcopacy" such as was afterwards proposed by Ussher, the abolition or leaving optional of some ceremonies which they accounted superstitious, and a recognition of the people's right to some effective voice in the selection of their ministers, would have given them full satisfaction. But any such concession would have been deemed by the ruling class a surrender to democracy; the principle of authority must be upheld, and the common people kept in their place. For twenty years the Puritan party—as they now began to be called—strove in vain for further reformation: and at length a few eager spirits resolved to act for themselves. Foremost among these was Robert Browne, who, being a Cambridge graduate and licensed preacher, in 1579 repudiated the bishop's licence and still continued to preach until disabled by sickness. Associated with Robert Harrison he gathered a separatist congregation, with whom he retired to the Continent, and at Middelburgh, in 1582, published his epoch-making *Treatise of Reformation without Tarrying for Any*. It is not relevant to our purpose to trace the history of the various Brownist, Barrowist, and other separatist societies of which fragmentary records remain. Suffice it to say that each was a sporadic effort to realize what was believed to be the New Testament Ideal. The lack of any real spiritual discipline in the State Church had brought about such a confusion of the church and the world that a new church had to be constituted, and every separatist congregation was a separate attempt to constitute it. The theory was that a Church consisted of those "Christian believers which, by a willing Covenant made with their God, are under the government of God and Christ, and keep His laws in One Holy Communion." Its government was not democratic but

theocratic ; it had no authority to receive or reject members, elect officers, or exclude the unworthy at its own pleasure, but only in each case "to learn for itself the will of Christ, and do it." Every society so constituted was "a true church," independent of, though holding fellowship with, every other. There was no such thing as a Visible Catholic or Regional Church, but only visible Churches ; and the officers of any one of these had no official relationship with any other. According to this view the only legitimate ordination would be the election of a pastor, deacon, etc., and the commending of him to God in prayer by those who were already official representatives of the same congregation. Browne, in his "*Booke which sheweth the life and manners of all True Christians,*" says : "The Ordaining of some of the forwardest and wisest is a pronouncing them, with prayer and thanksgiving, and laying on of hands (if such imposition be not turned into pomp or superstition), that they are called and authorized of God, and received of their charge to that calling."

No doubt such an ordination would warrant the exercise of pastoral supervision over such as voluntarily submitted thereto ; and if it be true that "All the disciples of the Lord are priests," it would be difficult to challenge the validity of sacraments ministered by a "president of the brethren" so appointed. But obviously a Brownist Ordination could not be recognized either by Episcopalians or Presbyterians, inasmuch as the whole scheme repudiates not only the traduction of Orders but the Unity of the Visible Church.

Such was the theory : as to the practice of the early Independents we have little definite information. Browne's great experiment at Middelburg issued in a disastrous failure ; and if, as is probable but not certain, he afterwards became the pastor of a "gathered church" at Thorpe Waterville, he had in the meantime submitted to prelatial Ordination. As to others who are honoured as protagonists of Congregationalism, most of them had formerly held positions to which they would not have been appointed if they had not accepted Ordination from the bishops. This applies to R. Clyfton, J. Greenwood, Hy. Jacob, Henry Jessey, Fras. Johnson, J. Smyth, and John Robinson ; though several of these had adopted the Presbyterian theory before becoming Separatists. What ordination John Penry and Hy. Ainsworth had, if any, is not recorded. In some cases persons who had been episcopally ordained, and afterwards adopted Presbyterian or Congregationalist opinions, emphasized their change of attitude by renouncing their "Orders" and being formally re-ordained. One of the most noteworthy examples is that of Hugh Peters. He had been ordained by Bishop Montaigne (deacon 1621, priest 1623) ; but being persecuted on account of his Puritan leaning, he retired to Holland. In 1630 he was invited

to the pastorate of an English Presbyterian Church at Rotterdam, but would only comply on condition that the call proceeded, not from a miscellaneous congregation, but from a fellowship of godly persons united by covenant. The Church was therefore reconstituted on a Congregational basis, and Peters was ordained in the Presbyterian manner, all the ministers present except one uniting in the imposition of hands.

The colonists who founded Salem in New England disavowed any intention of Separation from the Church of England, "though," they said, "we cannot but separate from the Corruptions in it." But within a month of their settlement they united to form a Church by Covenant; and on 6th August 1629 (O.S.) they elected and Ordained their Pastor and Teacher, Skelton and Higginson, "regardless of the fact that both had received the established Ordination in the fatherland." This must have been a Brownist Ordination. The Church at New Plymouth had been notified "that they might have their approbation and concurrence, if not their direction and assistance." The Plymouth delegates arrived too late to participate in the actual Ordination; but "they came into the assembly afterward, and gave them the right hand of fellowship."

John Cotton had been for many years vicar of Boston in Lincolnshire, having, of course, been episcopally ordained. He removed to New England in 1633, was elected Teacher of the First Church at Boston Mass., and was re-ordained by the pastor and two elders. Several ministers were present, but merely as witnesses, who after the benediction "did, at the pastor's motion, give him the right hand of fellowship." This was clearly a Brownist, or, as perhaps it may conveniently be called, a Fraternal Ordination. Such ordinations were usual among New England Congregationalists for at least two generations.

In May 1646 the rulers of Massachusetts expressed a wish that the Churches in the colony would send representatives to a Synod which should "clear up, by the word of God, such questions of church government . . . as they shall think needful and meet." Owing to a variety of circumstances it was more than two years before the Synod actually met. The document they drew up was called, from the place of meeting, "The Cambridge Platform"; and its recommendations had for many years *almost* the force of law in the New England churches. Ordination was therein defined as "nothing else, but the solemn putting a man into his place and office in the Church, whereunto he had a right before by election." It was to be done by Prayer and the imposition of hands, to be performed by the Elders of the Church, if there are any; if not, by some of the brethren orderly designated by the Church for that purpose: yet if it be desired "we see not why Imposition of hands may not be performed by the Elders of other

Churches." But the minister so ordained had no official relation with any other church than that wherein he was elected; nor could he elsewhere dispense the Sacraments. And if he "was loosed from his office-relation," by resignation or otherwise, he ceased to be a minister unless he were "again orderly called unto Office": in which case he should be re-ordained.

In England, between the outbreak of the Civil War and the fall of the Commonwealth, many parochial ministers formed "Select Churches" within their own congregations, each being at once parson of the parish and pastor of the church. A well-known instance is that of Joseph Caryl. Most of these, if not all, had received either episcopal or presbyterian Ordination, the validity of which could not be well questioned by members of churches which they had themselves gathered. The same applies to churches gathered by Ejected Ministers after the Restoration; we do not recall any case of re-ordination of an Ejected Minister.

Nevertheless, the statements of the Savoy Declaration (1658) are very explicit, and closely coincide with those of the Cambridge Platform. The institution by Christ of "any Church more extensive or Catholique" than "these particular churches" is categorically denied; and "the officers appointed by Christ to be chosen and set apart by the church so called and gathered" are Pastors, Teachers, Elders, and Deacons. "The way appointed by Christ for the calling of any person fitted and gited by the Holy Ghost" to office in the Church is "that he be chosen thereunto by the common suffrage of the Church itself, and solemnly set apart by Fasting and Prayer with Imposition of Hands of the Eldership of that Church, if there be any before constituted therein." It is added that Imposition of Hands is not indispensable; but "Ordination alone without Election or precedent consent of the church, by those who formerly have been Ordained . . . doth not constitute any person a Church Officer, or communicate Office-power to him." Moreover, "Where there are no Teaching Officers, none may administer the Seals (*i.e.* the Sacraments), nor can the church authorize any to do so." In this scheme there is no place for Presbyters at large; nor can one pastor supply the place of another who may be absent or disabled, or by invitation dispense the sacraments to a church which lacks a pastor, though the meeting-house be in the next street.

Illustrations of the principle and practice thus formulated are found in original records still extant, and published in the *Transactions of the Congregational Historical Society*. See for Canterbury (1646) vol. vii, p. 188; Staplehurst (1647) vol. vii, p. 190; Burwell (1694) vol. vi, p. 421; Bury St. Edmunds (1701) vol. vii, p. 3; Cambridge (1722) vol. vii, p. 12. It is worth noting that Rev. G. Doughty, the pastor of Burwell, is described in the Evans List as a lay preacher; presumably the compiler of that

list, being a Presbyterian, declined to recognize a mere Fraternal or Brownist Ordination.¹

The notion that a Church could only receive the sacraments at the hands of its own duly ordained pastor survived the Cambridge Platform and the Savoy Declaration for well-nigh two generations. The church gathered by Joseph Caryl during the Commonwealth had as successive pastors Dr. John Owen, Isaac Leoffs, David Clarkson, and Isaac Chauncey, the last of whom resigned on 15th April, 1701. There were then in the church, besides Dr. Chauncey, two aged ministers, William Bereman and Edward Terry, both Bartholomew men, the latter of whom had been Chauncey's assistant. But on 19th May a resolution of the church affirmed that "for want of a Pastor we have not the Lord's Supper administered among us." It had already been proposed to elect Isaac Watts to the pastorate, but this was delayed on account of his illness, and the call was only accepted on 8th March, 1702. He was ordained ten days later; and on 29th March he dispensed the Lord's Supper, which had been intermitted since Chauncey's resignation nearly a year before. (See *Trans.* vol. i, pp. 30, 38.) Watt's Ordination, however, was not conducted in the Brownist fashion; four neighbouring pastors took part in the service, and two others were present, and testified their approval.

The Presbyterians regarded the Eldership as an *Order* instituted by Christ for the ruling and edifying of the Church, and Ordination as impressing a permanent character on the person so admitted thereto. A majority of the Independents, on the contrary, accounted it merely an *Office*, which was automatically relinquished when its duties ceased to be performed. It was natural, therefore, that these should insist on the Ordination taking place in the face of the congregation to which the chosen elder was to minister; while it was quite congruous with the Presbyterian opinion that several ministers should be ordained together, though they were to serve widely separated congregations.

We know but little about such Nonconformist Ordinations as took place during the years of alternate persecution and "Indulgence." Usually they were performed as privately as possible. When the Revolution brought in its train a large measure of religious freedom it was found that thirty years of persecution had led to mutual approximation of Presbyterians and Independents. The former had ceased to insist on the Divine Right of Presbytery, and many of the latter had come to see that the Brownist ideal, however admirable, was generally impracticable. Hence the "Happy Union" of the London Ministers in 1691, based on the principles set forth in the *Heads of Agreement* published in that

¹ Another case of Brownist Ordination, at Wellingborough on 3rd September 1691, is narrated in detail in Bogue and Bennett's *History of Dissenters*, 2nd ed., vol. i, p. 337.

year, and accepted as a basis of union between Presbyterians and Independents in many parts of the country. It was recognized as a fundamental principle that personal faith in the Lord Jesus is an indispensable qualification for Church Membership; and that every local church has a right to choose its own officers and manage its own internal affairs. But the fitness of the ministry was seen to be a matter of wider concern than that of a single congregation; and therefore it was "ordinarily requisite" that before calling a pastor a church should consult with pastors of other congregations; that these should participate in the Ordination; and that before doing so they should be satisfied of the character and ability of the person to be ordained.

A survival from the older and more rigid type of Congregationalism was the notion that a particular church could only call its own members to office. If therefore the services of one from another church were desired, he must first be dismissed from the fellowship in which he stood to that which desired his services before the call could be given. This refinement died out early in the eighteenth century.

The earliest Public Nonconformist Ordination on record took place on 22nd June, 1694, in Dr. Annesley's Meeting-house, Little St. Helen's. Dr. Annesley, Vincent Alsop, Matthew Sylvester, Daniel Williams, — Stretton, and Thos. Kentish (most of them Bartholomew men), then ordained Ebenezer Bradshaw, Joseph Bennett, Joshua Bayes, Edmund Calamy, Joseph Hill, and William King. The candidates having been previously tested as to their learning and orthodoxy, their testimonials were read; each made his profession of faith; a separate Ordination prayer was said over each one; and a solemn Charge was addressed to them all. The entire service included three other prayers, two discourses, and a psalm; and occupied fully eight hours, from 10 a.m. till past 6 p.m.

In several counties Ministerial Associations were formed, which held yearly or half-yearly meetings to consider matters of common interest: these, though destitute of coercive jurisdiction, exercised some of the functions of the extinct Classical Presbyteries, and by their "Advices" did much to "preserve love, peace, and order among the Churches." In some cases these "Meetings of Ministers" approved or disapproved of candidates for ordination; or, as in the case of the Exeter Assembly, laid down rules as to the necessary qualifications of such candidates. Where such rules were not formally acknowledged, it was nevertheless accounted the duty of ministers called on to take part in an Ordination, first to satisfy themselves—either individually or in a kind of informal council—of the worthiness of the candidate. It does not appear that our present English County Unions, formed chiefly for Home Missionary purposes, have accepted the responsibility of approving or disapproving of candidates beforehand, except in aided churches, or when the candidate has not received academical training.

The American usages were developed along somewhat different lines from those which we have traced in England. Early New England Ordinations were usually of the Brownist type. In 1639 the First Church in Dedham elected John Allin to be pastor, and John Hunting to be ruling elder. Wednesday, 24th April (O.S.), was appointed for the Ordination. Hunting prayed, and Allin preached from 1 Cor. iii. 9, and then called on the congregation to confirm the election of Hunting. This done, he asked "whom the church desired to aid in the work?" Ralph Wheelock and E. Allin were designated. These, with J. Allin, laid their hands on Hunting; Allin prayed, and said, "In the name of the Lord Jesus . . . we do ordain thee, John Hunting, unto the office of Ruling Elder in this Church of Christ." Then Hunting called for ratification of the choice of J. Allin as pastor; he, with the other two, laid hands on J. Allin, and with prayer in like manner Ordained him as pastor. Finally the pastor of Lynn, in the name of himself and other elders present, gave to Allin and Hunting the right hand of fellowship.

American Congregationalists were accustomed, in cases of doubt or difficulty, to call Councils of Representatives of neighbouring churches. The function of such councils was simply to advise; but their moral authority was great, as if their advice were persistently rejected they could renounce fellowship with a recalcitrant church. It was usual to call an Advisory Council in view of a projected pastoral settlement; and occasionally such a council would disapprove of the candidate, or urge delay, by reason of some doubt as to his character or fitness, or because of lack of unanimity in the call. Gradually it came about that pastors who were summoned to advise were invited to participate in the Ordination; and little by little the custom of what we have called Fraternal Ordination gave place to Ordination in the Presbyterian manner—much to the discontent of the more conservative people, who were morbidly jealous lest the Independence of the particular Church should be compromised. Dexter, in *The Congregationalism of the last Three Hundred Years*, mentions several illustrative cases. One of the most interesting is that of the church at Northampton, the official representative of which, on 25th January, 1727, sent "Letters Missive" to several neighbouring pastors requesting their "presence and assistance to ordain Mr. Jonathan Edwards, this day three weeks." Clearly the Ordination was to be by the Council thus summoned, acting as a Presbytery.

Another "Letter Missive," sent by the Second Church at Boston to the Church at Rumney-marish on 30th May, 1752, states that Samuel Mather has accepted a call to the vacant pastorate, and 21st June following has been appointed for his Ordination: the pastor and delegates of the church addressed are therefore invited "to join in Council with the Rev^d Elders and Messengers of several

other churches, for such acts of Ecclesiastical Communion as the Occasion of the day shall require."

It may be worth noting that while early Congregational Ordinations were always "with prayer and fasting," by the middle of the eighteenth century they frequently became occasions of feasting.

The fathers and founders of modern Congregationalism, identifying The Church with a single congregation, and regarding its pastors and teachers as Ministers indeed, but not as a Ministry, had no place for Presbyters at large; indeed such are implicitly repudiated in the Savoy Declaration. But sentiment, in this as in other matters, proved stronger than logic. It was felt to be a grievance that a church when destitute of a pastor should be deprived of the sacraments; and in such circumstances it was thought more fitting that these should be dispensed by one who had held the pastoral office than by an unofficial person. Thus retired ministers came to be looked on as Presbyters at large; and the "character" conferred in Ordination, if repudiated in words, was acknowledged in fact. The London Itinerant Society, by the work of a band of lay preachers, had gathered several village congregations, in some of which administration of the sacraments was desired. The ministers who were members of the Committee could not, by reason of their manifold duties, fully satisfy this desire, and it was arranged that one or two of the lay preachers should be ordained for the purpose. One, Rev. W. Field, was actually so ordained in 1804; and for several years, as an itinerant pastor, he administered the Lord's Supper in six different congregations.

But a more serious departure from the older tradition was necessitated as the Church more fully realized its responsibility towards the heathen. The older generation had viewed the Church simply as an institution for the spiritual culture of the Elect: the evangelistic activities of such saints as John Eliot and David Brainerd were in spite of, not the fruits of, their Calvinistic theology. But when, early in the nineteenth century, the agents of the London Missionary Society began to see the result of their labours, it became necessary to revise former conclusions. If a missionary had gathered a church from among the heathen, it was obviously absurd that he should be thought unqualified to exercise pastoral supervision over his converts, or to dispense the sacraments among them, until he was formally elected to the pastorate by those who but a little while before had been savages or cannibals. And if not so, how could he be ordained except as a presbyter at large?

During the last fifty or sixty years a steadily increasing number of women, other than missionaries' wives, have devoted themselves to evangelistic labour among the heathen. Their formal recognition by the Church is usually spoken of as "dedication" rather than

"ordination," and the ceremonial imposition of hands is omitted. This is probably because their work is in general that of the teacher rather than of the pastor. But in recent years an appreciable—though not large—number of women have been regularly ordained as pastors of churches in America; and one or two such cases have occurred in England. Little by little the Congregational Churches appear to be more fully adopting the principle laid down by St. Paul in Gal. iii. 28. There have also been a few cases in which presbyteral status has been conferred by Ordination on persons who, though not pastors of churches, have held a quasi-pastoral relation—such as tutorship in a college, etc. This is a still further departure from the traditions of the older Congregationalism.

Towards the middle of the last century a recrudescent Sacerdotalism provoked opposition in the form of a violent anti-clerical outburst. Some ministers, instead of insisting strongly on the equal priesthood of all believers, sought to combat the evil by renouncing the clerical character, denying the legitimacy—if not the existence—of any clerical order, refusing the usual complimentary title, and adopting an ostentatiously unclerical dress. Human nature being such as it is, this led inevitably to a depreciation of the pastoral office, the substitution of a mere social recognition for a solemn ordination, the degradation of the Church idea to that of a religious club, and rapid spiritual decline.

It has already been shown that no series of Ordinations can be traced in an unbroken line to the primitive ages. Whatever, therefore, of "Apostolic Succession" may be lacking in a pastor who was ordained under Brownist conditions is equally lacking in a recipient of Presbyterian or Episcopal "Orders." No kind of Ordination can confer any sacerdotal status other than that priesthood which is common to all believers, nor can it authorize any Church-official to act as Mediator between God and man, or to negotiate for men such spiritual affairs as they cannot negotiate for themselves. No Ordination, Fraternal, Presbyterian, or Prelatic, can give validity to Sacramental rites which they would not otherwise possess, or impart additional truth or authority to the gospel message, or to a personal assurance of Divine forgiveness to a repentant sinner. Ordination can no more do these things than it can make an ignorant man learned, a foolish man wise, or a bad man good. Nevertheless it is of high importance, and indispensable to any conceivable "Reunion," that the dignity of the pastoral office be maintained, the mutual duties of pastor and people be clearly assigned, and the relation of the local church to the Church Catholic be unmistakably asserted. These conditions are met by the system of Congregational Councils that has long been in vogue in America, or by the procedure which is declared to be "ordinarily requisite" in the *Heads of Agreement* of 1691.

T. G. C.

The Defeat of Lord Sidmouth's Bill, 1811

THE following graphic account of certain happenings behind the scenes, in connection with the final debate in the House of Lords on 21st May, 1811, seems worth reproducing; as it not only throws a vivid sidelight on the feeling at the time, at any rate in Nonconformist circles, but also adds one or two touches to our knowledge of the inner course of circumstances by which the bill failed to become law. The Memorandum was drawn up in 1862 from memory, by the eye-witness of what is stated, Rev. John Nelson Goulty, a Congregational minister, who was a not very distant kinsman of Admiral Nelson, and who in 1811 was in training for the ministry at Homerton College under Dr. John Pye Smith. It was inserted by him in his copy of *A Sketch of the History and Proceedings of the Deputies appointed to Protect the Civil Rights of the Protestant Dissenters* (1813), as an addendum to its narrative of the genesis and rejection of Lord Sidmouth's bill, which occupies pages 85 to 122 of the book.¹ A convenient summary of what is generally known about this episode in the history of British ecclesiastical legislation will be found in Dr. R. W. Dale's *History of English Congregationalism*, pp. 573-5. The chief points in which the Memorandum supplements that generally accurate account are the fact that the fate of the bill was already settled by the archbishop and others before the debate began, and the different treatment which some Wesleyan ministers of position,

¹ The book was given by Mr. Goulty's son to Mansfield College Library.

like Dr. Adam Clarke (compare the *Sketch*, p. 107, and the *Life of Lord Sidmouth*, by the Hon. and Rev. G. Pellew, D.D.), seem to have sought to obtain for their own body.

VERNON BARTLET.

I was in the House of Lords on the 21st of May, 1811, and heard the debate under circumstances so peculiar and interesting that I am induced to add as under to this record of the Deputies.

The excitement produced by Lord Sidmouth's bill was such as was never known before. The whole country was moved and the anxiety was *intense*. I was at that time a student at Homerton, and great was the desire of many to get admission to the House (which required a Peer's ticket). I went early in the morning, first to Earl Nelson, and obtained from him a ticket of admission for myself. Then I waited on the Bishop of Durham (Shute Barrington) and obtained a ticket from him for Dr. J. Pye Smith. Then I proceeded to Lord Stanhope's, and he gave me a ticket for Rev. Thomas Hill of Homerton—and then I went to the Bishop of Norwich (Dr. Bathurst) and obtained from him a ticket for one of my fellow-students. I should have gone on in this course for one or two tickets more, but that the Bishop of Norwich in a rather free and friendly talk on the subject of "the bill," told me that he should not be in the House that evening, for that he should not be able to do any service and did not wish to give offence where he could be of no use. I knew that the Dissenters were reckoning upon his Lordship's advocacy of religious liberty, and felt exceedingly discouraged by this interview.

I felt that all was lost; and went my way fearing the worst. As I was going down Fleet Street I met Rev. Joseph Hughes (Bible Society Secretary) and told him of my fears. He said, "Go directly to the Committee which is now sitting in such a place (London Tavern,

then in Cheapside), and request to see the Chairman and tell him. Request, from me, that a Deputation be sent forthwith to the Bishop urging his presence in the House that evening." I did so, and made my report—upon which a Deputation was named, and I was requested to accompany them. The Deputation consisted of the Chairman (John Wilson, Esq.), Rev. John Clayton, and Mr. Wontner. We proceeded to the Bishop's House, and were invited in by his lady, to wait till the Bishop returned from Covent Garden Market. We, however, returned and went again about half an hour after, and found his Lordship at home and alone, and most kindly ready to receive us. It was now about half-past eleven o'clock. We had a long and very pleasant conversation with his Lordship, who taking out his watch presently said, "Gentlemen, it is now one o'clock. Can you keep a little secret?" Mr. Clayton was our spokesman, and assured his Lordship that we could and would honourably. "Well," he said, "I have told you that I am not going to the House to-night as it would be useless, but if I were there I should certainly speak in favour of perfect religious liberty; but I may now tell you, if you will not reveal it, that it is arranged that the bill will be *lost* to-night. My Lord Sidmouth is very conscientious about it and thinks you are all wrong—or that you mistake the operation of this measure. He will, of course, bring it forward and some discussion will ensue; but the Archbishop will not support it, and it will fail. This is the secret, and it is understood."

We thanked his Lordship much and retired. The Deputation were glad to be released from being present at the House of Lords that evening. I proceeded to Homerton, gave my tickets, and we soon set forth to the House of Lords; and were there almost the first. There were no seats for us, and so I took my place next the rail and kept it. Soon after one of the noble Lords came towards us, and spoke to a venerable minister

whom I did not know, but he was near the rail at my right hand—an arm's length or so distant. I found immediately that they were talking of "*the bill.*" I could not help listening, Presently I began to perceive that it was Lord Sidmouth himself, and I heard from behind me that the other was *Rev. Dr. Adam Clarke.* We had heard that "*the Methodists had expressed their willingness that the bill should pass if they were (as a body) exempted*"; and this was clearly the urgent point with the Dr. One would have thought that Lord Sidmouth was still in earnest, nodding a sort of assent to the Dr.'s remarks as if he understood the case, but said he thought we mistook the tendency of the measure. The Dr. pleaded for exemption of the body as "*Wesleyan Methodists.*" By and by the debate was opened, and oh! with what anxiety all around listened to it. I had *hard* work to keep my counsel—but I did so—and not an utterance of mine gave the least idea of what I knew. I can never forget the scene, nor ever lose the impression which the eloquence of Lord Holland and Lord Erskine made upon me. The bill *was lost.* After the decision, Mr. William Hale took us (Homertonians) to a Coffee House near and gave us refreshment—not (I assure you) unneeded—and we went home in a Hackney Coach together *rejoicing.* I was not again in the House of Lords, or House of Commons, to hear a debate, until seventeen years after, when I was present at the *repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts* in 1828.

J. N. G.

BRIGHTON,

August 24, 1862.

A Congregational Consultation

THE following letter is found in the same volume as that which contains Mr. Doughty's record of his labours at Burwell and Soham.¹ It is, however, in a totally different handwriting, apparently of later date, and—notwithstanding bad spelling—having some pretensions to elegance. It is neither dated nor signed. By Eselham we are probably to understand Isleham; the word looks more like Yelham, but no such place is to be found either in modern gazetteers or in the *Index Villaris*. The "Union" Church at Kimbolton is understood to have originated in 1692—the same year as Burwell and (probably) Isleham: but the distance, not less than forty miles, tempts one to look for some nearer place. Mr. Crofton's heterodoxy seems to have been a specially dangerous form of Antinomianism.

"The Church of Christ at Eselham and the towns thareabouts to the Church of Christ at Kimbolton whareof the Holy Ghost hath made M^r. L^{wa} Wayman Overseer, sendeth Greeting wishing grace and Pease.

"Dearly Beloved it is with the utermost Concern . . . for y^e . . . Kingdom and intrest of Our Gloryous Redeemer Jesus Christ thee High Priest of Our Profession that we are Oblidg^d to in treatte you to give yourselves y^e trouble of sending your Messengers Over to us to give us your thoughts upon y^e folowing things which M^r. Crofton hath constantly Preach^d amongst us, and which we fear we have born too Long with :

¹ See *Trans.* Vol. VI, pp. 415-16.

even until most of the Church cannot bare to hear any Longer; and also what we shall Do in y^e affair—first, that y^e Law is not a rule of Life to a believer: 2ly, that God sees no sinn in His People: 3ly, Sinn Cann Doe a Beliver no Harm in any respect whatsoever: 4ly, that God doth Never afflict His people for sinn: 5ly, that Sinn is Never a trouble to a believer: hath also said that God is Never angry nor displeas'd with His People for Sinn. Shall Leave y^e affair with y^e Lord, hoping it will please (Him) to dyrect your way unto Us. Upon the Meantime desire your Earnest Pray^er to y^e Lord for us.

“You are Desired to come to Br. Ed^w. Parsons at Eselham.”

The London Itinerant Society

(Continued from p. 323)

TWO objects about this time [1817] occupied much of the attention of the Society : to ascertain the real condition and spiritual needs of the population within a ten-mile radius around London, and to be sure of the satisfactory character of the preachers for whose teaching it was morally responsible. The first of these was attempted by dividing the whole area into four districts, for each of which a small Committee of inquiry was appointed. The other was met by revised rules as to the appointment or sanction of preachers and teachers. These were to the following effect :—Every applicant for recognition as Preacher or Teacher shall state his name, place of abode, and Church-connection to the Committee, who shall consult the minister (or if there be no minister, then “the managers, deacons, or other responsible persons”) of the church “as to his moral and religious character, temper, and disposition.” And if he offer himself as a preacher he shall preach a trial sermon before the Committee, after which he may be questioned by such ministers as are present.

In 1818 further unsuccessful attempts were made to obtain a preaching-place at *Leytonstone*. *Hanwell* was proposed as a station, but apparently not then adopted. In 1819 the Home Missionary Society was founded, between which and the Itinerant Society the relations became very intimate. The first proposal of the H.M.S., however, that the Itinerants should supply Chingford, does not seem to have found favour. In 1820 the Hoxton Itinerant Society was discontinued : it had, at the end, only two stations, *Finchley* and *Crouch End*, both of which were adopted by the London Society. Of these the former developed into a vigorous church ; with the latter the present church in the same neighbourhood does not seem to have any historic connection. Inquiries were made as to the possibility of operations at *Isleworth* and *Twickenham*, but without practical results. Suggestions were also made of a Benevolent Fund, and of a Library for the use of the preachers ; but both were held over for consideration in an indefinite future. In April 1821 a somewhat serious disturbance

was made during worship at *Woodford Bridge* by one William Whittam, who, being taken into custody, was forcibly rescued by his comrades. As he refused to apologize for his misconduct, a prosecution was ordered, with the result that he was committed to prison. After a few days he sent an acknowledgment of his offence, with a petition for release, and the Society requested that he might be liberated on payment of costs, his apology to be printed and circulated; but this the magistrates would not permit, and the man remained in prison for several weeks—apparently till the Quarter Sessions.

During this year several suggestions were made by the Home Missionary Society which for various reasons were deemed impracticable; such as a preaching station at *Chadwell* in Essex, another at *Cooper's Gardens*, Hackney Road, and "opening Rooms in and near London for prayer and exhortation." But in January 1822 a station was adopted in *Hornsey Road*, formerly managed from Union Chapel, Islington. In October of this year an important Resolution was adopted, "That the Metropolis and its Environs be considered as within the sphere of the Society's operations; and that, in concert with the friends of religion in various parts of the Metropolis, they devise and carry into effect such measures as may be deemed most expedient for supplying the destitute poor in their respective neighbourhoods with the means of Religious Instruction." It was understood that Rev. G. C. Smith, of Penzance (popularly known as "Boatswain Smith"), was projecting a new Society for the same purpose, and a deputation was appointed to confer with him. Mr. Smith expressed his belief that there was abundant room both for the Itinerant Society and for the working out of his project. That project materialized, a year or two later, in "The Domestic Mission," which became the precursor of The London City Mission.

In the minutes for 1823 we find mention of work done at *Ballersea Rise*; and of a station hopefully commenced at *Portland Town*. (The former of these was discontinued in 1825, and the latter taken over by the Wesleyans in 1826.) A request "to devise means for sending the gospel to *Bowyer Lane*, Camberwell," elicited the reply that "if the applicant would find a room the Society would send a preacher"; but nothing further came of it. Efforts to obtain a room, or a plot of ground, at *Hendon* were unsuccessful.

The executive was reinforced about this time by the accession of Thomas Thompson, Esq., who had been the virtual founder of the Home Missionary Society. At his suggestion inquiries were made as to the use of some Sunday-school buildings as preaching-places; but it was found that in some cases this use was precluded by the conditions of the lease. It was decided to change

the name of the institution to "The London Evangelical Society"; but the original title was resumed after two or three months, as it was feared that the change of name might involve possible loss of legacies. In June 1824 five Sub-committees were appointed to look into the religious condition of as many specified districts, and if possible to secure a preaching-place in each, viz. : (1) Shoreditch and Spitalfields, (2) Saffron Hill and its neighbourhood, (3) St. Giles, Drury Lane, and Seven Dials, (4) Southwark, (5) Westminster. As a result of their inquiries, numerous suggestions were made as to places where rooms might be obtained or where preaching-stations were desirable; such as Hampstead West End, Kew, Hart Street, Covent Garden, Paddington, "near the Stingo," and Walworth Common. But only at the first named was preaching commenced, and this only for a short time. In the course of 1825 there was preaching for a short time, usually only for a few weeks, at *Lemon Street Goodman's Fields*, *Payne's Alley*, *Spicer Street Spitalfields*, and *Chelsea Common*; and a Sunday School in *Whitecross Street*. Other suggested localities were found impracticable. The outcome of these experiments appeared to show the propriety of restricting the Society's operations to the outlying districts—according to its first constitution, and leaving London to other Societies which were then being organized.

In June 1826 a request was received from *Hanwell* for preachers at a small chapel which was private property. Arrangements were made, and the chapel rented for two years, with option of purchase. For some time there seemed promise of a successful mission; but about the end of 1829 the outlook was depressing. In the following April the people there expressed a hope of being able to manage their own affairs, but in March 1835 they again asked the aid of the Society's preachers. Evidently the chapel was closed for a time; for in July 1835 there is a notice of its reopening. Attempts were made, extending over more than a year, to obtain a room for preaching at *Hendon*, but without success. At length the Wesleyans built a chapel, so that the necessities of the place were supplied. Inquiries were made as to the extensive parish of *Chingford*, where there seemed much need of evangelistic effort, notwithstanding a Wesleyan preaching-place at one end of the parish; but, except distribution of tracts, it does not appear that anything practical was attempted by the Itinerant Society. Inquiries were also made about *Welling*, but it was not till three or four years later that any active steps were taken in that village.

In 1827 much energy was displayed in efforts which afforded but little encouragement. Unsuccessful attempts were made to obtain preaching-places at Bexley, Hayes (Kent), Camden Town, and in a district "East of Regent's Park." After some meetings in the open air at *Lee Green*, a room was hired "from quarter to

quarter"; but how long the tenancy continued is not stated. Preaching was also commenced in a house at *Bexley Heath*, but apparently for no long time. At *Bromley Common*, however, a promising beginning was made, the room being overcrowded before the end of the year, so that a permanent chapel was desirable. Such a building was erected, on lease with option of purchase, and was opened for worship on 19th October, 1828. This appears to be the same place which in later entries is called *Keston*, and which gave place to another building in 1842.

An interesting entry appears under date 16th January, 1828. It must be remembered that at this time the Calvinistic "Five Points" were *professedly* held in most of the Congregational Churches. A gentleman, proposed to the Itinerant Society as a preacher, was rejected because "he did not consider it right to tell persons dead in sin to pray," and—in strict accord with Dordrechtian Calvinism—he "denied the doctrine of the General Call of the Gospel to sinners."

In March 1828 proposals were received to repair the somewhat dilapidated chapel at *Wandsworth Common* (where a station had been established in 1817), and use it as a school for poor children. This was agreed to. In September 1832 it was suggested that the church at Wandsworth or Tooting might take charge of the station; but in December the people in attendance were prepared to take the management into their own hands, and its connection with the Society was severed.

From the beginning of 1828 to the end of 1830 inquiries and negotiations were going on with a view to establishing a station at either *Fulham* or *Walham Green*; but no practical result ensued. In the summer of 1828 negotiations were sanctioned for acquiring a place for preaching at *Kensal Green*. But before anything could be effected the room was engaged by the Baptists. In September 1828 preaching was commenced in a schoolroom at *Hampton Wick*, and progress was so satisfactory that within a year the place was overcrowded. In January 1831 a wish was manifested that the station should be affiliated to the church at Kingston, which was agreed to. In September 1828 the Society agreed to take over a disused chapel at *Erith*, which was burdened with a debt of £70. It was reopened on 19th October with a promising congregation, and supplied for upwards of four years; but as by that time very little had been done towards liquidating the debt, notice was given that the supplies would be discontinued from Christmas 1833. The trustees then proposed to sell the chapel, but early in the next year arrangements were made to clear the debt, and to supply the pulpit without the aid of the Society. Preaching was thus continued till 1842, but there was no organized church. Afterwards the chapel was occupied by an agent of the London City Mission. It was closed about 1850. The

present church was constituted in 1857, and has no connection with the former effort, except that for about two years it occupied the old building.

A minute of June 1828 refers to the gratifying aspect of things at *Barking Side*—a station that had been taken over in 1812. It seems that at one time it was partly supplied by Homerton students. In January 1831 there is reference to dissatisfaction, and the Sunday School appears to have been suspended for lack of teachers. It was soon reopened; but towards the end of the year it was proposed to relinquish the station on the expiry of the lease. The lease, however, was renewed, and in 1834 the use of the chapel was granted for a "British" School, on condition that the Master should superintend the Sunday School. In 1837-8-9 there are frequent references to a Mr. Ross, who supplied *Barking Side* for many months—it would seem with some intervals—who received a small payment for his services, and whose ministry was attended with happy results. In 1840-1 a doctor was allowed the use of the chapel once in three months as a vaccinating station! At the date of the latest minutes the preaching station was still maintained, but in a sadly depressed condition.

The station at *Woodford Bridge* (also taken over in 1812) seems to have had varying fortunes. In April 1829 we find a proposal to build a schoolroom; in August ground is offered, and two years later inquiries are still being made. In October 1833 there is a notice of supplies being sent—as if this were a new thing—and of an attendance of 100 or 140; and at the end of the year the numbers are improving. Then in October 1835 the school is transferred to the preaching-place; and in June 1837 the station is discontinued.

A preaching-station at *Finchley* had been adopted in 1820. In February 1829 Thomas Wilson, Esq., requested that it might be supplied for a time by the students of Highbury (formerly Hoxton) College. This was agreed to. In June Mr. Wilson made a challenge offer of £50 towards building a chapel; this was accepted, and a chapel built, towards which the Society engaged to contribute £10 a year for five years. This developed into what is to-day a vigorous church; but it does not seem to have had any further relations with the Itinerant Society.

Several other efforts initiated in 1829 issued in disappointment. A room was reported as obtainable at *Hampstead North End*, and assistance was asked towards the opening of a place at *Parson's Green*; but in each case the negotiations proved futile. A room was taken at *Chingford Green*, and preaching was commenced, as many as 200 having been in attendance; but in January 1830 the room ceased to be available. In December 1829 supplies were requested for the chapel at *Ewell*—which had been built by the extraordinary perseverance and self-denial of Mary Wallis (see

Trans. iv, 27). In January following Mrs. Wallis asked that the matter might be postponed for six months, and nothing more was done till four years later. A suggestive entry is found under date April 1829 : each of the Society's regular preachers is to receive a copy of "Mr. Neale's Publication on Antinomianism." Also eight copies of Burder's *Village Sermons* are bought—presumably for use at stations where no preachers are available. On 30th September of the same year Mr. G. B. Thompson, one of the Society's preachers, and for a long time a member of its Committee, was ordained at Robert Street Chapel, Grosvenor Square. Rev. W. Leach received the Confession, Rev. Dr. Eb. Henderson offered the Ordination Prayer, Rev. T. Lewis delivered the Charge, Revs. C. Hyatt, E. A. Dunn, — Mason, and G. Evans also took part in the service, the last named giving an explanation of the aims and work of the Society.

In June 1830 it was reported to the Committee that ground for building a chapel might be had at *Welling*, where for some time there had been preaching, *not* by the Society's agents, in a large room. Inquiries were made, conditional promises were given, and in September a meeting was held in a tent, with a view to elicit local feeling on the subject. As a result a building was erected in the summer of 1831, which was opened on Good Friday, 1832. The congregation desired that the station should be under the direction of the Itinerant Society, but were unwilling that the building should become its property. Some misunderstanding arose, leading to considerable delay in executing a Trust Deed, which seems at length to have been overcome. In 1838 it was stated that "the Society has no responsibility in respect of this place." After troublous times the chapel was closed in 1846, but reopened eighteen months later. Sometimes there was a settled pastor, sometimes the pulpit was supplied by students, and sometimes the supplies were various. A "Union Church" was recognized in 1889.

In September 1830 a sum of £20 was voted to establish a Library for the use of the preachers, and a small Committee was constituted to select the books. A month later a lady gave £10 to provide the nucleus of five village libraries. The villages selected were *Bromley*, *Sydenham*, *Wimbledon*, *Merton*, and *Barking Side*. Somewhat elaborate rules were drawn up for the working of these libraries, which were "to consist principally of books of Doctrinal, Experimental, and Practical Religion; together with Christian Biography, Ecclesiastical History, and other works calculated to elucidate the Sacred Volume." In each place the sum available for a commencement was Two pounds; and it may be interesting, after three generations, to notice what books were purchased therewith:—*Christian Biography* 6 vols., *Select Sermons* 4 vols., *Village Sermons* (if Burder's) 2 vols., Boston's *Fourfold*

State, Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress, Doddridge's Rise and Progress of Religion in the Soul, Serle's Christian Remembrancer, Thornton's Repentance Enforced, Richmond's Annals of the Poor, The Daily Scripture Expositor, and Vincent On Love to Christ.

During this year attention was directed to the spiritual needs of *Chiswick*; but beyond making inquiries nothing practical could be effected. Early in 1831, however, an unfinished building was obtained on lease, which was duly fitted up, and about the end of June a Sunday School was commenced with from 40 to 50 scholars. On 28th July the other part of the building was opened as a chapel; Rev. Dr. Bennett preached in the morning, Rev. T. Robinson in the afternoon, and Rev. R. Vaughan in the evening. In October a wish was expressed for the establishment of a Day School, which was done, but the result was rather disappointing. The Society arranged for pulpit supplies till July 1835, when assent was given to the expressed desire of the worshippers to constitute a Congregational Church, and take the management of their own affairs. Unfortunately about a year later serious dissension occurred among the members, which was not easily appeased. But in October 1838 Rev. Edward Miller was invited to become the settled pastor. In 1840-1 arrangements were made for an extension of the lease, for its assignment to trustees of whom three were to be nominees of the Society, and for the rebuilding of the chapel; to the cost of which the Society made a grant of £20 in November 1841, and two smaller grants in 1844 and 1846, whereby the building was freed from encumbrance. Mr. Miller resigned in 1850, after which the place appears in the *Year Book* as "Vacant" or "Supplied" till 1876, when it is dropped.

In April 1831 it was reported that no building could be obtained suitable for a mission at *Strand-on-the-Green*, but that ground could be leased. It was arranged to lease a plot for 21 years, if certain conditions could be met. In the autumn aid was asked of the Sunday School Union toward the building of a schoolroom, which was effected in the latter half of 1832. There was much difficulty in obtaining teachers; but by February 1833 there were 80 or 90 Sunday Scholars, 70 or 80 Day Scholars, and a Sunday Evening attendance of near 100 adults. A chapel was opened on Good Friday, and a Trust Deed executed about the end of the year. In July 1835 a Congregational Church was constituted, and Mr. W. C. Yonge, one of the Society's preachers, was called to the pastorate. He was ordained, with the approval of the Society, in November or December 1835. In 1840 Mr. Yonge removed to Brentford; and arrangements were made that Strand should be supplied alternately by one of the Society's preachers and by an agent of the Christian Instruction Society. In 1847 a grant was made by the Society for repairing the Chapel, which was at that time supplied by the Itinerants. It was reported to be in a pros-

perous condition; the Sunday School and Day School to be efficiently conducted; and Mr. Yonge continuing to exercise a kindly oversight. Afterwards it is shown in the *Year Book* as "Supplied," or as an out-station, till 1872, when it disappears.

In January 1832 the Society was requested to supply a chapel at *Twickenham*, which had formerly been served by Highbury Students. Preachers were sent for an experimental term of five weeks; but the results were so discouraging that the experiment was not continued. A request to attempt operations at *New Charlton* was declined, as "the place was deemed ineligible"; and a request for financial assistance at *Ridgway* (near Wimbledon) was declined on the ground that there were no funds available.

In April of this year the Society acquired the unexpired term—about 60 years—of the lease of a building at *Stratford Marsh*, which appeared suitable for a schoolroom and preaching-station. A commencement was made in the summer; and by the end of the year there were 90 Day Scholars, the Sunday School was reported "full," and a Sunday Evening Congregation ranged from 25 to 50 adults. For some years the Society supplied preachers; then a gentleman unnamed became the regular supply; and on his being disabled by illness, in May 1839, the Society was requested to resume the appointment of Supplies. There is evidence that the station was subject to a kind of ebb and flow; in 1840 the Committee were of opinion that it would be better worked by local agency, and the Minister of Old Ford was requested to take it under his superintendence. For the next three years or more the minutes relate chiefly to financial matters, grants in aid of the Sunday School, etc. At one time the Sunday Evening Service must have been suspended, for there is a note in a document 1843 that it had been "resumed." The report for 1847, however, admits "the failure of the Sabbath Evening Service, arising from the peculiar circumstances of the neighbourhood." The building "continued to afford accommodation to the Infant and Sabbath Schools established by friends in the neighbourhood"; but the general outlook was not encouraging.

In August 1832 it was decided that each of the several Stations should be placed under the direct superintendence of one of the Society's Agents; the appointments were as follows:—

Acton... ..	Mr. Gee.	Strand-on-the	
Barking Side... ..	Mr. Worster.	Green ...	Mr. Thompson.
Bromley	Mr. Holland.	StratfordMarsh	Mr. Livesey.
Bromley Common	"	Sydenham ...	Mr. Yonge.
Chiswick	Mr. Thompson.	ThorntonHeath	Mr. Holland.
E.ith... ..	Mr. Howard.	Wandsworth	
Merton	Mr. Erlebach.	Common ...	?
Mortlake	Mr. Page.	Welling ...	Mr. Scoble.
Ridgway	Mr. Croft.	Wimbledon ...	Mr. Bandy.

In the summer of 1833 inquiries were made about spiritual destitution at *Rainham*; but no practical results ensued.

In February 1834 Rev. William Henry of Tooting complained, as a trustee of the chapel at *Ewell* (see December 1829), that Supplies who had been sent thither had been refused the pulpit, which had been filled by persons whose doctrines were not in accord with those of the trustees. He therefore requested that the Society would undertake the supply, in co-operation with two persons named. It was agreed to send preachers on two Sundays in each month till Midsummer. Supplies were continued till December, when it was resolved "that the funds of the Society do not warrant a renewal of the engagement."

In April 1834 it was agreed, in compliance with a request, to send preachers to a schoolroom in *Little Albany Street*, near Regent's Park. This was discontinued after about fifteen months. During this summer *Hayes* in Middlesex is mentioned as having been taken on as a station. How long it was continued does not appear.

In March 1835 the agents of the Society held a meeting, and resolved that it was desirable for them to meet once in three months for conference on the progress of their work, and that the Committee should meet with them; whereby they hoped that much might be done for the improvement of the Society. To this the Committee promptly agreed. In October of the same year mention is made of Supplies sent for four weeks to *Lee* in Kent, and arrangements to occupy a place at *Chingford Hatch* till Christmas. A little later proposals were made with respect to *Halfpenny Street*, near Eltham; inquiries were directed, but it does not appear that any action was taken.

Toward the end of November 1836 conversation took place as to a possible junction or affiliation of the Society with the Congregational Union. The matter was discussed during several months, but finally dropped; the then constitution of the Congregational Union rendering the project impracticable.

In June 1837 a grant of £10 was made to assist Evangelistic work at *Tawney Common*, near Chigwell; and in October mention is made of a house opened for worship, and adopted as a station, at *Dagenham*; but neither place is afterwards mentioned.

At the beginning of 1838 a Sub-committee was appointed to inquire into the tenure of the various buildings held or occupied by the Society. The result, as reported on 21st February, may be summarized as follows:—

Barking Side, Lease for 21 years from 25th March, 1832.

Bromley Common, Lease for 98 years from Michaelmas, 1821.

Bromley, Lease of Old Chapel expired; no responsibility for the New.

- Chiswick*, Lease for 28 years from 25th March, 1831.
Finchley, Society has no liability.
Hanwell, Documents in private custody.
Merton, Lease expired ; a new chapel to be built.
Mortlake, Lease in the hands of the Secretary.
Strand-on-the-Green, Lease for 21 years from 1832.
Stratford Marsh, Lease for 61 years from Michaelmas, 1822.
Sydenham, Lease in the hands of the Mortgagee.
Welling, Society has no responsibility.
Wimbledon, Believed Copyhold ; further inquiry desirable.

As late as June 1839 it was formally reported that "no distinct resolution had been come to by the Congregational Union as to the negotiation for uniting the two Societies." It was thereupon resolved "that we do now occupy our best energies to form New Stations ; and that a Sub-committee be appointed to carry this resolution into effect." In accordance with this resolution attempts were made in 1840 to obtain places for preaching at *Harlsden Green* and *Chislehurst*, but without success. More prosperous was the effort put forth at *Elstree*, where a small chapel was built, and opened on 16th September. Preaching was commenced by the Society's agents, and a congregation gathered ; when Rev. E. Smith took up his abode in the village with a view to establishing a School. It was arranged that he should also take charge of the chapel services, receiving a small yearly grant from the Society. A church was constituted, with Mr. Smith as pastor ; but that gentleman left in 1843 or 4, and the pulpit was again supplied by the Society's preachers. There was some trouble about a mortgage debt, and there was much opposition ; but spiritual fruit was not lacking. However, the station must soon have been discontinued, as it is never mentioned in the *Congregational Year Book*. The present church is of much later origin.

There were some suggestions of a station at *Torrington Park*, near Whetstone ; but no practical results ensued. In 1841 a request was made for preachers for a schoolroom at *Orpington* ; the request was complied with, but for how long is not recorded.

The London Board of Congregational Ministers had, as far back as 1838, appointed a Committee to inquire into the religious condition of the villages within 20 miles of London. In 1842 conferences took place between representatives of the Board and of the Itinerant Society, with a view to mutual co-operation. Revision of rules was suggested, and a more definitely denominational title. But the proposals ended in indefinite postponement.

In the summer of 1843 a chapel at *Turnham Green*, lately relinquished by the Wesleyans, was reopened. But at the end of twelve months, there being little prospect of satisfactory results, the station was discontinued.

In June 1843 we have a minute of the appointment of two Delegates to an International Anti-slavery Convention which was held in that year.

During 1844 preaching was commenced at *Histon, Hampton, East Molesey, and Seething-well*, near Kingston. No later mention is found of the first and third of these stations; but in June 1847 it was reported that the pulpit at Hampton was permanently supplied. Seething-well still remained on the list.

It may be of some interest to give the expenditure and local income for the preaching-stations for the year 1845-6, the latest statement which appears in the Minute Book:—

	Expenditure.			Local Income.			Balance.		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Barkingside	20	8	0	4	0	0	16	8	0
Elstree	28	8	0	nil			28	8	0
Hampton... ..	17	15	0	13	3	8	4	11	4
Strand-on-the-Green ...	10	6	0	Expended on Incidentals			10	6	0
Stratford Marsh... ..	5	0	0	nil			5	0	0
Wimbledon	25	15	10	22	11	0	3	4	10
	<hr/>			<hr/>			<hr/>		
	107	12	10	39	14	8	67	18	2
	<hr/>			<hr/>			<hr/>		

The minutes break off abruptly at the end of 1847, before the middle of the volume. Under what circumstances the Society was dissolved is not recorded.

With regard to what may be called the machinery of the Society, no complete account can be given, because of lacunæ in the Minute Books. In these indeed after the first twenty years records of the Annual General Meetings are seldom found, though the Committee Meetings are in general fully reported. At first all the meetings were held at the Castle and Falcon in Aldersgate Street. Afterwards the Annual Meetings were held from 1801 to 1808 at Paul's Coffee House; from 1809 to 1815 at the Guildhall Coffee House; from 1816 to 1828 and perhaps later at the New London Tavern; afterwards usually at various Chapels, or at the Congregational Library in Blomfield Street. The Committee Meetings were usually held from 1801 to 1809 at 36 Noble Street, Foster Lane; from 1809 to 1813 at 7 Shoe Lane; from 1813 to 1815 at 50 Fetter Lane; from 1815 to 1821 at the rooms of the London Missionary Society in Old Jewry; from 1821 to 1823 at the Home Missionary Society's rooms, 18 Aldermanbury; and from 1834 to the end at the Congregational Library. For many years there was a yearly social meeting near about the New Year,

held in some Coffee House or other convenient place. Of the character of these meetings no account is given; paucity of attendance led to their discontinuance.

The first secretary of the Society was Rev. W. F. Platt. He retired in 1821, and was succeeded by Rev. W. Broadfoot, with Mr. Wm. Beams as assistant-secretary. From 1826 to 1838 Rev. George Evans and Mr. Beams were joint secretaries; then Rev. Geo. Evans and Mr. J. T. Read till 1846; and on the death of Mr. Evans his place was taken by Rev. R. T. Hunt.

The first treasurer was Jas. Neale, Esq., assisted latterly by his son Benjamin Neale, who succeeded to the office on his father's death in 1813, but only held it for a year or two. Andrew Birt was treasurer from 1815 to 1817; then Samuel Robinson, the well-known founder of "Robinson's Retreat." He died in 1833, and was followed by Joshua Wilson till 1839. Thence till 1844 the treasurer was Thomas Livesay; on the failure of whose health Alderman Thos. Challis held the post for a year or two; finally giving place to Joseph Maitland. Among ministers who are specially mentioned as having assisted the Society in various ways, as by preaching, service on Committees, loan of chapels on special occasions, etc., we find the names of Rowland Hill, Matthew Wilks, John Eyre, C. Hyatt, E. J. Jones, Dr. W. B. Collyer, Dr. Alex. Fletcher, John Blackburn, Dr. Matheson, etc.

The churches which originated in the labours of the Society's preachers, and were constituted with its approval, were all Congregational. But the Society itself was in its inception Undenominational; several of its most active supporters being ministers of churches which were Independent indeed, but not strictly speaking Congregational, and themselves technically disqualified for admission to the London Board of Congregational Ministers. They were in fact what in those days were called "Calvinistic Methodists" (see *Trans.* vi, p. 126). In accordance with this the ordinations sanctioned by the Society were for the most part *not* to Congregational pastorates; with the exception of Rev. W. C. Yonge the brethren concerned were ordained as presbyters at large, it being thought irregular that the sacraments should be administered by laymen.

From first to last the agents of the Society occupied about fifty-five preaching-stations, some for only a few weeks, some for years together. Of these only five were already-existing churches, viz. Mortlake, Bromley, Ponders End, Erith, and Ewell; and four of these still subsist in varying degrees of prosperity. Of preaching-stations initiated by the Society, West Norwood, Lewisham, Sydenham, Ealing, Acton, Merton, Finchley, and Welling have each formed the nucleus of a still existing church; while among stations that were discontinued, but in which Congregational Churches have since been established, we may

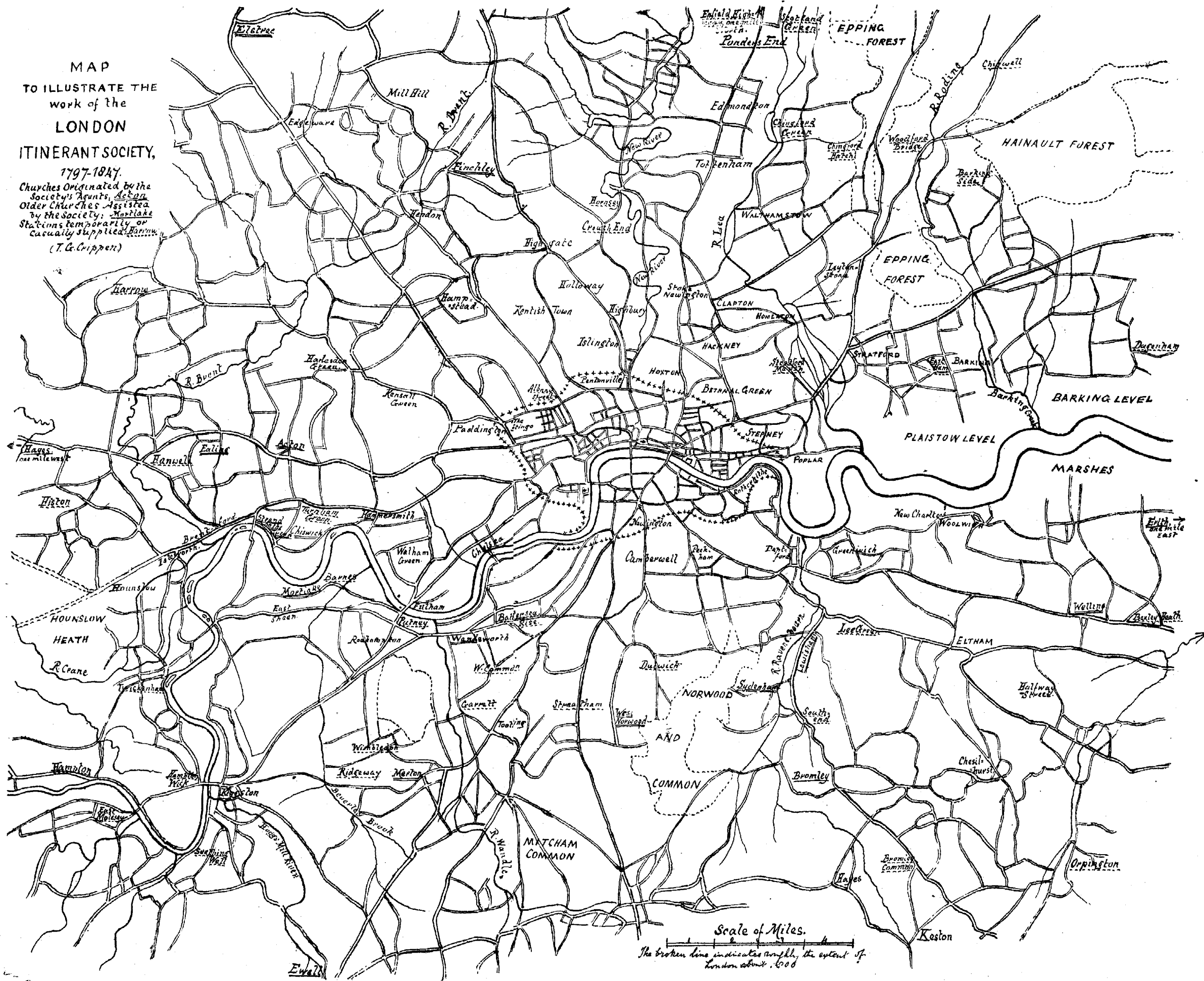
reckon Dulwich, Streatham, Wimbledon, Merton, Enfield Highway, Woodford Bridge, Erith, Crouch End, Hanwell, Bexley Heath, and Elstree. The Society completely failed in its attempt to do such work as is effectively done by the London City Mission; and its activities were considerably hampered by financial difficulties arising from its attempting the work of a Church Building Society. But it has left honourable records; and if it became evident that by 1847 its work was done, it still remains true that

"God fulfils Himself in many ways,
Lest one good custom should corrupt the world."

NOTE.—Our attention has been called to an error on p. 315, ll. 20–23. It was not Haslemere, but Petersfield, where Mr. Densham was located as Evangelist in 1798. He was ordained in October 1799; and the fatal accident which ended his ministry occurred while he was on a journey to Haslemere in July 1803.

MAP
TO ILLUSTRATE THE
work of the
LONDON
ITINERANT SOCIETY,
1797-1847.

Churches Originated by the
Society's Agents, *Acted*
Older Churches Assisted
by the Society; *Marked*
Stations temporarily or
casually supplied; *Barred*
(T. G. Crippen)



Scale of Miles.
The broken line indicates roughly the extent of
London about 1800

William Cudworth and his Connexion (1717-1763)

WILLIAM CUDWORTH was the leading spirit of an offshoot from Methodism, the adherents of which were called "The Hearers and Followers of the Apostles." Born in 1717 or 1718, we find him in 1744 ministering to a small congregation in what had been the French Church in Black and Grey Eagle Street, Spitalfields. At the invitation of George Whitefield he joined to this duty the care of the school at the Tabernacle; but on 12th June, 1745, he left Whitefield and added to his original meeting the late French Chapel in Peter's Yard, Castle Street, near Leicester Fields. In or about December 1745 he was "set apart to administer the Ordinances," and increased the number of meeting-houses in his connexion by the acquisition of those in Petticoat Lane and Angel Alley. In the first of these John Humphrey and Joseph Hussey had formerly ministered, and in the latter Elias Keach and Edward Ridgway. Before 1748 the French Chapel in New Hermitage Street, Wapping, was also attached to the Connexion. Here William Collins was a frequent preacher; but his views concerning a Real Presence in the Sacramental Elements contributed to his dissociation from Cudworth.

In 1751 Cudworth first journeyed to Norwich, and preached at the Tabernacle there; also at the Tabernacle at Forncett, and at Bury St. Edmunds, on many subsequent occasions. In 1752 he erected a chapel in Margaret Street, near Oxford Market, close beside which was his residence. The site of this chapel is now occupied by the church of All Saints, Margaret Street. Cudworth was much occupied with theological controversy. He had differences both with Whitefield and Wesley, the latter of whom exhibited considerable bitterness towards him, apparently on account of his friendship with James Hervey the well-known author of *Theron and Aspasio*. His defence of the doctrine of Imputed Righteousness also brought him into conflict with Ann Dutton. He died at Brewood in Staffordshire on 10th June, 1763. His Connexion seems to have dissolved before the end of the century; but the Peter Street meeting continued at least

until 1778, when a conference of its vestry is said to have been held with delegates of the Scotch Church in Swallow Street. Margaret Street Chapel was mortgaged to General Gage of Bunker's Hill fame. It was known as "The Pentagon Chapel," and had a sky-blue roof. Some of its later preachers were far from Orthodox in Cudworth's sense; among them are named Franklin and Dr. Williams. It still existed in 1840.

Cudworth was accustomed to say that he wished to live only in that which he taught. The following extracts fairly represent the essential points of his teaching :—

"My only hope is in my faith in Christ. This faith is not a faith in historical acts, but an implicit acceptance that Christ has already effected all that is necessary for the Salvation of Mankind and me. So far as I accept this, without thought or trouble of my worth or works, His great work will proceed in me towards salvation. Remorse and sorrow are no more acceptance of Christ than hiccough is digestion. My merits, my acts, my accomplishments are naught, they are at best the mere reflection of the Act that has historically influenced the World, and has been indisputably its motive and its principle for ever guiding it towards The Great Example. As Christianity has guided the World nearer God, so the Atonement has been effected; as the World has rejected Christian teaching, so the sacrifice has been rendered of delayed effect and Christ has been crucified afresh. If I accept Him, I am shaped to His likeness, and this is Sanctification in its Becoming.

"Because the best of our works, even contrition, are purely the result of human and unavailing emotions, the only repentance of worth is the turning to Christ. God then of His Grace regards me under the fresh aspect of Man made to the likeness of Christ (Psalm xvii, 15). This is the fruit of the Incarnation, whereby the second Adam becomes the Father of men once more made in the image of God.

"Then Justification and Sanctification in Act are one, and that Act is of God and not the work of the recipient. They are merely the Righteousness of the Only Righteous Christ, given, in its perfection, to the individual, who is clothed in it, and to the Church, the One and Undeified (Solomon's Song iv, 7) which is One Holy and Invincible even as its Creator, to Whom it is indissolubly united, and by Whose Blood it has been bought.

"This way of Faith is the strait path to God's City, whereon the pilgrim travels safe by the pledged honour of God, in full knowledge, assurance and sight of Him by Whom he is called."

The following is believed to be a complete list of Cudworth's publications. The publishers are all of London, unless otherwise stated.

* indicates, "In British Museum." § In possession of compiler.
 † indicates, "In Congregational Library, Memorial Hall, London." ‡ No copy known to compiler.

1. A Vindication of . . . the Assurance of Faith from . . . the Rev. Mr. Crookshanks etc. 1744. 6d.*

The Rev. Wm. Crookshanks of Swallow St. Presbyterian Church published two sermons; "Steadfastness in the Faith recommended." 1743.* These are criticized.

2. Reasons against the Use of Marks and Evidences. 1745.*†§
 2nd. edn. entitled, "A Necessary Caution against seeking Peace of Conscience by Marks and Evidences misapplied." 1777. 4d.§
 3rd edition. 1843. See no. 47.*
 See also 10 (vi).

3. Some Observations concerning the Church of Christ. 1745.*†§
 See no. 10 (vii).

4. A Dialogue between A Preacher of Inherent Righteousness and a Preacher of God's Righteousness. 1745.*†§
 A Reply to John Wesley's tract, "A Dialogue between an Antinomian and his Friend."*† Wesley replied with a second dialogue, to which Cudworth replied as shown in 10 (x).

5. A Collection of Hymns. pp. 1-96. circ. 1745. 6d.*

6. A Collection of Hymns for the Use of a Church of Christ, etc. Composed by the Brethren and Sisters. Part II. pp. 97-276, with Index to Pts. 1 and 2. 12mo. 1746.* See no. 8 of list.

7. A Letter to Mrs. Anne Dutton.†

An account of Cudworth's controversy with Mrs. Anne Dutton is contained in *N. & Q.* 12 S. ii. 471. See also no. 10 (x) in this list.

8. A Collection of Hymns . . . for the Use of Religious Societies. 1747. 2s.†

A further imprint of no. 6 above, with different title-page.

9. Holy Meditations . . . of Jesus Christ. . . . Together with the Righteousness of Faith. 1746. 12mo. 6d.*

This compilation of Wm. Cudworth's is a reprint of a poem of high merit, written by an unnamed author in 1642. Stanza 1 begins:—

"O pleasant streams, whose living waves
 "Bove Libanus do rise,
 "About whose banks the flowers do meet
 "Right joysom for our eyes."

pp. 91-94 are extracts from Paradise Lost.
p. 95 a Contents Table of Holy Meditation.

10. Christ Alone Exalted. A Collection of Tracts. 1746. 12mo.
1s. 6d.†

2nd edn. 1747*†§ 12 parts.

(i) A Sermon on Ephes. ii, 8, extracted from the works of Mr. John Simpson. pp. 1-28, entitled, Man's Righteousness no Cause or Part of his Justification.

Preface by J. Cennick.

(ii) A Second Sermon on Ephes. ii. 8 . . . Mr. John Simpson. pp. 29-52, and entitled, Salvation only by God's Grace.

(iii) A Third Sermon on Ephes. ii. 8 . . . Mr. John Simpson. pp. 53-74, and entitled, Salvation only by Believing, to which are added, Passages extracted from . . . Dr. Martin Luther. pp. 74-78.

(iv) Abraham's Steps of Faith . . . extracted from . . . Mr. John Eaton, A.M., of Trinity College, Oxon. 1745.

Preface by John Cennick. pp. 1-10 are the extracts named above; pp. 11, 15 and 16 an extract of Erskine's Gospel Sonnets; pp. 12-14 a tract entitled, Free Salvation defended and several Common Objections answered. By W. C.

(v) Justification by Christ Alone . . . Written by Samuel Richardson in the year 1647. pp. 1-12. 1745.

See no. 14 in this vol.

(vi) Some Reasons against making Use of Marks and Evidences etc. With . . . Preface by Mr. Edward Godwin. 1745. pp. 1-24.

The preface dated Artillery Court, May 14, 1745, is by Godwin the ancestor of Godwin, author of Caleb Williams, and of Mrs. Shelley. See no. 2.

(vii) Some Observations concerning the Church of Christ. By Wm. Cudworth. 1745. pp. 1-16.

The previous tractates (iii)-(vi) were sold at the Tabernacle. This was on sale at the late French Church, Grey Eagle St. It marks the separation of Cudworth from Methodism. See also no. 3.

(viii) A Dialogue etc. pp. 1-12. 1745.

See also no. 4 and 10 xi.

(ix) The Copy of a Letter sent to Matthew Henderson in Newgate, for the barbarous Murder of . . . Lady Dal-

rymple, etc. n.d. pp. 1-12. 1d. Sold . . . at the late French Church in Black and Grey Eagle St., Spitalfields, and in Peter's Yard, in Castle St., near Leicester Fields.

Date 1746. The letter is by Robert Fowler, a member of Cudworth's connexion. In some copies is added (ix) (a). Herein Cudworth's connexion is styled, Congregational.

(ix) (a) Letter to M. H. White under sentence of death in Newgate.

(x) Truth defended and cleared from Mistakes and Misrepresentations, etc. Being an Answer to the Postscript of a Letter lately Published. pp. 1-32. 1746.

Sold at above places and the French Chapel in New Hermitage St., Wapping. See no. 7.

(xi) A Second Dialogue between A Preacher of Inherent Righteousness and a Preacher of God's Righteousness. 1746. pp. 33-47.

See no. 4. To this pamphlet is added :—

(xi) (a) A Declaration of the Faith and Practice of a Church of Christ, etc. pp. 47-52. 1746.

(xii) The Discovery of the most Dangerous Dead Faith. By the Reverend Mr. John Eaton, A.M. . . . Fifteen Years Minister . . . at Wickham Market in Suffolk. 1747. pp. 1-60.

Sold as above and by Stephen Dixon at Barton in Leicestershire. Preface iii-v by Wm. Cudworth and vi to xii by John Eaton. pp. 56-60 are extracts from Luther's Epistle to the Galatians. See also 10 (iv).

11. The Intentions, Articles and Order of a Church of Christ etc. 1746.†

12. Free Thoughts on . . . Election etc. 1747. 8°. 1s.*†

With Cooper, the publisher of above. Mr. Richard Finch produced in 1747, A Free Examination of Mr. Cudworth's Free Thoughts on Election, etc. 6d.

2nd edition. Free Thoughts on . . . Election, etc., to which is added a letter . . . London Courant, Feb. 26, 1747, with remarks on what Mr. Finch has advanced . . . 1747. 8°. 1s.§

13. The Sentiments of a Church of Christ meeting in Grey Eagle St., Spitalfields, with an account of Mr. C—s's (i.e. William Collins, J.C.W.) Separation from that Church. 1748†, together with

- 13 (a) *The Sinner's Duty . . . Extracted from . . . Marshall's Gospel Mystery of Sanctification.* †
This pamphlet has not a separate title-page.
14. *Justification by Christ Alone.* 1749. †
Another edition of 10 (v).
15. *Practical Directions for the Members of a Church of Christ.* †
16. *A Conference between a Sick Man and a Minister.* †
17. *Some Observations on . . . Moravians . . . the Extracts of their general Synods and . . . the Doctrine of the Trinity and the Person of Christ.* 4d. †
18. *Letter to the Rev. Mr. K. . . . on Repentance.* 1752. pp. 12. §
Has a reference to Melbourne, Derbyshire. A copy exists at the Wesleyan Book Room.
19. *Imputation of the Sins of the Church unto Christ, etc.* 1752. †
Anonymous. pp. 1-11 are extracts from Dr. Owen on Justification, pp. 12-14, a tract entitled :—
- 19 (a) *The Satisfaction of Christ.* †
pp. 15-24 continue as a letter to a cleric dated July 19, 1751, entitled :—
- 19 (b) *Some Thoughts on Christ as the Lord Our Righteousness.* †
20. *A Sermon preached on Easter Sunday, March 29, 1752, upon Romans, iv. 25.* †
21. *Hymns on Several Occasions, 1752, pp. 1724.**
22. *Christ Our True Principle of Holiness, An Extract from Marshall's Gospel Mystery of Sanctification.* 1753.*
23. *A Letter . . . to the Society belonging to the Tabernacle at Norwich, 1754.* 12mo. R. Pavy, St. Giles, Norwich.*
Printed at Norwich. The copy in the Norwich Public Free Library lacks the preface found in the British Museum copy. The tract is a sermon on Luke xii, 32.
24. *Mr. Cudworth's Account of his Proceedings and some of Mr. Wheatley's Friends'.* 1754. Norwich.
Copy in Norwich Public Free Library. This forms pp. 41-51 of James Wheatley's "Reply to the Scandalous Papers of Mrs. Mason and Mr. Timothy Keymer."
- 24 (a) *An Answer to Mr. Paul's Advertisement of the 20th of July.*
p. 56 of the above collection of pamphlets.
25. *A Short Account of the Dealings of God in the Experience of William Cudworth.*
1st ed. Before 1754. †
2nd ed. 1778. †§

26. A Second Part of the Experience of William Cudworth, 1754.†§
2nd ed. ? date.‡
27. Aphorisms Concerning the Assurance of Faith, drawn up at the request of Mr. Hervey, 1757. 6d.
2nd ed. 1843. 8°. See no. 46.*
28. A Friendly Attempt to Remove some Fundamental Mistakes in the Rev. Mr. Whitefield's Sermon, 1757. 6d.*†
29. A Second Volume of Tracts.
30. A Third Volume of Tracts.
31. A Preservative in Perilous Times, circ. 1758. 12°. 1s.*.
Three Letters; one to Mr. James Rely and two to Mr. John Wesley. These letters embittered the relations of Cudworth and Wesley.
32. Christ The Only Foundation, A Sermon preached . . . January 7th, 1759, upon the death of Mr. Hervey. 1759. 4d.‡
2nd edition. Posthumous entitled, A Sermon upon St. Luke ii, 29-31. Copy in Dr. Williams' Library.
33. A Letter wrote by the Author to his Family, etc.§
This is published with the 2nd edition of no. 32 above, and is Cudworth's dying commendation from Brude (i.e. Brewood, J.C.W.).
34. The Real Union between Christ and His Church, 6d. 1760.‡
A continuation of the controversy with Rely. See no. 31.
35. Mr. Rely's Notion of the Union of Christ and His Church a third time refuted, . . . Animadversions on his pamphlet . . . Antichrist Resisted. ? 1762. 4d.‡
36. Observations on Dr. Free's Speech . . . at Sion House, May the 15th, 1759. . . . inserted in The Monitor, Number 200 and 201, London, 1759. Anonymous.†§
37. Two Emblematical Prints describing the Natural and Spiritual Man. 2s.
Probably published in 1760 by Ryall of Fleet St.
38. A Defence of Theron and Aspasio against . . . Letters on Theron and Aspasio, with some remarks on two late treatises; . . . "Simple Truth Vindicated" . . . "Free Grace Indeed." 1760, pp. 224. 3s.*†§
Written against Robert Sandeman and Samuel Pike. An additional preface contains letters of Hervey, not elsewhere printed.

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2nd edition. 1764. 3s.
 3rd edition. 1825. Embodied in Hervey's collected works.*†§

39. Hymns of Instruction for the Use of the Church of Christ Meeting in Margaret St. . . . 1761. 12mo. pp. 1-10.*†
40. The Polyglott or Hope of Eternal Life, etc. 1761. 1s.*
41. Two Letters to the Rev. Robert Sandeman and those in professed Fellowship with him. ? 1761. 1d. each.†
42. The Doctrine of Our Lord . . . cleared from the False Glosses of the Rev. Wm. Law, to which are added, Some Scripture Hints of the Kingdom of Heaven.§

Mr. Law's Dialogue had been addressed to the Countess of Huntingdon.

43. A Review of the Controversy betwixt Palaemon and Aspasio, in answer to Mr. Sandeman's Appendix. ? 1762. 6d.†

The Appendix is that to the 3rd ed. of Letters on Theron and Aspasio, Edinburgh. 1762.†

44. A Collection of Hymns for the Use of the Hearers of the Apostles . . . 2 pts. 1763 and 1764. 12mo. pp. 1-165. Index i-vi.*

p. 123 is a hymn on Cudworth's death, June 10, 1763. [Also a reprint, Nottingham 1777.]

45. The New Testament Church, or A Short View of Christianity . . . with Preface . . . to the Congregations at Norwich and at Fornccett. 1764. pp. 1-24.*
46. Aphorisms concerning the Assurance of Faith ; Saving Faith as laid down in the Word of God . . . Extracts from the Rev. Wm. Cudworth of Norwich . . . printed for the Free Church of Scotland. 1843. 8°. Edinburgh and London.*
47. Looking to the Cross. An edition of the treatise on Marks and Evidence, edited and indexed by A. Bonar. 4th Thous. 1851. Kelso. 16mo.*
48. Letters in the Gentlemen's Magazine, May to August. 1761.
49. [Possibly of Cudworth's editing] Sacred Hymns for the Use of editing Religious Societies. 1752. pp. 1-46 and Index, 3 pp.§

Probably printed for the use of Wheatley's congregation at Norwich. The majority of the hymns are certainly not Cudworth's. Hymn 68 is to accompany the administration of Extreme Unction.

50. [Possibly Cudworth's] A Collection of Hymns for the Use of Religious Societies. 1753. pp. 1-76.§

Hymn 16 is for "one that is lunatick and sore vexed." Hymn 56 is entitled, "The Holy Eucharist as it implies a Sacrifice."¹

51. [Probably Cudworth's] A Collection of Hymns. Norwich, 1752. pp. 1-32.‡

In general the verse is much inferior to that of the two previous compilations. Nos. 49-51 are bound in contemporaneous calf, initialled A.P., and have pasted on the first cover a woodcut of Wheatley's Tabernacle, superscribed "What hath God wrought?" Num. xxiii, 23.

52. [Probably Cudworth's] The Work of the Spirit in Bringing a Soul to Christ. Circ. 1756.‡

This "evangelical piece" is mentioned in a letter of the Rev. Jas. Hervey dated Jan. 26, 1756. He desires Cudworth to send him a copy.

53. [Not Cudworth's, but ascribed to him by T. Keymer.] A Reply to the Scandalous Papers of Mrs. M——n and Mr. T——K——r. 1754.

This Norwich pamphlet was directed by some friends of James Wheatley against Mrs. Mary Mason (*née* Towler) and Timothy Keymer, a comb-maker of questionable reputation who became preacher at Great Gransden. A copy exists in the Norwich Public Free Library.

54. [Not Cudworth's but ascribed to him, as a forgery perpetrated under Hervey's name by the Rev. Walter Sellon, and as ascribed in part to him by John Wesley.] *Aspasio Vindicated and . . . Imputed Righteousness defended against the Rev. Mr. John Wesley.* 12mo. pp. 288. 1764. William Gray. Edinburgh.‡ [With Preface by Philoletes.]

The eleven letters are Hervey's and agree textually with his extant holograph. The preface was written by the Rev. John Erskine of New and Old Greyfriars Church, Edinburgh.

55. [Not Cudworth's, but compiled from material partly supplied by him.]

A True and Particular Narrative of the Disturbances and Outrages that have been Committed in the City of Norwich, since November . . . London, 1752.*†

The account consists partly of statements of the rioters and partly of letters to the St. James's Evening Post of the early part of the year 1752.

¹ Dr. Ralph Cudworth (1617-1688), Master of Christ's College, Cambridge, in his treatise on the Lord's Supper, treats it as "not a sacrifice, but a Feast upon a Sacrifice." That is the distinction implied in the title above.

Printers and Publishers of the Above Tracts, etc.

E. Allen, Bolt Court, Fleet Street, 20, 21, 44.

M. Cooper, The Globe, Paternoster Row, 12.

C. Corbett, Addison's Head, Fleet Street, 1.

R. Pavy, St. Giles's, Norwich, 23.

Stephen Dixon, Barton, Leicestershire, 10 (xii).

J. Gordon, Joyner, The Lyon and Chair, Argyle Street, Golden Square, 1.

J. Hart, Popping's Court, Fleet Street, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10 (i-xii), 11, 14,

G. Keith, Bible and Crown, Gracechurch Street, 16, 19, 22, 31.
32 (1st edn.), 34, 38 (1st edn.).

J. Lewis, Bartholomew Close, 8, 9, 10 (1-xii), 11, 14.

M. Lewis, Paternoster Row, 16, 19, 31.

T. Smith, Ship Alley, Wellclose Square, 16, 19, 31, 34.

J. Wren, The Bible, near Turnstyle, Holborn, 14.

J. C. WHITEBROOK.

The Diary of an Ejected Minister

IN the *Nonconformists' Memorial* is an interesting account of Rev. Francis Chandler, ejected from the sequestered benefice of Theydon Mount, Essex. Mr. Chandler kept a Latin Diary, which came into the hands of a Mr. B. H. Bright, and was lent by him to Rev. Joseph Hunter. Mr. Hunter made copious extracts from this diary, translating for the most part, sometimes condensing, and in a few places transcribing the original Latin. These extracts form part of the *Collectanea Hunteriana* in the British Museum (MS. Addl. 24485, pp. 35-43), and we think are of sufficient interest to deserve reproduction, especially in view of the numerous references to ministers ejected in Essex. We have ventured to translate most of those portions which Hunter left in Latin, excepting where illegibility makes the sense difficult to ascertain.

1661.—Aug. 12. I dined at Dr. Meg's, who after dinner took me into his little study (*musaeolum*), where with many words and in various manners he endeavoured to induce me to conformity. The result was that I determined to enjoy my liberty, at least till the affairs of the church are settled in parliament.

13. Dr. Megs and his wife visited us.

14. My aunt King was this day buried in the chapel at Ongar, when Mr. Larkin preached. I with my wife (*meissima*) and niece Chaundler rode to the funeral. I and my wife slept at cousin Archer's.

16. Rode to Epping. Rob Jones returned to us from London.

18. Preached at Garmou both parts of the day on Cant. iv. 7. Dined with Mr. Megs, by whom we were kindly received.

20. Rode to Ongar, where heard Mr. Car¹ preach : returning Mr. Car and I visited Mr. Calendrine.²

22. Baptized the little daughter of Wm. Hovilambe at the request of Mr. Car in the church at Lambourne ; name Maria. Dined with him with many of his neighbours.

24. Dined with Mr. Bennet.

27. Mr. Borfit³ visited me.

28. Samuel Hill left school, about to go beyond sea.

29. *Ad Nundinum a Vepribus?* [word illegible] and nephew Edward Chaundler and his wife.

Sept. 2. I, my wife, and little son Francis rode to Mrs. Archer's, lately returned from a long journey.

3. Heard Mr. Harris⁴ at Ongar.

15. Preached at Theydon and Garmon, my wife accompanying me. After our return my wife fell into labour, and about 8 o'clock brought forth a son, *Deo obstetricanti*.

18. Sent £6 to Mr. Purchas⁵ by brother James.

19. Rode to London, where I visited Mr. Rob. Jones, with whom I dined, and Mr. Will. Jones recovering from a disease, and brother Oglethorpe ; then returned home.

22. Baptized my son by the name of Samuel.⁶

23. My dear friend Mr. Car died.

26. He was buried ; Mr. Harper⁷ preached.

30. Rode to Stratford to visit my sister.

Oct. 3. This day Francis Rogers came to us at 55s. a year.

6. Preached at Theydon in the morning and at Garmon at noon, when the Earl of Anglesey and his lady⁸ were present, now the second time.

8. Mr. Brown of Chigwell visited me.

10. Very many of our neighbours at Lambourne congratulated us on the recovery of my wife. Mr. Palmer, his wife, and Mrs. Gent, Mr. Tho. Brown, his wife and 2 dau^{rs}, Mr. Wil. Brown and his wife, Mr. Hovilamb and his d^r, Jo. Nichols and his wife, with others.

17. Brother Oglethorpe and his brother visited us.

21. Rode to visit Mr. Archer, with whom I dined. In the journey I lost my watch (*horologium*).

¹ Probably Gamaliel Carr of Lambourne. He died about a month later.

² Lewis Calendrine, ejected from the rectory of Stapleford Abbots.

³ Probably Samuel Borfet, ejected from the rectory of High Laver.

⁴ Not identified.

⁵ Probably George Purchas, just outed from the sequestered rectory of Panfield.

⁶ He was afterwards Dissenting minister at Andover.

⁷ Probably John Harper, outed from the sequestered vicarage of Epping. He is said to have afterwards conformed.

⁸ The Countess of Anglesey was afterwards a member of the Congregational Church of which Dr. John Owen was pastor.

27. Preached at Garmon. I, my wife, and nephew Oglethorpe dined at Mr. Archer's.

31. Preached the lecture at Brentwood, then rode to Chelmsford, where I slept at the house of cousin Theophilus Aylmer.

Nov. 26. The eldest son of Dr. Megs came to me, and earnestly besought me that I would go over to his mother and endeavour to speak with her; his parents being very much exasperated against him because he had married without their knowledge.

Dec. 1. Preached at Theydon, when I excited the people to charity towards the Lithuanian Prot^{ts}.

4. Rode to Rumford, where I received £10 left me by Mr. Francys.

7. Dr. Megs came to me and complained very much of the disgraceful marriage of his son *cum meretrice* as he called her.

12. To-day my scholars *rivos clauserunt** [These classical expressions are constantly occurring.—T.W.D.].

16. Rode with my wife to visit Mr. Archer, with whom we dined: then visited the wife of Dr. Megs, and walked to Gamishall to visit Sir T. Abdy, Knight and Baronet, and his wife [last word cancelled] when his brother John Abdy was sick.

17. Rode to Mr. Mildmay's at Marks, where I slept.

18. Preached at Romford: dined with Mr. Mildmay, Mr. Vaughan, Mr. Wells of Hornex, Mr. Stonehouse, and Mr. Cummins at Marks.

19. Rode to London, taking leave of Mr. Mildmay, from whom I received 20s. as a gift in gold being lately coined.

1661-2.—Jan. 20. Sister Dakeyne departed to London.

22. A day of public fast on account of the unseasonable weather. Preached at Theydon Garmon, where there was a collection for the poor.

Feb. 3. Dr. Meg told me of some complaints against me being made to the bishop of London.

Mch. 17. Rode to Chelmsford, where I met brother and nephew Ange (?).

19. The cause of brother Ange (?) defendant in an action of defamation, Dr. Ward complainant, was heard.

1662.—May 10. We walked to the well at Epsom.

21. Walked to the same well, where I drank beer made of the water, as I had done the day before.

29. Preached a sermon commemorative of the king's return at Theydon on 2 Saml. xix. 14, 15.

June 6. Rode to Epping; then visited Mr. Archer, and afterwards rode to Dr. Megs, to whom I gave notice that I should not conform. I asked him whether I might continue to preach at Theydon and Garmon, and continue my school, till the time

* Had they practised the schoolboy trick of "barring him out"?

limited in the Act of Uniformity. I obtained his consent, and a promise of impunity as far as it is in his power.

July 1. Preached at Ongar on a sudden, Mr. Calamy¹ being absent.

21. Visited Mr. Church, who is about to marry Sister Dakeyne.

29. I married sister Dakeyne to Abraham Church, citizen of London, in the church of Aldermanbury: we dined at Mr. Smart's, where Mr. Calamy and his wife and many others were with us.

Aug. 11. Brother and sister Church with her little daughter Eliz. Dakeyne left us for London.

17. *Prædicabam apud Garmon ambabus diei vicibus in Heb. xiii. 20, 21, quando ultimam vale iis dedi populo nullum lacrymis dolorem exprimente. Eben Ezer. θεω μονω δοξη εις αιωνιον Αμην.*

18. I with my wife dined with the wife of Dr. Meggs, his son, and his wife on venison sent by the Countess of Anglesey to Mr. Archer.²

19. Rode to Ongar, where heard Mr. Walker.

20. Dedicated this day to fasting and prayer in my family.

21. Sent my son Francis to Mrs. Car for change of air. Dined with other neighbours at Abraham Staines.

22. Rode to Epping, where many would dissuade me from preaching the next Sunday at Theydon, but consulting Mr. Archer I then learned the acceptable news that there are hopes of indulgence from the king.

23. Mr. Walker returning from London confirmed the said news.

24. I preached at Theydon, both parts of the day, on Deut. xxx. 19; a quiet assembly. We dined with Mr. Holloway. For the present I deferred taking leave of the people, on account of the hope of an Indulgence from the king—but a little after vanishing. This night Mr. Holloway began to labour under a mortal disease.

25. I and my wife rode to Chelmsford, and thence to Hadleigh, where we spent the night.

26. I and my wife walked to Maldon, and dined with brother Robert Francys.

27. Rode to Tufts, where I met Mr. Purchas³: after dinner visited Mr. Gilson,⁴ who is sick; then rode to Graies, where I spent the night.

28. I rode to Chelmsford, where I received notice of a convention of ejected brethren. I walked to Moulsham Hall, where I met with Mr. Willis of Ingatestone, Mr. Harrison,⁵ Mr. Wray,⁶ Mr.

¹ Ejected from Moreton. He was the father of Dr. Calamy the historian.

² This suggests that Mr. Chandler had effected reconciliation between Mrs. Meggs and her son respecting his marriage: see 26 Nov. and 7 Dec. above.

³ Ejected from Panfield.

⁴ Ej. from Little Baddow.

⁵ Ej. from Little Waltham.

⁶ Ej. from Great Baddow.

Clopton,¹ Mr. Benson,² Mr. Oakes,³ Mr. Taylor,⁴ and Mr. Rathband.⁵ On my return I came across brother and sister Aylmer in the way. I passed the night at the house of kinsman Theophilus Aylmer.

Sept. Brother Coys⁶ and cousin Plum, with brother and sister Aylmer, etc., entertained me at the King's Head at the expense of cousin Plum.

Oct. 1. Dined with Lord Grey of Groby at his house at Epping.

31. Agreed with Mr. Bishop to sell him my lands and tenements at Woodham Ferrers for £615.

Nov. 3. Cousin Mosse left us for London. Gout in his knee.

27. Saw the reception of the Russian Amb^r which was (?) signift. We were invited to the house of cousin Church, where we saw the procession.

Dec. 9. Brother Coys⁷ left us in poor health.

Jan. 24. Dined with Sir Carew Mildmay at the house of Will. Brown.

Feb. 18. Kept a day of fasting and prayer with Mr. Lavender,⁸ Mr. Willis of Ingatestone, Mr. Whiston,⁹ Mr. Lukin,¹⁰ and Mr. Borfit,¹¹ at the house of Mr. Lavender. Mr. Lav^r began by prayer, then Mr. Lukin preached, and then I prayed, and Mr. Borfit ended with prayer. Slept at cousin Archer's.

1663.—July 19. A child born whom they call Rebecca. [He had at this time two sons named Daniel and Francis.] She died on 29th.

Nov. 10. Visited cousin Plumbe: then rode to Camalodunum,¹² where I preached in the house of brother Francys.

11. Rode to cousin Alleynes, where I dined: then to [illegible] and slept at the house of brother Fenne. [At this period he was often preaching in private families.]

Nov. 23. Dined with Dr. Castell, to whom I paid 1:10 for his *Lexic. Heptagl.*, having before deposited 2:10 in the hands of Samuel Smith. Baptized the little son of my brother Church,¹³ named Abraham.

24. Heard Mr. Tillison¹⁴ preach in Lawrence Church on Job xxviii. 20.

¹ Ej. from Reckondon.

² Ej. from Little Leigh.

³ Ej. from Boreham.

⁴ (?) If Edmund Taylor, ej. from Littleton near Staines; if not we cannot locate him.

⁵ Ej. from South Weald near Brentwood.

⁶ Mrs. Chandler's brother.

⁷ Mrs. Chandler's brother.

⁸ Ej. from Ongar.

⁹ Ej. from Little Laver.

¹⁰ Silenced, but not ejected, not having any benefice.

¹¹ Ej. from High Laver.

¹² Probably Colchester; but the name was sometimes used for Maldon.

¹³ Perhaps Joseph Church, ej. from Hackwell.

¹⁴ Probably Tillotson, afterwards archbishop.

25. Preached in the evening in the house of Mr. Smart before 60 persons; amongst whom were Mr. Calamy jun^r and his mother.

Dec. 8. Rode to Woodford Bridge, expecting the return of my wife from London; but the coach (*currus*) did not return that night.

9. Rode to the same place, but the coach was not returned. This day Mr. Archer was made a Knight.

10. My wife returned to me in safety in the said coach.

11. Rode to Epping; visited Mrs. Archer, lately made a lady, on my return.

17. I supped and slept at Lady Archer's. After supper preached on Phil. i. 28-29.

18. I, my wife, and Lady Archer rode to Mr. Harper's, where we saw his scholars perform "The Eunuch" of Terence. After our return I preached in the family of Lady Archer on Ps. cxix. 96; and there I spent the night.

Jan. 11. The infant of sister Church died.

18. Nephew Daniel Chandler visited us.

Feb. 2. Kept the 6th anniversary of our wedding day.

4. Kept a fast in the house of Mr. Hervey,¹ where Mr. Hervey preached, Mr. Lukin, Mr. Lavender, and I prayed.

Mar. 9. Rode to Romford, met cousin Isaac Francys; then to Brentwood, where I met with my brothers in tribulation Mr. Horrocks,² Mr. Scot,³ and Mr. Clopton.⁴ Rode to the houses of cousin Stride and cousin Ben; slept at cousin Archer's.

1664.—Apl. 10. Preached in the family of cousin Edward Chandler at Ware.

July 12. Dined at cousin King's with others at the wedding of cousin Hill with Mr. Cole. After dinner we went by water to a place called Jamaica in Redriffe, where I met Mr. Crawford of Hertford.

24. A little son of cousin Oglethorpe's, who had been with us eleven weeks, died.

Aug. 10. Rode to Chelmsford, where I met with Mr. Horrocks and Mr. Lisle at the house of Mr. Derrival, where I dined. Mr. Lisle had been delivered out of custody, in which he had been nine months detained.

Oct. 7. In London. Supped at cousin Mosses.

17. Cousin Richard Cox came to visit us.

Nov. 27. Received letters from brother Coys in which he informs me of his arrest by Mr. Miller, and pathetically begs that I will come to him. [On the 30th he visited him in the Fleet Prison.]

Nov. 30. [Another daughter born, whom he named Rebecca.]

¹ Ej. from Laver-Magdalen.

³ Ej. from Great Wakering.

² Ej. from Malden.

⁴ Ej. from Rivenhall.

1665.—Apl. 24. James Manning, who has married niece Hannah Fenne, visited us.

25. Rode with them to London, and paid to the said James £20 given by my former wife to Hannah Fenne.

26. Visited Mrs. Dodderidge.

May 3. Kept a fast at Mr. Hervey's.

21. Mr. Kiteley visited us, and spoke to me about undertaking the education of two sons of his sister Hill.

22. Rode to Mr. Kiteley's,¹ where I met with Mr. Hill, formerly serjeant-at-law, with his wife. Then it was agreed that I should take the two sons, receiving £18 a year for each.

June 14. Mr. Baron Hill² with his wife visited us.

17. I rode to see Lady Archer, from whom I suffered a sharp reprimand for publishing a commission as justice lately given to Mr. Holdsworth Sen^r, as if Mr. Holdsworth Jun^r had been lodging at home.

July 15. Preached at the house of Baron Hill.

Aug. 2. Baron Hill sent his carriage for me, my wife, and scholars to come to his house to keep a private fast on account of the plague; the day being appointed publicly to be observed. Mr. Kiteley prayed; Mr. Thorowgood³ preached on Job xix. 21; I finished by preaching on Is. lxvi. 2.

9. Mr. Moulder, who married the daughter of Mr. Ferriby, instead of an antidote took nearly 100 grains of opium. They sent for me with great importunity; but I was afraid to accede until evening, when Dr. Manton accompanied me.

10. Mr. Moulden recovered by the great providence of God, through the efforts of Dr. Stanes, Dr. Mills, and Mr. Pullyn.

12. Rode to London, and received £30 of Mr. Backwell. On the way I met the wife of my host at the Ram's Head; qui pestam in quadam domo stabulo super eminenti ope nummos oportune illuc [what follows is illegible.] Dined with Mr. Clare. Returned home in safety.

17. This day niece Oglethorpe acquainted us that her brother, coming to us, took on the road a little boy from a woman who confessed to him that her husband had died of the plague; and carried it on his knee on horseback; but hitherto he is safe.

22. Dined after prayer, at which Mr. Ambrose Mildmay was present, at Graies, and then rode with Mr. Mildmay to Moulsham Hall, where I visited sister Brewer and met aunt Mekin: then rode to cousin Aylmer at Chelmsford.

25. Rode to Brayntry, where I sent for (?) Gamaliel and William [illegible] Father Car; and afterwards to Felstead, where I dined with mother Car.

¹ Ej. from Aubery Hatch.

² This implies that Serjeant Hill had been raised to the Bench.

³ Perhaps ej. from Monckton, Kent.

31. Mr. Agas, chaplain to the Earl of Anglesey, dined with [illegible].

Sept. 6. Another fast at Baron Hill's.

7. Visited the Countess of Carlisle.

1666.—May 18, 19, 21. [Visits cousin Peacock, West(?) and Stevens and cousin Gardner.]

Aug. 9. Visited cousin Hockley, from whom I received a shilling to drink wine with my wife.

10. Received £10 for a personal gift, out of money left by will to Ejected Ministers.

Sept. 1. Rode to Pelham Hall to visit brother Alymer; but he with sister removed thence the day before to the house of his brother at Wicken. *Hac nocte ignis prodigiosus civitatem invadere cepit, qui usque ad diem Jovis flagrare pergebat.*

2. Walked to church, where we heard Mr. Henry Archer.

3. Cousin Hanchet(?) with nephew and niece Aylmer came to visit us. *Certioris facti sumus de conflagratione illa miserenda Londini.*

5. A day of public fast. Heard Mr. Archer.

6. This day, thank God, the dreadful conflagration is extinguished: but three chief parts of the city are burnt.

7. Rode to Harle End, where Mr. Payne[†] and I prayed.

8. Nephew and niece Aylmer visited us. Walked with them to Wil. Westwood's, where I heard that our houses in London were burnt.

9. We walked with our three sons to church, where we heard Mr. Archer on Jer. xvii. 27.

Oct. 19. [Has a son born, whom he calls Abraham.]

Dec. 2. [His little daughter dies.]

The last entry is dated 24 May, 1667; and Mr. Chandler died a few days later.

[†] Probably ej. from Bishop's Stortford.

State Prayers—from The Niblock Collection

(Continued from p. 327.)

(VI) *A Form of Common Prayer to be used on Wednesday, the Tenth day of October next . . . being appointed by his Majesty a day of Fasting and Humiliation, in consideration of the late Dreadful FIRE, which wasted the greater part of the City of London. 1666.*

His Majesty hath commanded all Ministers, with all possible earnestness, to stir up the people of their several Congregations that day to a charitable and bountiful Contribution for the relief of those many poor distressed persons, who suffer by reason of this fire . . . And this collection is to be made either in the public Congregation, or by going from house to house, as shall be most conducing to this Charitable and Pious Work.

Here follows the Litany; which, as it is here printed, together with the other proper Collects in this book, shall be used publicly in Churches, not only upon the Monthly Fast-day, but on Wednesday in every week, (and may by every one be used daily in private families) during the time of this pestilence.

“Look down, O Lord, in the bowels of thy mercy upon the sorrows and distresses of thy servants, who in the deepest sense of thy amazing judgments, and our own manifold provocations, lie prostrate in the dust before Thee. To Thee, O God holy and true, belong mercy and forgiveness, but to us confusion of face as it is this day; for we are that incorrigible nation who have resisted thy judgments and abused thy mercies; we have despised the chastisements of the Lord, and turned his grace into wantonness. What shall we then say unto thee, O thou Preserver of men? Thou hast found out the iniquity of thy servants, and discovered our nakedness and pollution, in a vengeance suited and answerable to our grievous crying sins. Our pride, oppression, and fulness of bread had made us like to Sodom, and thou hast afflicted us as Gomorrha. We would not be reclaimed by thy exemplary punishments upon others, and thou hast made us a terror and astonishment to all that are round about us.

“And now, O Lord, thou art most just in all that is come upon us; for thou hast done right, but we have done very wickedly. Yet, behold, we are all thy people, though an unthankful and rebellious people. Suffer us therefore to implore thy pity, and the sounding of thy bowels; and for thy name's sake, for thy mercies sake, for Christ Jesus sake, incline thine ear to us and save us. Above all, we beseech thee, abandon us not to ourselves; but by what method soever shall please thee to reduce us, though to this bitter cup of trembling thou shalt add more and more grievous afflictions, by any the severest course, subdue us unto thyself, and make us to see the things belonging to our peace before they be hid from our eyes; that being duly humbled under thy mighty hand, we may be capable of being relieved and exalted in thy due time, through Christ our Lord. Amen.

“We bless and magnifie thy name, O Lord, for that wonderful mercy thou hast vouchsafed us in midst of thy just and dreadful judgments. It is of thy goodness that we are not consumed; that when we had provoked thee to give us all up to utter ruin and desolation, and thy hand was stretched out to execute thy whole displeasure upon us, yet thou hast preserved a remnant, and plucked us as a brand out of the fire, that we should not utterly perish in our sins. Add, we beseech thee, this one mercy to all that thou hast so unsuccessfully cast away upon us: By thy mighty convincing Spirit awaken our sleepy consciences, soften and melt our hard hearts; that being humbled by thy chastisements we may by thy goodness be led to repentance, and sin no more, lest a worse thing happen unto us: But contrariwise, may faithfully improve this respite and relief, with all its precious advantages and opportunities, to a thankful, humble, profitable walking before thee, that so thy name may be glorified, the gospel credited, and our souls saved in the Day of the Lord. Grant this, O Father, for Jesus Christ's sake, our only Mediator and Redeemer. Amen.”^{*}

(VII) *A Form of Prayer to be used on Friday the Eleventh of April, being the Fast Day appointed by the King's Proclamation, to seek reconciliation with Almighty God, and to implore him that he would infatuate and defeat the counsels of the papists, our enemies, continue his mercies, and the light of his Gospel to us, and our posterity; and bestow his abundant blessings upon his sacred Majesty, and this present Parliament.* 1679.

[This refers to the sham plot of Titus Oates.]

Die Martis 25^o Martii 1679. Resolved, *nemine contradicente*,

^{*} An Adaptation of this prayer was ordered to be used in an Anniversary Commemoration of the Great Fire, on the 2nd of September in every year. This observance was continued for many years.

by the Lords spiritual and temporal, and Commons in parliament assembled, That they do declare that they are fully satisfied by the proofs they have heard, that there now is, and for divers years last past hath been a horrid and treasonable plot and Conspiracy, contrived and carried on by those of the popish religion, for the murdering of his Majesty's sacred person, and for subverting the Protestant Religion, and the ancient and established Government of this Kingdom.

Jo. Browne, Cleric'. Parliamentor'.

Instead of the Collect for the Day, shall be used this which followeth:—

Almighty God, who of thy great mercy toward us hast discovered the designs, and disappointed the attempts of those Popish Conspirators, who under the pretence of religion, and thy most holy Name, had contrived our Destruction, and laboured by the most unjustifiable Methods of Treason and Murder, and the Assassination of his Majesty's sacred person, to introduce the Tyranny of a foreign power, and the abomination of superstitious worship, and thereby to enslave both the bodies and souls of thy servants, and so extinguish the blessed light of thy holy gospel among us: We yield thee praise and thanks for this thine infinite goodness to us; imploring thy grace and favour in the further discovery of those depths of Satan, this mystery of iniquity. Send forth thy light and thy truth, and let them preserve us. Protect and defend our Sovereign Lord the King. Bind up his soul in the bundle of life, and let no Weapon form'd against him prosper. Clothe all his enemies with shame, but upon himself and his posterity let the crown ever flourish. To this end bless the present Parliament now assembled, and knit together the hearts of this whole nation, as the heart of one man, and the defence of our King, our Laws, and our religion. Teach us to know, at least in this our day, the things which belong to our peace, and let them not be hid from our eyes. Remove from amongst us the accursed thing; those personal, and those public guilts the cry whereof is gone up to the heavens, and calls aloud for vengeance. And grant that being by true repentance reconciled to thee our God, we may also be united by Christian love and charity to one another: so that we walking in the paths of thy holy law, thou mayest continue the blessing thereof to us, and our posterity, and we all may continue to give thee thanks for ever, and shew forth thy praise from generation to generation; through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

For deliverance from the papists our enemies; Taken out of the Office of the 5th of November:—

Almighty God, who hast in all ages shewed thy Power and Mercy in the Miraculous and Gracious deliverance of thy

Church, and in the protection of righteous and religious Kings and States, professing thy holy and eternal truth, from the wicked Conspiracies and malicious practices of all the enemies thereof: Be thou still our mighty Protector, and scatter our enemies that delight in blood: Infatuate and defeat their counsels, abate their pride, assuage their Malice, and confound their devices: strengthen the hands of our Gracious King Charles, and all that are in authority under him, with Judgements and Justice, to cut off all such workers of iniquity as turn religion into rebellion and Faith into Faction; that they may never prevail against us, or triumph in the ruin of thy Church among us: but that our gracious Sovereign and his realms, being preserved in thy true religion, and by thy merciful goodness protected in the same, we may all duly serve thee, and give thee thanks in thy holy Congregation, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

Immediately after the Prayer For the Whole State of Christ's Church, shall this be used:—

Glorious and gracious God, whose Judgements against obstinate sinners are most severe and terrible, but thy Mercies infinite to all that with hearty Repentance and true Faith turn unto thee; We sinful people of this land do acknowledge before thee, to thy glory and our own shame, that never had any Nation more experience of thy Goodness; nor yet did any more unthankfully abuse it. When thou gavest us great and long prosperity, we fed ourselves to the full, waxed fat, and kicked against thee. When thou threwest us into horrid confusions, from which we saw then little hope of arising, even in the time of that distress did we trespass yet more against thee. When by miracles of mercy thou hadst turned our captivities, we soon returned to folly, to our vomit, to our wallowing in our former or greater filthiness. Even while thou hast of late appeared for us, by discovering the Plots and Contrivances of our implacable enemies of the Romish Faction, we have been in the mean time for our sins fighting against Heaven and against thee. And now we are in no wise worthy to be called thy sons, nor thy servants, whom neither thy fear hath drawn, nor thy goodness led to repentance. In mercy awaken our drowsy consciences; soften and subdue our hard hearts into deep contrition. Pardon the many great offences of us thy servants, and the crying sins of the whole nation. Remove the evils we now lie under. Avert the judgements which we justly fear, because we most justly deserve. Discover more and more the snares of death and Popish Treachery; and let us never fall into the hands of those men whose mercies are cruel. Unite all our hearts in the profession of the true religion, which thine own right hand hath planted among us, and in a holy conversation answerable thereunto. Pour out thy abundant blessings

upon our gracious King, and his great Council, the present Parliament. Keep him as the apple of thine eye; hide him under the shadow of thy wings. Inform his Princes after thy will, and teach his senators wisdom: and grant that all their Counsels, Resolutions, and Endeavours may tend to and end in the glory of thy great name, the Preservation of thy Church and true religion among us, and the security, peace, and prosperity of these kingdoms: All which we humbly beg in the Name, and through the Mediation, of Jesus Christ, thy Son our Saviour. Amen.

(VIII) *A Form of Prayer to be used on Wednesday the 22nd of December, 1680.*

[This belongs to the time when, a Comprehension Bill having been rejected, a Toleration Bill was passed through both Houses of Parliament, and by some royal jugglery was not presented for the Royal Assent. The first and third prayers are substantially identical with those of 11th April, 1679; the second is as follows:—]

“Blessed Jesu, our Saviour and our Peace; who didst shed thy precious Blood upon the Cross that thou mightest abolish and destroy all enmity among men, and reconcile them in one body unto God: Look down in much pity and compassion upon this distressed Church, and Nation, who's bleeding wounds, occasioned by the lamentable divisions that are among us, cry aloud for thy speedy Help and saving Relief. Stir up, we beseech thee, every soul of us, carefully (as becomes sincere Christians) to root out of our hearts all Pride and Vain Glory, all Wrath and Bitterness, all Unjust Prejudice, all Causeless Jealousy, all Hatred, and Malice, and desire of Revenge, and whatsoever it is that may any-way exasperate our Minds [*something omitted in the MS.*]: And by the power of thy holy Spirit of Peace, dispose all our hearts to such Meekness of Wisdom, and lowliness of Mind, such calm and deliberate long-suffering and forbearance of one another in love, with such due Esteem of those whom thou hast set over us to watch for our souls, as may turn the Hearts of the Fathers to the Children, and the Hearts of the Children to the Fathers; that so we may become a ready people, prepared to live in peace, and the God of Peace may be with us. To this end, give us all grace, O Lord, seriously to lay to heart not only the great Dangers we are in at present by these our unhappy divisions, but also the great obligations to this godly Union and Concord, which lie upon us: That as there is but one Body, and one Spirit, and one Hope of our calling, one Lord, one Faith, one Baptism, one God and Father of all, so we may henceforth be all of one Heart and of one Soul, closely united in one holy Bond of Truth

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and Peace, of Faith and Charity, and may with one Mind and one Mouth glorify thee, O Lord the Prince of Peace ; Who with thy blessed Father, in the unity of the Holy Spirit, livest and reignest ever one God, world without end. Amen.

(IX) *A Form of Prayer with Thanksgiving to be used on Sunday, September 9th . . . in due acknowledgment of God's wonderful Providence and Mercy in Discovering and Defeating the late Treasonable Conspiracy against His Sacred Majesties' Person and Government.* 1683.

[This refers to the "Rye-House Plot."]

Proper Psalms—M : 9, 21, 118 ; E : 92, 124, 141.

First Lesson—M : 2 Sam. 22 ; E : Numb. 16.

Second Lesson—M : Acts 23 ; E : Jude or 1 Pet. 2.

Special Collect—Almighty God, who hast in all ages shewed forth thy power and mercy, in the miraculous and gracious deliverance of thy Church, and in the Protection of Righteous and Religious Kings and States, professing thy holy and eternal truth, from the malicious Conspiracies and wicked practices of all their enemies : We yield unto thee from the very bottom of our hearts unfeigned thanks and praise for the late signal and wonderful Deliverance of our most Gracious Sovereign, his Royal Brother, and loyal Subjects of all Orders and Degrees, by the fanatick rage and treachery of wicked and ungodly men appointed as sheep to the slaughter in a most barbarous and savage manner. From this unnatural and hellish conspiracy not our merit, but thy mercy ; not our foresight, but thy providence ; not our own arm, but thy right hand, and thine arm, and the light of thy countenance hath rescu'd and deliver'd us, even because thou hadst a favour unto us : And therefore not unto us, O Lord, not unto us, but unto thy name be ascribed all honour, glory, and praise, with most humble and hearty thanks in all Churches of the Saints : Even so, Blessed be the Lord our God, who only doeth wondrous things, and blessed be the Name of his Majesty for ever, through Jesus Christ, our Lord and onely Saviour. Amen.

After the Litany :—

O God, whose providence reflects not the meanest of thy creatures, but is most illustriously visible in watching over the persons of Kings, the great Instruments of thy goodness to mankind : We give thee most hearty thanks and praise, as for thy many wonderful deliverances formerly vouchsafed to thy Servant, our dread Sovereign, through the whole course of his life ; so especially for the late Miracle of thy Mercy, whereby thou didst rescue him, and us all, from those bloody designs which nothing but thine infinite wisdom and power could have discovered and defeated. For this thy great goodness (notwith-

standing our great unworthiness and many provocations) so graciously continued unto us, we praise thee, we bless thee, we worship thee, we glorifie thee, we give thanks to thee for thy great glory ; humbly beseeching thee that our present sense of this thy favour, and the fervent Affections now kindled in our hearts thereby, may never cool or sink down into forgetfulness or ingratitude ; but may produce in every one of us firm resolutions of future thankfulness and obedience, with a suitable constant perseverance in the same. Let us never forget how often, and how wonderfully, thou hast preserved thine Anointed and his people ; that being all duly sensible of our absolute dependence upon thee, we may endeavour to answer the blessed ends of this thy good providence over us. Continue thou him a nursing father to this thy Church, and thy minister for good to all his people : and let us and all his subjects look upon him henceforth, not only as the Ordinance, but also as the Gift of God ; promising and performing in thee and for thee all faithful duty and loyalty to him, and his heirs after him ; with a religious obedience and thankfulness unto thee for these and all other thy mercies, through Jesus Christ our Lord. To whom, etc. Amen.

[There is more in the same strain in the Communion Service.]

Old Nonconformist Academies

HUNGERFORD

CONSIDERABLE obscurity attends a small academy which existed in this little Berkshire town in the closing years of the seventeenth century. Rev. Benjamin Robinson, who had studied under Woodhouse at Sheriff Hales, commenced a Grammar School at Findern, Derbyshire, about 1693. For this he was cited before Bishop Lloyd, with whom he had some personal acquaintance. The result was a private conversation, which is said to have lasted till two in the morning, followed by a friendly correspondence. In 1696 Robinson accepted a call to a Presbyterian church at Hungerford, to which he is said to have been recommended by John Howe, who presided at his Ordination. He was now urged to commence an academy, in which "several persons" are said to have been trained for the ministry, but no names are on record. Bishop Burnet, of Salisbury, being in the town, complaints were made to him of this schismatic academy; whereupon Robinson waited on the bishop, and the interview led to a permanent friendship. In 1700 Mr. Robinson left Hungerford, being called to London as successor to Woodhouse at Little St. Helens. Who immediately followed him, and whether or not the academy was continued, are alike uncertain. About 1716, or a little later, Edward Godwin, late a student with Samuel Jones at Tewkesbury, came to Hunger-

ford "as assistant minister and joint tutor of an academy"; but who was the senior minister, or whether the "academy" was anything more than a Grammar School, is a matter of doubt. On the death of S. Jones in 1719 Godwin was invited to succeed him as pastor and tutor. This call he declined; but he seems to have held a temporary pastorate at Tewkesbury, where he married Jones's widow. In 1721 he returned to London as colleague with Robinson, and on the death of the latter in 1724 became his successor. He died in 1764; the once celebrated political writer, William Godwin, was his grandson.

Robinson was not a voluminous writer; but a treatise of his, *A Review of the Case of Liturgies and their Imposition*, 1709, excited some controversy. He was also one of the four joint authors of the important volume, *The Doctrine of the Ever-blessed Trinity*, 1719.

Several writers have spoken of Godwin as Robinson's assistant and successor as pastor and tutor at Hungerford; but this is quite impossible; when Robinson left Hungerford in 1700 Godwin was but a child. There is no available information as to when, or under what circumstances, the Hungerford Academy, or the Presbyterian church there, became extinct; but it was certainly long before 1773, and the very location of the building is forgotten.

EXETER—SECOND ACADEMY

Soon after the collapse of the Taunton Academy in 1759, an effort was made to revive it in new and more congenial surroundings. Exeter had been the focus of the Arian controversy forty years before, and was still a stronghold of Antitrinitarianism. A commodious house in the city was provided by the liberality of William Mackworth Praed, Esq., and the library of the defunct institution at Taunton was removed thither, being considerably increased by a bequest of

books from the Rev. John Hodge, D.D., of Crosby Square, London—himself an old Taunton student. The academy was opened in 1761, under the nominal superintendence of Rev. Micaiah Towgood, of George's Meeting. Mr. Towgood, the grandson of an Ejected Minister, was born at Axminster in 1700; he studied at Taunton, and before settling at Exeter had ministered for fourteen years at Moreton Hampstead, and twelve years at Crediton. He was the author of several publications, the most important of which was *The Dissenting Gentleman's Letters to Mr. White*. To his resolute opposition was ascribed the defeat, in 1753, of an attempt to make subscription to the Doctrine of the Trinity a condition of Ordination by the Exeter assembly. His own theological position was Arian, and he undertook to deliver Critical Lectures on Scripture. The real director of the academy was Rev. Samuel Merivale, from Tavistock, who was Divinity Tutor, and was assisted by Revs. John Turner, of Lymptone, and John Hogg of the Mint Meeting. Mr. Turner died about 1769, and was succeeded as Classical and Mathematical tutor by Mr. Thomas Jervis, also of Lymptone, who in 1772 became tutor in the family of the Earl of Shelburn, at Bowood. Mr. Merivale died on December 28, 1771, and was succeeded as Divinity Tutor by Mr. Hogg; but the institution did not long survive. Mr. Towgood outlived it, and died in 1782.

Altogether the names of forty-eight students are recorded, nine of whom were beneficiaries of the Presbyterian Fund. Quite a minority of them were ministers.

The list is as follows:—

J. Percy Bartlett, Min. Topsham.	Samuel Cake, Min. Conformed.
James Berry, Edinburgh.	— Carter.
Thomas Berry (attorney).	William Clarke.
William Besley.	— Eveleigh (physician).
Joseph Breitland, Min. Exeter.	James Fennimore, Minister.

William Follett.	Henry Mugg, Min. Conformed.
George Gibbs (merchant, Bristol).	Barthol. Parr (physician, Exeter).
George Graves (navy office).	Samuel Pike.
John Graves (navy, aft. Admiral).	John Pope, Minister.
Thomas Graves (Admiral & Bt.).	Jasper Porter (physician).
James Green (trade).	Robert Remmel (physician).
John Green.	William Rowe.
Richard Green (trade).	Thomas Sander (physician, Chichester).
Thos. Gwatkin, Min. America.	John Short (died while a student).
— Hale (army).	John Smith (surgeon).
George Heath, Min. Honiton.	Philip Taylor (son of Dr. Taylor, of Norwich).
John Hogg, Minister.	— Temple.
William Hooker, (trade).	John Vicary, Minister.
William Irvin, Minister.	John Westcott (physician).
Nathaniel Jeffery.	James White (counsellor).
— Jellicoe.	Nathaniel Wraxall (author, afterwards Bt.).
George Katenkamp (army).	William Youatt, Min. Colyton.
William Lang.	
Thomas Lee (merchant).	
James Manning, Min. Exeter.	
John Merivale.	

EXETER—THIRD ACADEMY

In 1799 a third attempt was made to establish an academy in Exeter on "Liberal Christian"—i.e. Unitarian, principles. The tutors were Rev. John Breitland, formerly of the Mint Meeting, and Rev. Timothy Kenrick, of George's Meeting. The experiment, however, was even shorter lived than its predecessors. Mr. Kenrick died suddenly in August 1804, and in February 1805 it was resolved to discontinue the academy. The list of students is as follows:—

- Walter Coffin, Bridgend, Glamorgan.
- Michael Hinton Castle, Bristol.
- Henry Shute, Minister at Shepton Mallet.
- James Hews Bransby, Minister at Moreton, Hampstead, and Dudley.
- Richard Kennaway, died in India.
- Thomas Yate Hunt, Birmingham.
- James Perry, Minister at Wrexham, Chester, and Liverpool.
- John James, Minister at Lloyd-fach, Cardigan.

William Crawford, Cork.

Shepherd Hobson, London.

Wilkinson Astley, Chesterfield.

* John Simpson, Bath.

* Henry Davies, Minister at Filby and Taunton.

* Thomas Madge, Minister at Bury St. Edmunds and Norwich.
John Kenrick, Exeter.

Except the six noted as ministers and John Kenrick none of these were divinity students. The three marked * finished their studies at York.

(See *Monthly Repository*, 1818.)