
A table of contents for the *Transactions of Congregational Historical Society* can be found here:

https://biblicalstudies.org.uk/articles_congregational-historical-society-1.php

EDITORIAL.

OUR Annual Meeting was held at the Memorial Hall on May 11th, 1921, Rev. Dr. Nightingale presiding. Owing to the arranging of important denominational meetings at the time usually occupied by our society, the attendance was small.

The usual routine business was transacted, and the officers re-elected. A cordial welcome was given to our treasurer, H. A. Muddiman, Esq., who had put the finances of the society in order, and by his expert knowledge of paper and printing had been able to get the "Transactions" advantageously printed, and further relieved the funds by having the issues posted to subscribers through his own clerical staff.

The accounts for the year ending December 31st, 1920, had been duly audited, and are summarized as follows:—

	£	s.	d.
Balance forward, 1919	52	3	6
Subscriptions	67	10	1
Sales	4	10	8
	124	4	3
Printing, Vol. VIII., 1 and 2	68	5	6
Hire of Room, Memorial Hall	1	1	0
Postages and Sundries	4	13	3
Cash in Hand	50	4	6
	£124	4	3

Several suggestions were made as to the better organization of the society; as that an effort should be made to form branch societies representing County or Provincial areas; and that an annual register should be printed of works published by members.

The secretary was instructed to send a message of affectionate greeting to our venerable President, Rev. Dr. Brown.

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The usual Autumnal Meeting was held at the Western College, Bristol, on Wednesday, October 5th, 1921. Owing in part to several simultaneous meetings, and in part to the remoteness of the College from the local centre of the Congregational Union the attendance was depressingly small; but those who were present were amply rewarded by the freshness of the paper read by Rev. C. E. Watson of Rodborough, on "George Whitefield and his Relations with Gloucestershire Congregationalism." In this were presented some facts not generally known, facts which the biographers of the great evangelist seem to have generally wished to conceal. A very hearty vote of thanks was accorded to Mr. Watson, who was requested to put his paper in the hands of the secretary for publication. To this Mr. Watson assented, subject to some preliminary revision of the MS., the first part of which appears in our present issue.

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We have received from Rev. A. S. Langley, F.R.H.S., of Louth, a transcript of some interesting correspondence between Rev. F. Tallents, of Shrewsbury—one of the ministers ejected in 1662—and Sir Edward Harley, K.B., father of the Earl of Oxford, so conspicuous in the days of Queen Anne. These letters were found in the library of the Duke of Portland, K.G., at Welbeck Abbey; and by kindness of His Grace, and the Courtesy of his librarian Mr. R. W. Goulding, F.S.A., we have permission to put them before our readers. We hope, therefore, to produce a first instalment of the series in our next issue.

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We would earnestly appeal to our subscribers to do what they can for the increase of our membership. We have a number of interesting papers in hand; but beside these there are several important treatises that need reprinting, but which our funds have never yet permitted us to undertake. Foremost is Robert Browne's "Book that Showeth the Manners of all True Christians" (1582, and never reprinted); then the "Spurious Marprelate Dialogue, not reprinted since 1640; Vavasor Powell's "Sufferers' Catechism," 1664, etc.

It is also very desirable to print correctly the "Survey of the Dissenting Interest," commenced in 1716–17 and corrected to 1729, commonly know as "The Evans MS." This has been carefully copied, but we have not yet been able to incur the cost of publication.

Whitefield and Congregationalism

IN the calendar of Whitefield's career probably no year was more critical, at any rate so far as our particular study of him is concerned, than the year 1751. And yet of this year so voluminous an authority as Tyerman gives very little account; and Gledstone goes so far as to say that "from January 1751 to December 1752 there occurred nothing that deserves detailed comment in a life like this."

Owing to the great preacher's careful editing of his own letters and journals, and to a like judicious censorship exercised by the biographer of the Countess of Huntingdon, the one great illuminating feature of Whitefield's public life has been hidden from the eyes of his recorders; and without this it is impossible fully to interpret his actions over the period of a number of critical years, and most especially so in respect to his attitude towards Nonconformity. With the material before them collated by Tyerman for example, few on scanning the national annals of 1751 would suspect that the dominating incident of that year for Whitefield and his Calvinist colleagues was the death of the Prince of Wales. Yet so it was; and for this reason: from the earliest days of his potent ministry Whitefield had indulged the hope that he would be raised to the episcopal bench. The first fabric of the dream was based on foundations that were fantastic enough, but as his popularity grew and his influence extended to many who had rank and power in the State, both the edifice and the foundation on which it rested became more substantial.

Looking over the intervening generations one can

realize something of the enormous difference that such a move would have made in the fortunes, not only of the Established Church, but possibly even of the growing Empire itself. It was not only the tax on tea that severed the American colonies from the Homeland.

But it was in its effect upon the revival movement as a whole that Whitefield and his friends were most intensely concerned. At one stroke the vast work of the Wesleys and Whitefield here and across the Atlantic, and of Howell Harris and Daniel Rowland in Wales, would have been claimed for the Church of England, for had Whitefield had the power to ordain, well, the full possibilities baffle imagination !

How near that dream came to fulfilment no one now seems likely ever to know, but it was dissolved by the death of the Prince of Wales, and as that event took place when Whitefield was thirty-seven years of age, it divides his working life into two fairly equal parts. For the purpose of our enquiry it will be found convenient to consider him as he was before and after that critical 1751 ; for in respect to Congregationalism the effect of that year was tremendous.

From 1718 to 1742 the Congregational Church at Gloucester had for its pastor one Thomas Cole, an earnest and evangelical minister of the Gospel. Young Whitefield, the son of the hostess of the neighbouring inn, though of Anglican birth and up-bringing, was no stranger to the interior of the Southgate meeting-house, and it is recorded that one of the elders or deacons, accosting the young fellow in the street one day, asked him what he meant to make of himself when he grew up. He replied that he would be a parson, and added, with a twinkle : " But I shan't tell stories in the pulpit like the old Cole "—an interesting declaration, not only because it was so utterly falsified in the event, but also because it reveals something of the unusual character of the preaching of the old Congregationalist. After his ordination Cole met the young curate in the street, and

laying his hand upon his arm he observed, "I understand that young Whitefield can tell stories in the pulpit as well as the old Cole!"

If this little incident serves to remind us that some of the earliest impressions of live religion that entered the great preacher's life were associated with Independency, we may perchance be disposed to do fuller justice to the memory of Thomas Cole than has been done hitherto. For this was the man who became the director of the revival forces in and around Whitefield's native city, and the recognized leader of the Methodist societies there. When Whitefield, driven out of the churches, made "mounts his pulpits and the heavens his sounding-boards," Cole added a circuit of preaching stations to his work as pastor of the Southgate Church; and when, in 1742, he was stricken for death, he was preaching in the open air at Nymphsfield.

On one of the great upland spurs of the Cotswolds above Stroud, and some eleven miles from Gloucester, lies a three-mile stretch of common with Rodborough at its nearer and Minchinhampton at its further extremities. This was a favourite preaching place with Whitefield, and here his audiences ranged from five to twenty thousand people. Here preaching in 1739 a young man of Minchinhampton, Thomas Adams by name, was brought to a sense of things divine, and began gathering a little company of earnest folk for prayer and scripture reading. From this he passed to offering a few words of exhortation and finally to preaching. When Cole died he became the leader of the Calvinist revival movement in Gloucestershire and finally an itinerating preacher of power and influence throughout the whole of the Calvinist area. By up-bringing and inclination he was an Anglican, but of the three men who were most closely associated with him in the Stroud district, two at least were of Nonconformist origin, one William Hogg of Painswick being a member of the Stroud Old Meeting, whose minister, Thomas Jenkins, was in full

sympathy with the Methodist movement. Hogg was a member of this church, however, because primarily he was a Methodist, for the great purpose of early Methodism was to avoid by all possible means the formation of a new sect. Their aim was to pervade and revive the existing churches. Hence the early rules that Methodist societies should not meet at the ordinary hours of service; that their lay preachers should be called "exhorters," and their assemblies "societies," and that every enrolled member of a society should be a communicant either at church or meeting.

The maintenance of these rules was by no means easy, and as the opposition of the Anglican clergy became more pronounced, and the rank and file of the revival began to find themselves marked men in most churches and many meeting-houses, the advocates of separation were hard to be withstood.

By this time John Wesley had made his famous attempt to "turn John Calvin out of Bristol," and had succeeded in rending the Methodist forces in twain. The Moorfields Tabernacle had been built largely by supporters from among the dissenters in order that Whitefield might have an assured pulpit in London. The Calvinist communities had been organized into societies, and these societies subdivided into bands and classes, while the preachers—clerical and lay—were meeting in associations, some of which were local, and some general. These associations embraced not only the Whitefieldian societies in England, but the more numerous societies in Wales which had been formed by Howell Harris and Daniel Rowland.

At the first of these general associations—it was held in 1743 at Watford—there were present three Anglican and one Nonconformist minister and eight laymen, public exhorters; and strange to say an equal number of ministers and laymen were minuted as absent, so that the recognized preaching forces of Calvinistic Methodism at this epoch was six Anglican and two Non-

conformist ministers and sixteen lay-preachers. At this association George Whitefield was appointed Moderator, Howell Harris was made Superintendent over Wales and Moderator for Whitefield whenever he went to America.

Howell Harris, an ardent, devout, and temperamental Welshman, was a layman of excellent education, who had failed, because of his Methodist qualities, to obtain ordination. A fervid and somewhat bigoted Anglican, he was the strongest opponent of separatism. His responsibilities as Moderator began very soon after the Watford Association, and for seven years he was the titular head of all the Calvinist societies from London to Pembrokeshire; and the minutes of conferences and societies which he made include records of Moorfields and the other English societies during a great part of that period. Amongst these records there is a list of the thirty-one Whitefieldian societies in England in the year 1747.

It is an interesting fact that of the thirty-one societies there enumerated, if the old Dane-law division of England were taken, one, and only one, society would lie within it. Three met in London—Moorfields, Deptford and Bird Street—and next in order of precedence, owing to Whitefield's close identification with the County, were the four Gloucestershire societies—Gloucester, Minchinhampton, The Roadway, and Stancombe. Of these the position of Minchinhampton has already been described—it is a little Cotswold town lying on the high ground some three miles back from Stroud. The Roadway is a diminutive group of dwellings situated near to Randwick on what was then the main road between Stroud and Gloucester, and Stancombe is a township in a hollow of Stinchcombe Hill, not far from Dursley.

Connected with the thirty-one societies were twenty-seven established preaching stations, of which seven were in Gloucestershire.

The spiritual and administrative condition of the Whitefieldian connection in that year was, however, far from healthy. Whitefield had been out of the country more than three years, and Howell Harris had not been able to control the forces that seethed and fermented in the new movement. He was himself too variable and autocratic. His fellow-workers were impetuous and impatient of restraint. Within a year the Moravians had made a cleavage, and John Cennick, who earlier had held the fort for Calvinism against the raid of Wesley, abandoned his place in the Whitefieldian ranks. With him went a number of other workers and nearly all the societies in Wiltshire. It was at this juncture that the Countess of Huntingdon came into active association with the Calvinistic section and began to use her influence in its interests. But nevertheless, when, in 1748, Whitefield returned he found affairs in a state of chaos.

In order properly to understand the situation then, and the course of events leading up to the critical year 1751, it is necessary to keep three or four facts prominently in view.

First—The Established Church, at any rate so far as her clergy were concerned, was hostile to Methodism, and that hostility was taking shape and gathering force. The Nonconformists officially were standing aloof, and were more disposed to be critical than sympathetic. Yet there were important exceptions. It had been Nonconformists who had built Moorfields Tabernacle, and Whitefield himself could count among his intimate friends many dissenters in England and in America. The rank and file of Nonconformists recognized in his preaching the Puritan note, and probably in the official attitude of coldness adopted by some of the leading English Dissenters there was more snobbishness than anything else. Those who remember the assaults made upon Doddridge will know what I mean.

Another feature in the situation to be remembered

was the welter existing among the Methodists themselves. Many of them had been drawn from a nominal attachment to the Anglican Church and were woefully ignorant of the elementary doctrines of Christianity, utterly unused to Church administration, and absolutely untrained in giving. These things gave the Methodists who came in from Nonconformity a preponderating influence. The separatist section was therefore at once the most useful and the most troublesome to the leaders.

Next to be borne in mind is the fact that with the notable exception of Whitefield himself almost all the prominent people in the revival movement were autocrats, and not a little of the turmoil among the opposing factions at this as at later times was due to that fact. Berridge once described a situation in which John Wesley and the Countess of Huntingdon found themselves, as a contest between "Pope John and Pope Joan," and in these earlier days we must add Pope Howell Harris and Pope Daniel Rowland, just as at a subsequent date we have to add Pope Rowland Hill.

But most potent of all the troublesome factors at this critical juncture was that conviction of Whitefield's that he was destined for the episcopal bench. For the thing was not hidden from his friends and colleagues, and among the preachers a number were only held back from the separatist position by their hopes of ordination at his hand. A few indeed it is to be feared had chosen an itinerant ministry among the Methodists as offering a cheap and lazy way into the Anglican Ministry, and when Whitefield, still un-mitred, lingered in Georgia, these became untractable and unreliable. Even Howell Harris, earnest Methodist and loyal Anglican though he was, clave to Whitefield, of whom he was jealous, largely because his only hope of orders rested in him. In this connection we must note Howell Harris' expressed belief that Brother Whitefield himself, had it not been for his hope of episcopal rank, would

have been much more disposed to adopt a separative attitude. In his diary we find the following among five reasons that he gives for thinking that God did not intend a separation :—

"He has impressed it on Brother Whitefield's heart that he shall be a Bishop, and by that means keeps him . . . as he is."

It is perhaps fitting at this point to call into review the origin and growth of this confident anticipation of a bishopric which Whitefield and his followers indulged and on which so much rested. It is in a letter to John Wesley as early as 1735 that it makes its first appearance. He wrote—"I have mentioned his bishop; alas! how should I tremble to tell you how I have been continually disturbed with the thought that I, a worm, taken from a common public house, should ere I die be one myself! If you remember, sir, in my greatest affliction last Lent it was told me I should be a bishop, and therefore must be poor in spirit. That thought came home to me with so much force, and so many circumstances have since occurred to favour the temptation that I know not what to do."

That the circumstances did not cease to tempt, we have the evidence of a letter he wrote some four years later to his friend Samuel Mason. He begins :—

"And are the Methodists talked of at Court? I verily believe one day or other I shall be called thither. God prepare me for that hour."

Now unless it be urged that Whitefield's reference to the source of his dream is to a direct and Divine revelation—which is very doubtful—the prophet who counselled him in that hour of darkness must have been one who could and did command his utmost respect. Yet who, with any weight of character, even before he

had preached his first sermon, would have ventured upon so definite a prognostication? Can it be that Thomas Cole was responsible? Whitefield was in Gloucester about the time referred to, and the old Independent might easily use, in the Puritan way, the term "Bishop" of any one about to be ordained to the Ministry. Can it be that when the Congregationalist was thinking of his call to the Ministry—his bishopric in the New Testament sense—the young graduate was interpreting the word in the Anglican way? It is certainly a possibility.

Be that as it may, Whitefield did not shake off or, as time went on and his gifts became manifest, even continue the attempt to shake off the impression. Howell Harris made a memorandum of a conversation with him which took place in November, 1742. He records that he spoke "of the various promises set on his heart—about going to the King and to be made a Bishop, and how the Lord honours him."

Of friends at Court Whitefield had no lack. The Countess of Huntingdon was not the only one "turned Methodist" among those to whom Whitefield was wont to refer as the "great and noble," and there is some reason for thinking that George II. was willing that the English Chrysostom should find a place on the episcopal bench. Lord Bolingbroke in a letter to Lady Huntingdon wrote—"Your ladyship will be somewhat amused at hearing that the king has recommended to his Grace of Canterbury that Mr. Whitefield should be advanced to the bench, as the only means of putting an end to his preaching." This piece of sarcasm appears to mark either the beginning or the end of the King's efforts, for seemingly the hopes of the Methodists were much more set on the Prince of Wales. It will be remembered that the King and the Prince were on bad terms with one another, so much so indeed that the latter had established his own Court and was become the centre of the opposition to the Government.

The Countess of Huntingdon and many of the most influential people of the day attended the Court of the Prince and hopes were high of an accession to power when the death of the King or the collapse of his ministry should offer the opportunity. I am not suggesting that the Countess of Huntingdon and the other titled Methodists were involved in any of the political intrigues of the day, but inasmuch as the Prince of Wales was himself either a Methodist or so sympathetic to the movement as to convey the impression that he was, they had some reason to hope as they faced the future.

C. E. WATSON.

(To be Continued.)

The Old Scottish Independents

OF the various secessions from the National Church of Scotland which have occurred within the last two centuries, the greater number were due to the offensive exercise of patronage—i.e. the legal claim of landholders to appoint parish ministers without regard to the desire of the parishioners. The recognition of this claim by the General Assembly led to the constituting in 1761 of the Relief Synod. About the same time the magistrates and town council of Glasgow obtained a judicial decision confirming to them, as against the general kirk session of the city, the patronage of the Wynd Church. They thereupon appointed a minister who was unacceptable to a large section of the congregation; and these, under the leadership of Mr. David Dale, seceded, built a "Relief Meeting-house," and secured a minister of their own choice.

Meanwhile the ministers of two adjacent parishes in the County of Fife, Rev. Robert Ferrier of Largo and James Smith of Newburn, had become secessionists of a much more advanced type. Mr. Smith had published "A Compendious Account taken from Holy Scripture only, of the form and Order of the Church of God." (Edinburgh, 1765.) In this he pointed out that the Church Order described in the New Testament was Congregational; and though there is scripture precedent for taking counsel with another Church on a doubtful question, and for representation by delegates to arrange matters of common concern, there is no precedent for one Church exercising authority over another, or for such authority being exercised by a Church court, or by

the civil magistrate. Mr. Ferrier was of the same mind, and both these gentlemen finding it impossible to reconcile this view with several statements in the "Confession of Faith," to which they had subscribed at their ordination, as honest men they retracted their subscription, resigned their benefices, and published a statement and defence of their position. The title of the pamphlet is "The case of James Smith, late minister at Newburn, and of Robert Ferrier, late minister at Largo, truly represented and defended: Edinburgh, printed for the authors by A. Donaldson, 1768."

In this pamphlet it is assumed that the ecclesiastical arrangements which the New Testament shows to have existed in the lifetime of the apostles, must have been divinely ordained, not only for the time then present, but for all the after ages. And since the New Testament seems to know nothing of a National Church Establishment, nor of "kirk-sessions, presbyteries, provincial synods, or general assemblies, which are commonly called Church courts," all these things are to be repudiated as illegitimate.

Having replied, not without asperity, to various objections which Presbyterian apologists would naturally make against the Congregational Order, Messrs. Ferrier and Smith proceed in a brief appendix to enunciate their views on some points of doctrine. (1) While clearly affirming the doctrine of the Trinity in Unity, they take exception to the scholastic terms in which that doctrine is usually formulated. (2) They disapprove of the statement (in the "Confession of Faith") that "The principal acts of saving faith are accepting, receiving, resting upon Christ alone for justification, sanctification, and eternal life." Faith they say, is "not a complex, but a very simple thing; it is that knowledge which we get of a truth or fact by means of testimony"; it "does not consist in a train of mental actings, as above mentioned . . . which are indeed inseparable effects of faith, but are not so many

ingredients in its precise nature." (3) They deny in the most emphatic manner the claim of the civil magistrate "to take order that unity and peace be preserved in the Church, that the truth be kept pure and entire, that all blasphemies and heresies be suppressed, all corruptions and abuses in worship or discipline prevented or reformed, and all the ordinances of God duly settled, administered, and observed." The whole doctrine of the "Confession of Faith" as regards the relation of the civil magistrate to the Church they declare to be "unscriptural, opposite to the spirit of Christianity, and inconsistent with the rights of conscience."

An independent Church was constituted on these principles at Balchristie in Co. Fife, of which Messrs. Smith and Ferrier were elders. Their pamphlet came under the notice of David Dale and others at Glasgow, and so impressed them that they came to regard Congregational Independency as the only legitimate order. They therefore deemed it their duty to separate from the recently constituted Relief Church. For a time they held meetings in a private house; but as their numbers increased they built a meeting-house in Grey Friars' Wynd. Their speciality, at this stage, was that the Lord's Supper ought to be observed every week as the principal service of the Lord's Day, and that that all who thus came together to break bread should be known to each other by a joint profession of faith.

The society at Glasgow now sent a deputation to that at Balchristie, as a result of which intercommunications became frequent, and at length it was arranged that Ferrier should go to Glasgow as colleague with Dale in the oversight of that Church, while a local colleague was associated with Smith at Balchristie. For a time the Glasgow society, nicknamed "Daleites," endured much persecution in the way of mob violence; but this subsided, and many new adherents were gathered from Hamilton, Paisley and New Lanark. Churches at Perth, Methuen, and Kirkcaldy are represented as being

offshoots from that at Balchristie. A vigorous Church was also gathered at Dundee by a Mr. Andrew Scott, late a minister of the Antiburgher section of the Original Seceders; who had been deposed and excommunicated by the Antiburgher synod for denouncing the practice of swearing to the national covenant, which they insisted upon as a term of communion. Mention is also made of "Daleite" congregations at Edinburgh (from which there was a numerous Baptist secession), Airdrie, Earlsferry, Galashiels, Montrose, Marykirk and London.

Unfortunately in the space of two or three years dissension arose in the Glasgow fellowship. It was proposed to slightly vary the traditional order of worship; to stand while singing as well as at prayer, to make the Lord's Prayer a regular part of the weekly service, to respond with an audible Amen, etc. Dale urged mutual forbearance on these and similar matters; but Ferrier was insistent, and, with a few others, joined the small sect of the Glasites, otherwise called Sandemanians. Between these and the "Daleites," there was little if any appreciable diversity in doctrine; but the Glasites maintained an extremely rigid discipline, and strongly insisted on various usages which they deemed necessary to an accurate reproduction of the original and apostolic church order. Such were the necessity of a plurality of elders in each congregation; Second marriage a disqualification for eldership; a weekly social meal to correspond with the primitive "agape"; the "holy kiss," as a token of brotherhood; ceremonial foot-washing; prohibition of eating blood or things strangled, and of all games of chance; decision by lot in cases of uncertainty, and ultimate unity of judgment to be secured by the exclusion of resolute minorities.

The history of the "Daleites" or "Old Scottish Independents" as a distinct denomination extends from first to last over about forty-six years. During

this time the principle of a plurality of elders was generally, though not universally, adopted. Some of the churches received accessions from societies gathered by the labours of the brothers Haldane; others had losses through the growth of Baptist opinions. About 1799 "the church at Hamilton was much reduced by Arminianism, which carried with it one of their Elders." In 1810, a vacancy having occurred in the eldership at Dundee, "many in the church disapproved of the practice so often followed of calling a stranger who had been educated for the ministry at some academy; they thought it more scriptural to look out from among themselves persons to take the oversight of the church: to this those of more popular sentiments could not agree, and therefore withdrew from the church." In 1813 two other small societies came into being, one at Dunfermline, Co. Fife, and one at Strathaven, Co. Lanark.

The "Old Scottish Independents" were never numerous. It is to their honour, however, that there is only one serious ministerial scandal recorded among them, and this was speedily followed by frank confession and well-manifested penitence.

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We now proceed to give some account of "The Churches denominated Inghamites," between whom and the "Old Scottish Independents" a union was effected in 1814.

Among the coterie of devout scholars at Oxford, whose meetings for mutual edification gained for them the nickname of "The Holy Club," by no means the least conspicious was Benjamin Ingham of Queen's College. He was born at Ossett, near Dewsbury, in June, 1712, and "took orders" in 1735, in which year he accompanied the Wesleys on their mission to Georgia. He was strongly attracted by the Moravian missionaries who were his fellow-voyagers, and joined them in their work. Returning to England in 1738 he was

one of the founders of the religious society in Fetter Lane in which Moravian influence was strong, and from which Wesley and his adherents seceded. Ingham preached in various churches in Leeds, Wakefield, Halifax, and elsewhere, until, his zealous evangelical ministrations being distasteful to the bishop and many of the clergy, he was inhibited from preaching in the Episcopalian pulpits in the diocese of York. He continued to work with the Moravians in various places, and, being a wealthy man, gave the site for the Moravian settlement at Fulneck. He now preached wherever he could obtain a pulpit, and in the open air; and formed numerous religious societies on a plan similar to those of Wesley, but with features borrowed from the Moravians. He built several chapels and welcomed the co-operation of several capable lay-preachers, who looked to him as their head.

In 1741 he married Lady Margaret Hastings, sister of the Earl of Huntingdon. By this union he was brought into close relations with the Countess, who received from him not a little spiritual enlightenment, though it is inaccurate to represent him as the instrument of her "Conversion."

About 1753 he formally severed his connection with the Moravians, and after a year or two formed a new organization in which the discipline was generally modelled on the Moravian, but with less rigidity. The doctrine was distinctly Calvinistic, much stress being laid on the theory of "Imputed Righteousness," i.e. that the guilt of a repentant sinner is imputed to Jesus Christ and punished in Him, while the Active Righteousness of the Saviour is imputed to believers for their justification. In 1755 the number of Ingham's societies, mostly in Yorkshire and Lancashire, amounted to at least eighty. In that year a general meeting of his lay-preachers was held at Winewall, near Colne, where Ingham was elected "General Overseer" of the societies. In that capacity he formally ordained two of the

preachers, William Batty and James Allen, as his colleagues in the ministry, thus breaking with the Episcopal Church by recognizing and conferring Non-prelatic Ordination. He thus anticipated the action of the Countess of Huntingdon by twenty years, and that of Wesley by thirty-four. At this time the connection seemed to have reached its highest measure of prosperity; and the "Kendal Hymnbook" was edited for the use of the societies by Messrs. Allen and Batty in 1757.

Soon after this, Ingham became aware of the rapid development of the movement initiated in Scotland by Messrs. Glas and Sandeman, and sent Batty and Allen to report upon it. They were strongly attracted by a movement which promised an accurate reproduction, even in minute details, of primitive Christianity, and devoted their energies to the task of leavening the Inghamite societies with Sandemanianism. In this they were only too successful. Ingham, in the hope of arresting this development, published "A Discourse on the Faith and Hope of the Gospel" (Leeds, 1763); but internal dissensions soon broke up the connection. Some of the societies became Glasite, some Methodist, some Baptist, and only about thirteen remained in the fellowship. It is believed that Ingham's life was shortened by grief at the collapse of the organization which he had built up. He died in 1772, and no second General Overseer was appointed.

The detailed accounts that have come down to us of the Inghamite societies are very fragmentary, and contain many references to dissensions, scandals, and secessions. Of those which were "set in order" in 1762 we find mention of Tadcaster, Leeds, Wibsey, Salterforth, Rothwell and Tosside, and probably Pateley Bridge in Yorkshire; Winewall, near Colne, and Wheatley, in Lancashire; and Kendal in Westmorland. At somewhat later dates we meet with Howden, Yorkshire, 1786; Nottingham, 1787; Todmorden, Yorkshire, 1792;

Bulwell, Nottingham, 1804; Haslingden, Lancashire, 1805. The names also appear of Birks and Thinoaks, in Westmorland, the dates of which are not specified, but which, as well as Pateley Bridge, were extinct before 1813.

About the middle of 1813 correspondence took place between elders of the Daleite and Inghamite societies with a view to intercommunion. It was made evident that there was now no doctrinal divergence, and but little difference in usages. Both were Calvinistic, both held the theory of Imputation, and both repudiated Antinomianism. The Daleites were jealous lest the yearly conference of the Inghamites should in any way infringe on the independence of the local societies. The Inghamites wished to be assured that their Scottish brethen (1) did not "allow of what some call innocent amusements," (2) did not consider a second marriage to disqualify for office-bearing, (3) did not forbid sharing a common meal with an excommunicate person, (4) did not forbid reinstatement of an erring member after a second exclusion, (5) did not allow eating of blood and things strangled, and desired clearer definition of the terms used respecting the Trinity. On these points they received satisfaction; and both agreed that "Occasional communion" with persons outside their own societies was unwarrantable. The only matter about which there seems to have been any disagreement was whether the sacraments could be duly administered in the absence of an elder, and on this mutual tolerance was found practicable. Accordingly a formal union was concluded in February, 1814.

The union comprised fifteen Daleite societies with 512 members, and thirteen Inghamite with 252 members, or a total of twenty-eight societies with 764 members. The largest societies were those at Glasgow, 185, Paisley, eighty-four, and Wheatley, fifty-six; while six or eight of the societies had less than ten

members each, and five or six were destitute of elders.

In reading the correspondence which led up to this union, one is unpleasantly struck with a note of spiritual pride on the part of some of the writers, as if they or the societies which they represented were the sole depositories of the unadulterated gospel. One writes of "these perilous times, when men are lovers of themselves, proud blasphemers, etc. When the true faith shall scarcely be found on the earth; times in which the falsely professing Church of Christ and the world appear to be fitting themselves by their wickedness for their final destruction." "God has reserved to himself a people who, influenced by His fear, refuse to bow down to the great and fashionable idols of this generation, Universal Charity and Infidelity." Another writes—"This country is of late very religious; but I am sorry to say of the imperfect kind. A perverted gospel is worse than no profession."

So far as we have been able to discover there are now not more than eight Daleite or Inghamite congregations on this side of the Atlantic. There is said to be an offshoot of the body in Canada; and according to Hastings' "Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics," the total number of adherents on both sides the ocean is about 2000. This is probably a liberal estimate.

A Whip for an Ape

IN Rev. W. Pierce's "Historical Introduction to the Marprelate Tracts" is a valuable Bibliography, showing the exact order and proximate dates of those celebrated Satires, and of the various rejoinders which they elicited. From this it appears that the "Epistle," and the "Epitome," had been in circulation for some months when Bishop Cooper put forth his ponderous "Admonition to the people of England," to which Martin promptly replied in "The Minerals" and "Hay any Work for Cooper." These the anti-puritan party sought to counter by enlisting the services of John Lyly and Thomas Nash, who in May 1589 produced the scurrilous "Mar-Martin," which was reprinted in C.H.T. Trans. V. 357. The Latin "Anti-martinus," followed about six weeks later. Within the same month Martin junior put forth the "Theses," and Martin senior the "Just Censure and Reproof." Early in August appeared the Anti-puritan "Countercuffe," commonly ascribed to Nash. The last of the Marprelate Tracts, the "Protestation," was printed in September; and early in October a rhymster who, whatever his faults, was not destitute of wit, published "A Whip for an Ape." This is probably to be accredited to Lyly. All the other Anti-Martinist publications, such as Pasquill's Return and Apology; Martin's Month's Mind; Pap with a Hatchet; An Almond for a Parrot; the Mirror for Martinists, etc., are of later date; but mostly in 1589-90.

A | WHIP FOR AN APE: | *or* | MARTIN DISPLAIED |

Ordo Sacerdotum fatuo turbatur et omni,
Labitur et passim Religionis honos.

Since reason, (Martin), cannot stay thy pen,
We'il see what rime will doo : have at thee then.

A Dizard late skipt out upon our stage ;
But in a sacke, that no man might him see :
And though we know not yet the paltrie page,
Himselfe hath *Martin* made his name to bee.
A proper name, and for his feates most fit ;
The only thing wherein he hath show'd wit.

Who knoweth not that Apes men *Martin's* call ;
Which beast this baggage seemes as t'were himselfe :
So as both nature, nurture, name and all,
Of that's expressed in this apish elfe ;
Which Ile make good to *Martin* Mar-alls face
In three plaine poynts, and will not bate an ace.

For first the Ape delights with moppes and mowes,
And mocketh Prince and peasants all alike ;
This jesting jacke that no good manner knowes
With his Asse heeles presumes all States to strike.
Whose scoffes so stinking in each nose doth smell,
As all mouthes saie of doll's he bears the bell.

Sometimes his choppes doo walke in poyntes too hie,
Wherein the ape himself a woodcock tries :
Sometimes with floutes he drawes his mouth awrie,
And swears by his ten bones, and falslie lies.
Wherefore be what he will I do not passe,
He is the paltriest Ape that ever was.

Such fleering, leering, jarring fooles bopeepe ;
Such hahaes, teehees, weehees, wild colts play ;
Such sohoes, whoopes, and hallowes, hold and keepe ;
Such rangings, ragings, revelings, roysters ray,
With so foule mouth, and knave at every catch,
Tis some knaves neast did surely *Martin* hatch.

Now out he runnes with Cuckowe, king of May,
Then in he leapes with a wild Morrice daunce;
Now strikes he up Dame *Lawsons* lustie lay;
Then comes Sir *Jeffries* ale tub tapde by chaunce:
Which makes me gesse, (and I can shrewdly smell)
He loves both t'one and tother passing well.

Then straight as though he were distracted quite
He chafeth like a cutpurse layd in warde;
And rudely railes with all his maine and might,
Against both Knights and Lords without regarde:
So as *Bridewell* must tame his drunken fits,
And *Bedlem* helpe to bring him to his wits.

But *Martin*, why in matters of such waight
Doest thou thus play the Dame and dancing foole:
O sir, (quoth he) this is a pleasant baite
For men of sortes to traine them to my schoole.
Ye noble States how can you like hereof,
A shamelesse Ape at your sage heads should scoffe?

Good Noddie now leave scribling in such matters,
They are no tooles for fooles to tend unto;
Wise men regard not what mad monckies patters;
T'were trim a beast should teach men what to do.
Now Tarleton's dead the Consort lackes a vice:
For knave and foole thou maist bear pricke and price.

The sacred sect and perfect pure precise,
Whose cause must be by Scoggins rests maintainde,
Ye shewe although that purple Apes disguise
Yet Apes are still, and so must be disdainde.
For though your Lyons lookes weake eyes escapes,
Your babling bookes bewraies you all for Apes.

The next poynt is, Apes use to tosse and teare,
What once their fidling fingers fasten on;
And clime aloft and cast downe everywhere,

And never staies till all that stands be gone.
Now whether this in *Martin* be not true,
You wiser heads marke here what doth ensue.

What is it not that Martin doth not rent:
Cappes, Tippets, Gownes, blacke Chiners, Rochets White;
Communion bookes, and Homelies, yea so bent
To teare, as womens wimples feele his spite.
Thus tearing all, as all Apes use to doo,
He tears withal the Church of Christ in two.

Marke now what things he means to tumble downe,
For to this poynt to looke is worth the while,
In one that makes no choyce 'twixt Cap and Crowne.
Cathedrall Churches he would faine untile,
And snatch up Bishops lands, and catch away
All gaine of learning for his prowling pray.

And thinke you not he will pull downe at length
As well the top from tower, as cocke from steeple?
And when his head hath gotten some more strength,
To play with Prince as now he doth with people?
Yes, he that now saith, Why should Bishops bee?
Will next crie out, Why kings: The Saints are free.

The *Germaine* Boores with Clergie men began,
But never left till Prince and Peeres were dead:
Jacke Leydon was a holie-zealous man,
But ceast not till the Crowne was on his head.
And *Martins* mate *Jack Strawe* would alwaies sing
The Clergies faults, but sought to kill the King.

Oh that quoth *Martin* chwere a Noble man!
Avaunt vile villaine: tis not for such swads,
And of the Counsell too; Marke Princes then:
These roomes are raught at by these lustie lads,
For Apes must climbe, and never stay their wit,
Until on top of highest hilles they sit.

What meane they els, in every towne to crave
  Their Priest and King like Christ himselfe to be:
And for one Pope ten thousand Popes to have,
  And to controll the highest he or she!
Aske *Scotland* that, whose king so long they crost,
As he was like his kingdome to have lost.

Beware ye States and Nobles of this land
  The Clergie is but one of these men's buts:
The Ape at last on masters necke will stand;
  Then gegge betimes these gaping greedie guts,
Least that too soone, and then too late ye feele,
He strikes at head that first began with heele.

The third tricke is, what Apes by flattering waies
  Cannot come by, with biting they will snatch:
Our *Martin* makes no bones, but plainlie saies
  Their fists shall walke, they will both bite and scratch.
He'll make their hearts to ake, and will not faile
Where pen cannot, their penknife shall prevail.

But this is false, he saith he did but mocke:
  A foole he was that so his words did scan.
He only meant with pen their pates to knocke:
  A knave he is that so turnes cat in pan.
But Martin sweare and stare as deep as hell,
Thy sprite thy spite and mischevous mind doth tell.

The thing that neither Pope with Booke nor Bull
  Nor *Spanish* king with ships could do without,
Our *Martins* here at home will worke at full:
  If Prince curb not betimes that rabble rout,
That is, destroy both Church and State, and all;
For if t'one faile, the other needes must fall.

Thou *England* then whom God hath made so glad
  Through Gospels grace and Princes prudent raigne
Take heede lest thou at last be made as sad

Through *Martins* makebates marring, to thy paine;
For he marres all, and maketh naught, nor will,
Save lies and strife, and workes for *Englands* ill.

And ye grave men that answere *Martins* mowes,
He mockes the more, and you in vaine loose times,
Leaves Apes to dogges to baite, their skins to crowes.
And let old *Lanam* lash him with his rimes
The beast is proud when men wey his enditings,
Let his worke go the waie of all wast writings.

Now *Martin*, you that say you will spawne out
Your broyling brattes in every towne to dwell,
Wee will provide in each place for your route
A bell and whipp, that Apes do love so well.
And if ye skippe and will not wey the checke,
We'll have a springe and catch you by the necke.

And so adieu Mad *Martin* Marre the land,
Leave off thy worke, and more worke, hear'st thou me:
The worke's nought worth, take better worke in hand,
Thou marrst thy worke, and thy worke will marre thee.
Worke not a anewe, least it doth worke thy wracke,
And thou make worke for him that worke doth lacke.

And this I warne thee Martins monckies face,
Take heed of me, my rime doth charm thee bad:
I am a rimer of the Irish race,
And have alreadie rimed thee staring mad.
But if thou ceasest not thy bald jests still to spread,
Ile never leave, till I have rimde thee dead.

FINIS

[Except the title and mottoes, the whole is in Black Letter. There was a second impression, with title "Rhythms against Martin Mar Prelate," in other respects identical. So far as we can learn there is no later reprint.—ED.]

Congregational Benefactors to the Deaf

Contributed by Selwyn Oxley, Esq., Secretary of the Guild of St. John of Beverley.

[This Guild was founded for the teaching and otherwise assisting the deaf, especially deaf mutes. Its title was taken from an English saint of the seventh century, the founder of Beverley Minster, who is said to have received many remarkable answers to prayer, including the enabling of a dumb man to speak.—Ed.]

Introductory

AS a Church of England lay-worker for the deaf, I feel that much may be done for the cause we all have at heart—the cause of Christian Unity—along indirect lines, it may be, but none the less effectively, by fuller knowledge of each other's efforts in the same fields of beneficent enterprise. As a student of the history of the deaf, I have been led to discover or to recognize in this work many links in common between our two branches of the Universal Church; and it is these links that form the main theme of this paper.

The cord which binds us together is a threefold one, and each part of it is of special significance. The three men whose careers are to engage us were not only great benefactors to the deaf, but also outstanding figures in the history of Christian philanthrophy, for whom any Church might whole-heartedly thank God.

These three worthies are:

1. The Rev. John Townsend (1757-1826);

2. The Rev. T. H. Gallaudet, U.S.A. (1787-1851);
3. The Rev. T. Arnold (1816-1897);

and I propose very briefly to survey the work each did for our cause.

1. THE REV. JOHN TOWNSEND.

John Townsend was born at Whitechapel in 1757, and educated at Christ's Hospital; entering the ministry as pastor of the Independent Church at Kingston-on-Thames, June 1st, 1781. In 1784 he removed to the Jamaica Road Chapel, Bermondsey, where his life-work was done, and where he remained until his death in 1826.

His work for education alone, as the founder of what is now Caterham School, is enough to render his name memorable. To us, however, who know and love the deaf, an additional reason is manifest; for it is due to his persistent energy that the first public "Asylum and Manufactory" for the deaf in this country was established in Grange Road, Bermondsey, on November 14th, 1792.

It is an interesting fact that it was through a certain Mrs. Creasy, a member of his congregation—whose deaf son had been educated privately by Mr. Braidwood at Grove House, Mare Street, Hackney—that Mr. Townsend's interest was aroused on behalf of the deaf. Mr. Braidwood's school was one of the first two private academies for the deaf—the other being that of Mr. Henry Baker, son-in-law of Daniel Defoe—to be established in this country. Mr. Braidwood's fees being prohibitive, Mrs. Creasy approached her pastor with a view to his taking up the subject.

Some years previously George III. had subscribed £105 to an abortive effort to found a public institution for the deaf; and, on hearing that Mrs. Creasy had had to pay no less than £1,500 for the education of her son, Mr. Townsend felt that something ought to be done.

His preliminary inquiries confirmed this view; for very soon he had a list of twenty families with 155 children, of whom seventy-eight were totally deaf and doomed, if nothing were done, to grow up totally illiterate. The matter thus proving important and urgent, he decided, with Mrs. Creasy, that it was practicable and necessary to found an institution for the deaf children of the poor.

The first subscriptions were received on Sunday, June 1st, 1792: three friends contributing a guinea apiece, to which Mr. Townsend added a fourth. Mr. Thornton, a banker, on being asked to receive the money, thought the scheme would fail for want of sufficient pupils, since he did not know of any cases himself. However, the lady of the committee (probably Mrs. Creasy) told him that she knew of several, so he consented to receive subscriptions. Prospectuses were sent to the *The Times* and *The Morning Chronicle*, which brought in many applications and an offer from Dr. Joseph Watson, a nephew of Braidwood, to be the tutor. Mr. Townsend took a tour to visit his brother at Ramsgate, and distributed papers about the new school as he went. He also about this time called on the Rev. Henry Cox Mason, the Vicar of Bermondsey, who, on being convinced of the need for the proposed school, became one of his most enthusiastic fellow-workers, and helped on the committee until his death in 1804; in fact, the strong friendship between the brother ministers is a telling example of one way in which we may unite in the work of the Church as brethren.

At the first meeting of the school subscribers, in August, 1792, Mr. Cox Mason was secretary and Mr. Thornton treasurer. The first election took place on November 14th, in the same year, when four children were admitted, and by the end of that year two more were added. In 1804 Mr. Cox Mason died, and in 1809 the school was moved to Old Kent Road, the foundation stone of the new building having been laid by

H.R.H. the Duke of Gloucester in 1807. In the collection of funds both energy and enterprise were shown. Collections were made in various churches and chapels, a deaf boy repeating the Lord's Prayer on these occasions, thus leading to the discovery of a large number of these handicapped persons. Mr. Cox Mason and Mr. Townsend together preached all over the south of England. At Bristol, for example, Mr. Townsend received £44 on behalf of the school, and on another occasion a lady was so much moved that she put her trinkets in the plate. At Romsey a party of players postponed their performance when they heard of his sermon, attended the service and contributed to the collection. In 1809 he interested the Bishop of Norwich and obtained his hearty co-operation, and at Bury St. Edmunds received £150 in one day, whilst from a tour in Kent he received over £600.

Some extracts from his diary may be of interest. In 1821, though unwell, he went by coach to the school election on January 10th, and on the 12th he writes that he " rose with less pain and difficulty in breathing, and went to the Bank to receive dividends for the Deaf and Dumb."

On April 16th he records that he " went to the Missionary Society (i.e. the London Missionary Society, which he did much towards founding) 11 a.m., and to the Audit of Deaf and Dumb at 1."

Later in 1821, we read that though still ill, he is unable to absent himself from the school election, and is " thankful to see how wonderfully God has prospered the Institution, which was begun with three names as Annual Subscribers and now has nearly 8,000 on the books. Some of the candidates had more than 5,000 votes " !

In 1822 he visited Ireland, where he had heard of over 3,000 deaf and dumb children.

In 1810 he met Dr. Jenner, of vaccination fame, at breakfast at Cheltenham, and the doctor gave him

two guineas for the deaf, and another member of the party gave one guinea.

In 1796 Bishop S. Horsley, of Rochester, preached on behalf of the school, and mentioned that there were twenty pupils, but that fifty more were awaiting admission whom the slender finances of the Society would not permit to be received.

Mr. Townsend died in his sixty-ninth year, February 7th, 1826, and was interred in Bunhill Fields.

There is a bust to his memory in Jamaica Road Chapel vestry, also a tablet on the chapel wall; and a marble bust of him is to be seen at the Royal School for the Deaf at Margate, the magnificent development of the school begun on so modest a scale in 1792.

In taking leave of this good man, it may be mentioned that many of his MSS. are extant in a book that is kept in a safe at the Jamaica Road Chapel, which book we hope to have photographed by one of the deaf pupils of the present-day school. In addition, there is much valuable literary matter connected with Townsend and the Asylum (as it used to be called) in the care of Mr. John Frowde, the energetic librarian at Bermondsey Public Library. All this historical material is well worth the attention of our Society; among the items of special interest being a sermon printed at the Deaf and Dumb Asylum in 1809, which had been preached at Ebley Congregational Chapel, Stroud, Gloucestershire; and a Spanish New Testament printed under the superintendence of Mr. Powell at the school-manufactory in 1812.

We are indebted to our valued friend, the Rev. W. Raper, Church of England Chaplain to the Deaf of S.E. London and an ardent disciple of Mr. Townsend, for nearly the whole of the facts recited.

In January of the current year there was presented in the Inner Temple Hall, by the "Time and Talents Guild," a series of tableaux of old Bermondsey. One of the scenes introduced Mrs. Creasy and her son,

together with Messrs. Townsend and Cox Mason; these latter being personated by the present minister of Jamaica Row, Rev. J. Rofe, and his brother.

2. THE REV. T. H. GALLAUDET.

Turning to the second great Congregationalist who helped our work, we observe that his influence was predominant in the New World of America, not only as the pioneer of work for or among the deaf on that continent, but also of all organized philanthropic work whatsoever.

Thomas Hopkins Gallaudet was born in Philadelphia on December 10th, 1787, being the eldest of a family of twelve. He never was at all robust, though precocious and very studious in disposition. In his thirteenth year his father moved to Hartford, Connecticut, which removal had an important bearing on his after life. Having completed his school education at Hartford Grammar School, he entered the sophomore class at Yale in the autumn of 1802, and during his stay there won considerable distinction. The MS. is still in existence of an address that he gave at the close of his college career; he being one of six in a class of forty-two to graduate with the honours of an oration; the Rev. G. Spring, D.D., the eminent New York divine, was the valedictarian. He then in 1805 took up the study of law in the office of the Hon. Chauncey Goodrich, of Hartford, his work herein, as in everything that he undertook, being methodical and accurate, and he showed the greatest promise. The state of his health, however, precluded his continuance in this career, and in 1806 he accepted a tutorship in Yale College. Little is recorded of his life at that time, though several entries in his diaries and certain incidents that we have on record prove that his religious life, hitherto dormant, was slowly but none the less surely developing; still, he suffered much from periods of sceptism and

depression, which gave him many an anxious hour before he finally decided for Christ. On one occasion he had been carried away by the hilarity of some companions and had taken too much wine; but his mortification afterwards was so great that he confessed his sin publicly to the officers of the Congregational Church at Hartford, where his father attended and which he himself hoped soon to join, the result being that he had become a total abstainer long before the temperance movement proper was inaugurated.

Another incident that made a deep and lasting impression on his mind was the announcement of the drowning of a companion while Gallaudet was attending a public dance or assembly of Hartford inhabitants, a form of gaiety which greatly attracted him. At first he appealed to the bearers of the news not to tell the ladies for fear of breaking up the dance; but the next moment his conscience so smote him that presently he hurried away from the gathering, and was never seen at a dance again. From that time, too, he was a strenuous opponent to dancing generally.

His health still being precarious in 1810, he felt he must take up outdoor work of some kind, and consequently became a traveller in Kentucky and Ohio for a New York firm, which involved his riding everywhere on horseback. Although more of a scholar than a business man, his business faculties were excellent and served him well. Religion, however, eventually claimed him for her own, and he decided to train for the ministry, though it was not until after this, as we learn from his private diary, that, on October 11th, 1812, he "made a public profession of his faith in Christ and was admitted a member of the first Congregational Church in Hartford, the Rev. Nathan Strong being Pastor thereof." His health continued to give anxiety, but his reputation for scholarship and his success as a preacher grew, with the result that he received several flattering invitations to the Pastorate, as, for example,

at North Parish, Portsmouth, New Hampshire. These he felt unable to accept, owing to his poor health. In fact, so easily did he appear to live during 1814-15 that at least one fellow-student took him to task for his supposed idleness.

The real truth, however, was far otherwise; for this "under-sized invalid," with eyes and lungs both weak and who could devote but little time to study, was ready to spring joyfully to his life's work when plainly called to it; for in that weak body dwelt a spirit great and strong enough to make him practically the pioneer, if not the actual founder, of all systematic philanthropic work in America.

One of his father's nearest neighbours was a Dr. Cogswell, who had a lovely girl of nine on whom the blight of total deafness had fallen, as the result of a severe attack of meningitis when she was but four years old. Loss of speech followed, and, although the parents did what they could to develop her education, with some slight success, they were none the less severely handicapped in their ignorance of the proper way to approach this problem. During a vacation Thomas Gallaudet's attention was attracted to this girl when meeting her in her father's garden at play with her younger sisters and brothers. Even on that occasion he was able to teach her to speak a word or two, and it was from this time that the practical interest in the deaf was awakened and led him to study literature on the subject. The result was that the child slowly acquired language from him and from her first teacher, the poetess Lydia Sigourney, then Miss Hunter. Dr. Cogswell's interest becoming active, he began to hope that a school for the deaf on the lines of that established by Mr. John Townsend in London might be founded in Hartford itself; and the intimacy between Gallaudet and the Cogswells presently raised these hopes into practical schemes for their realization—the medium thereof being this young clerical friend of

the family. Thus it was that at Dr. Cogswell's invitation, on April 13th, 1815, a meeting was held at his house to consider what could be done in the matter. The result, after prayerful deliberation, was a decision to send some suitable person to Europe to look into the question of educating the deaf, and to acquire the art of it. Dr. Cogswell and a Mr. Woodbridge were appointed a committee to select the man and to meet expenses. So much interest was aroused in the project that they were able to raise the amount needed in a single day, and Gallaudet was their choice. After considering the proposition for a week, his innate modesty holding him back, he felt it his duty to accept this distinct call from God to definite work on April 20th, 1815; and, after visiting the blind-deaf-mute girl, Julia Brace, with Dr. Cogswell, he set sail from New York on the *Mexico*, burden 300 tons, for Liverpool on May 25th, among the passengers being Washington Irving. He landed exactly a month later, and, after seeing a small school for the deaf at Birmingham (started 1812), he reached London on July 5th, and presented himself with suitable letters of introduction at the Old Kent Road institution, fully expecting a warm and cordial welcome. How different was the reality! For, owing to the fact that the teaching of the deaf had been for two generations the monopoly of one family (the Braidwoods), he was unable to make any progress whatever. So disgraceful a monopoly was this that at the time of which we are speaking all efforts to start a school for the deaf in Ireland were frustrated, and another not too satisfactory member of the Braidwood family was in America, seeking to establish a similar state of things there.

Gallaudet actually met and conversed with Mr. John Townsend, who no doubt did what he could to gain him a fair hearing, as did other members of the committee; but, beyond his being introduced to Dr. Watson, nothing was done. Dr. Watson, himself a member

of the monopolizing family, made every possible excuse to delay and complicate the negotiations, and did his utmost to bind Gallaudet down under an agreement for a term of years; he also tried to induce him to join forces with the Braidwood then in America. He kindly offered to allow Gallaudet to go over the school, if he wished, as an ordinary visitor; but, under the circumstances, Gallaudet felt obliged to decline the offer.

Thus baffled in London, Gallaudet turned his attention to Scotland, and, after a formal intimation to the Old Kent Road committee that he was unable to accept their terms, he reached Edinburgh in September of the same year. Here again he found himself confronted by the monopoly of the Braidwood family, Mr. Kinniburgh being under bond not to reveal the secret method for seven years, of which only four had expired—a situation which we believe went much against Mr. Kinniburgh's natural benevolence.

Thus, to our lasting disgrace as a nation, was lost to us for ever a unique opportunity of forwarding God's work for the world—a loss which we shall never cease to regret. The immediate result was that Gallaudet, after studying several books on the History of the Deaf, sought what he required in France.

Arriving in Paris on March 9th, 1816, within three days he was cordially welcomed by the Abbé Sicard, head of the Royal School for the Deaf, who offered him every possible facility for the objects he had in view, even permitting him to have private lessons from his distinguished pupil and assistant, Massieu. For two months this training went forward, and on May 20th another deaf man—Laurent Clerc—who had some knowledge of teaching, offered to accompany him back to America. Gallaudet, as may be imagined, was most grateful, and lost no time in asking for Sicard's consent to the offer, which he obtained on May 27th. Under the circumstances he felt justified in binding Clerc to a not disadvantageous three years' agreement at a handsome

salary, with the option of returning to France at the end of the three years. Three weeks later Gallaudet sailed homeward, leaving Havre on June 18th. During his stay he had preached a series of sermons at the Chapel of the Oratoire, and otherwise had made good general use of his spare time. These sermons were published in 1818.

The voyage was a protracted one, but the time was by no means wasted, for he improved himself in instructional methods and also taught his companion English. He reached New York on August 9th and Hartford a few days later, where general interest was aroused. For it must be remembered that in 1816 there was no public benevolent institution of any sort in America, saving a small hospital for the insane in Virginia.

Those at home had not been idle, for they had secured an Act of Incorporation for the new institution from the Legislature of Connecticut, May, 1816, and raised a large sum of money by subscription.

In October, 1816, the Connecticut Legislature granted the sum of 5,000 dollars, which is believed to be the first appropriation of public money ever made for any charitable institution in the history of America. Gallaudet went here, there and everywhere—to New York, Boston, Albany, Philadelphia—promoting this cause, with the result that before the institution was opened he raised upwards of 17,000 dollars.

The presence of an educated deaf Frenchman contributed very largely to the success of these efforts—the exhibition of realized possibilities being an adroit move on Gallaudet's part. Nevertheless, he was subjected to much of the usual annoyance which falls to the lot of the pioneer.

In February, 1817, a solemn service on behalf of the success of the institution was held, and it was on April 1st—a date deserving to be commemorated as the birthday of organized philanthropic effort in America—that Gallaudet's heart was made glad by the actual opening of the school.

Here for thirteen years, under great difficulties and on a very small salary for work of the most exacting character, he laboured as its first principal, until ill health compelled his retirement in 1830. In the meantime, he had contracted a most romantic and happy marriage with one of his former pupils, a Miss Sophia Fowler, in 1821.

During this time he took keen interest in other affairs, notably mission work in Africa, and subsequently he received many important invitations, as, for example, to inaugurate the education of the blind in Washington, to take professors' chairs in several colleges, and to inaugurate a professorship of the Philosophy of Education in New York University. He declined all these offers, and spent his time in preparing books for young people and in conducting an interesting and important correspondence with the King of Siam. Later he took a great interest in the insane, and in 1838 was invited to take the post of Chaplain for the insane at the Retreat, Hartford, which he accepted, and began his duties on July 15th, 1838. He also during these years started and conducted a Home School in this place, in which his children and those of his neighbours could be educated.

In the summer of 1851, he was seized with severe dysentery, and died in late August, mourned by a multitude of deaf and other friends. His eldest son, the Rev. T. Gallaudet, succeeded to his work for the deaf, and subsequently became Rector of St. Ann's Church for the deaf in New York, and to this day members of the family continue in this necessary, but not yet sufficiently known work, which the Congregational Church, as we hope we have proved, has played so important a part in propagating.*

(To be Continued.)

* For the greater part of our information on this good man we are indebted to the biography written by his son, E. M. Gallaudet and published by Henry Holt & Co., New York.

Edward Winslow

(*Continued from p.* 143.)

WINSLOW'S second term of office was marked by another constitutional advance. Various resolutions had been passed, various decisions had been given; he now gathered them up, and codified them into a little body of law, prefixing an account of the settlement of the colony. The legality of these proceedings was very questionable, and many people began to wonder how far the laws of England held, how far they could be modified locally, whether any appeal lay to England, whether any royal governor could come and override these petty jurisdictions.

Many ministers came from England, all of them Puritans, and objecting to episcopal rule. They had, however, no clear ideal of church government, and certainly were not imbued with the principles of Smyth or Robinson, of Harrison or Browne. Despite minor differences they worked out substantially alike. Critical enquiries came from Puritans in England as to what was taking place on the Bay; replies were sent by Davenport of New Haven and Richard Mather of Dorchester, in 1639. The gist of them was that in each church the officers held all the initiative, and that each church was all but independent of the others. What was left obscure was that the magistrates were in practice the tools of the ministers, and that the laws were used to enforce uniformity. The singularity of the position is accentuated by two curious incidents on opposite sides. Three women were charged at the Salem Quarterly Court with denying infant baptism; they were admonished by the church, and to avoid further trouble, they too emigrated, settling on Long Island. But on the other hand, the Puritans of Virginia having asked for faithful ministers to be sent, and three having gone south from Massachusetts, Governor Berkeley insisted on conformity to the episcopal system and the prayer-book, and so punished them that they returned to the Bay.

It was, therefore, with a clear understanding that the "New England way" was illegal according to English law, and was distasteful to most English Puritans, that the four colonies of Massachusetts, Plymouth, Newhaven and Connecticut confederated, and Winslow was appointed one of the eight Commissioners. They refused to take in Rhode Island and Providence, and the

excluded settlers sent Williams home to guard their interests. In March, 1644, he procured a charter from the Parliamentary Commission which had succeeded to Charles' Commission for Plantations, and brought it back with an official letter to Massachusetts, commending his work among the Indians, and deploring their exclusive policy.

At this time Winslow was Governor of the Old Colony for a third time. It is to be noted that his policy was to decentralize and to promote new settlements. In his former terms the townships of Scituate, Duxbury, Marshfield and Taunton had been incorporated. This time Bridgewater was planted from Duxbury, and Nauset was recognized, an offshoot from Plymouth, presently to be known as Eastham. More interesting yet was to be the case of a daughter church of Weymouth, organized under Samuel Newman at Seekonk. The practical abilities of Winslow were more and more widely recognized. Since the Pequod War of 1637, self-defence had become important. And at the close of his third term of office as governor, he was appointed President of the Council of War. This indicates the confidence felt in him by the other colonies, and prepared the way for him to act for them on the wider field of Old England, where he spent the next nine years.

5. COLONIAL AGENT, COMMONWEALTH COMMISSIONER.

The errand on which Winslow was sent to England raised great constitutional questions. There were three separate cases, the first being Gorton's appeal home against his local banishments. The second arose at Scituate in the Old Colony. William Vassall was a charter-magistrate of Massachusetts, but found himself so out of touch with the predominant party that he removed hither. Hence he sent a petition to the General Courts of both colonies that they would abolish the new local peculiarities in civil and church estate, and would abide wholly by the laws of England. Winslow wrote to Winthrop in November, 1645, that in the Old Colony motion had been made " to allow and maintain full and free tolerance of religion to all men that would preserve the civil peace and submit unto government." The motion found much support, but Bradford actually refused to put it! The third case arose at Hingham in Massachusetts, on an issue concerning Winslow as president of the Council of War. The townsmen chose a captain, whom the magistrates of the colony disallowed. The town was firm, the magistrates arrested and fined the leaders repeatedly, and at last fined the minister. The town then forcibly resisted, and appealed home to the Parliament, setting forth local laws of 1641 and 1642 as repugnant to the laws of England Moreover, there were Baptists at Hingham, who were liable to banishment under a law of 1644. As the law was due to the activities

of Roger Williams, he published in London a discussion of the Bloody Tenet of Persecution for Conscience. And thus much attention was being given in England to the intolerance of Massachusetts.

The movements now coalesced, and seven prominent men presented a petition to the General Court of Massachusetts, asking for an extension of the franchise, for a wider door into the churches, and for leave to embody new churches according to the best reformation of England and Scotland. The petition closed with formal notice that were it rejected, application would be made to Parliament.

It is to be borne in mind that the civil constitution was most oligarchic. Massachusetts with a population of about 15,000, had only admitted 1,708 citizens in all, of whom many had emigrated in disgust. The Old Colony with about 3,000 people had only 230 voters. In Massachusetts the franchise was avowedly confined to church members, and the ministers now presented to the Court a bill requiring each church to send messengers to a Synod which should determine a uniform practice for all churches; in deference to the protests of the deputies, the call was softened into a request. This went out, specifying in particular the questions of baptism, church-membership, and an order of government and discipline. And because "Plimoth, Connecticott, and Newe Haven" were civilly confederated, the invitation was extended to the churches in those colonies also. For this kind of action there was the important precedent of the Long Parliament, which, to its own committee of ten lords and twenty commoners, had added a number of divines chosen by the Commons from all parts of the country. This Westminster Assembly had under skilful Scotch manipulation drafted a scheme of church government on Presbyterian lines, a directory for ordination, a confession of faith, and was considering two catechisms with a psalm-book. Parliament had adopted most of these, with amendments, and in March, 1646, had ordained that that system be put in operation. So Massachusetts had every reason to think that a uniform plan was in line with most Puritan desires, though the probable New England plan was likely to differ widely from the Westminster plan.

It took months to overcome the opposition of Hingham, Salem, and Boston, but in September a fortnight's session was held, when a Committee was appointed to draft a plan of church government. One member was Ralph Partridge of Duxbury in the Old Colony; a second was Cotton, the antagonist of Roger Williams in the matter of persecution; and the third was Richard Mather, joint author of the Bay Psalm Book, author of a plan of government, a man whom Plymouth church had vainly tried to secure as pastor.

Even while the Synod was sitting, a shock was received by the General Court. Gorton and his friends had already laid complaint

about its action against him, before the Commissioners for Plantations, a board of six lords and twelve commoners appointed to supervise all the colonies. This board had already advised that all men should enjoy their liberty of conscience, and it now furnished Gorton and his friends with an order to Massachusetts to allow them free passage, and to send answer to their complaints.

It was in this situation that Winslow was asked by Massachusetts to go to England and watch the interests of the majority party, which was determined upon uniformity and intolerance. There is nothing to show that he felt any reluctance in accepting the invitation. One of the appellants bluntly said that his object was to uphold the church franchise. And it is regrettable that all the confederated colonies joined in defraying his expenses. Winslow was furnished with instructions, and after conference with the ministers, the magistrates agreed that no appeal to England was permissible; some appellants were arrested, their papers were confiscated, and others were fined. Yet, before the year was out, two appellants got away to England, as well as Winslow. He speedily published a case against Gorton under the title, "Hypocrisie Unmasked." It has an interesting supplement with anecdotes as to the church at Leyden which has become far better known than the main work. For while his earlier pamphlets had given an excellent and graphic account of the adventures at first settling in New England, this supplement told, for the first time, something about the earlier history of that group of emigrants to which Winslow himself had belonged, the church at Leyden.

The appellants had strong sympathizers on many sides; the brother of one of them was on the Commission for Plantations whose authority was defied by Massachusetts, the minister of Hingham was of the Presbyterian type and could confidently look to both Assembly and Parliament, while a third had a brother in the army, who in April, 1647, published a lively account of the amazing proceedings in Massachusetts. Winslow replied within six weeks, and tacitly admitted nearly all that was alleged. He apparently relied really upon a military revolution that favoured him. Since Parliament had agreed with the captive Charles to establish Presbyterianism for three years, and was ready to disband most of the army without paying its arrears, therefore the army seized Charles, marched on London and secured the expulsion of eleven leaders from parliament. With this transfer of power to the Independents, it was easy for Winslow to secure from the Commission for Plantations an acknowledgment that they would encourage appeals from the colonies, and that what they had done in Gorton's case was not a precedent to limit the local jurisdiction. Ten months later he was able to report that he had defeated the appeal of the petitioners from the Old Colony and Massachusetts.

Under these circumstances the Synod which reassembled in August, 1648, shelved the awkward questions of baptism and Church-membership, concentrating on government. The draft by Partridge of Duxbury was rejected, and much authority on matters of religion was given to the magistrates. With tact the doctrinal Confession of the Westminster Assembly was adopted, and the Synod dispersed. The Massachusetts Court approved the Platform of government. The records of the Old Colony do not state whether any action was taken there, and we can only note that its twelve churches had been represented at each session, that they are not known to have objected, and that they did in practice fall into line. They thus committed themselves to the propositions that the form of church government " is one, immutable, and prescribed in the word of God," " only congregational," " the ordinary power of government belonging only to the elders," " the magistrate is to see (that the) ministry be duely provided for," that members of the church could be " born in the same," that separation was unlawful and sinful, as also abstinence from the sacraments, that magistrates " have power to call a Synod," to punish " idolatry, blasphemy, heresy, venting corrupt and pernicious opinions that destroy the foundation, open contempt of the word preached, prophanation of the Lord's day, disturbing the peaceable administration and exercise of the worship and holy things of God, and the like," and to coerce any church that " shall grow schismaticall, rending itself from the communion of other churches."

Long before the Massachusetts Court had approved this Platform, it had taken other action as here indicated. At Seekonk in the Old Colony, John Clarke and Mark Luther had baptized thirteen or fourteen people, as Roger Williams wrote to Winthrop, in 1649. The Court promptly sent to the Old Colony and begged that steps be taken to suppress errors. The magistrates did prosecute, and this place was again found to give no room to those who offended Massachusetts. In this action the ministers of the Old Colony were involved, as well as the whole church of Taunton, formed in 1640 by immigrants from the west of England.

Winslow in England was putting up another ambiguous record. That same year he published " The Glorious Progress of the Gospel," emphasizing the fine work done among the Indians by the Independents, especially since 1646 by John Eliot. This was very politic, for by this time the Independents had seized power. But who would have guessed from one grudging line naming no man, that Roger Williams had been working among the Indians for years before, and that he actually had published two books on the matter in 1643 and 1645?

A fine result was that in July the Rump Parliament chartered the Corporation for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England, and before long, under its president, William Steele (a Baptist

awyer who rose to be chancellor), funds were gathered from the universities, the parishes, the regiments, which secured an endowment of nearly £600 a year.

Winslow's activity before the Commission for the Colonies brought him into notice as an able man of business; and his support of the cause of missions gave a reputation in other quarters. President Steele wrote that, though he desired to return to his family, he was too valuable to be spared from England. Earnest of this was given by his appointment to the Committee for Compounding, and when this was recast in 1650 with larger functions, he was assigned a salary of £300, as much as Massachusetts had paid him for his four years' work on its behalf. That year he obtained leave to export munitions for the colonies; but next year he had to warn the Old Colony that the Commission for Plantations was awaiting an answer to its orders.

He bought a fine library belonging to Jenner, to augment the books of Harvard. His status as representative for the Confederated Colonies was recognized in that he was used by Parliament to circulate in New England a thousand copies of a pamphlet, telling of the "crowning mercy" at Worcester in 1651. Next year he arranged to supply the navy with timber and other materials previously obtained from the Baltic. In return he applied for confirmation of the ancient grant to the Old Colony of the strip fifteen miles on each side the Kennebec, where his brother had been the resident agent.

When the Nominated Parliament met in July, 1653, he became involved in another unpleasant matter. An old man named William Witter had settled at Lynn in Massachusetts. Since 1643 he had been a Baptist, and was in membership with the church at Newport in Rhode Island. As he was blind and unable to go thither, the church sent three brethren to visit him, John Clarke, the pastor, John Crandall and Obadiah Holmes, once of Didsbury. While holding service in his home on a Sunday, they were arrested, obliged to attend the Standing Order church worship in the afternoon, carried off to Boston, examined most irregularly. They were sentenced to fine or whipping; the fines of two were paid quietly by others, but Holmes was flogged.

The scandal outside Massachusetts was great.

Roger Williams appealed to the governor to grant toleration, in vain; Clarke published an account in England which compelled the minister of Lynn to reply. It is something to Winslow's credit that he did not intervene directly. His action was to put out an accurate reprint of the Cambridge Platform, superseding an unauthorized and inaccurate reprint; it will be remembered that this closes with a clear assertion of the magistrates' right to coerce. But behind the scenes he was leagued with Hazelrigge and others, seeking to thwart the confirmation of the charter which Clarke

had obtained for Rhode Island. This we learn from a letter by Roger Williams, who was staying with Sir Henry Vane, the erstwhile champion of liberty in Massachusetts.

With April, 1653, there had come a second military revolution, when Cromwell in person expelled the Rump of the Long Parliament, and with the advice of his officers appointed an interim Council of State, which on 1st July reduced the Committee on Indemnity to four members, dropping Winslow. Apparently he was not in favour with the grandees of the Army; while the Nominated Parliament sat, from July to December, he seems to have held no office; whereas in June he had been using influence with the Navy Commissioners to obtain the place of Clerk of the Check for one Langley. But his knowledge as to colonial affairs was used in October, when he was summoned to give evidence as to the relations between the Dutch and the natives of New England.

In December a new constitution was adopted, and Cromwell was installed as Lord Protector. A commission on compounding was set up, and on 25th January, 1654, Winslow was added to this, being made also, in June, a commissioner for sequestrations at £300 a year. These appointments betoken that he was recognized as a good man of business and figures. But whereas it has been said that he was entrusted by Cromwell with important posts, it must be noted that these were quite minor administrative offices, that his name never occurs in all Cromwell's letters; and that he was not made a member of the Commission for Trade and Plantations, though there is a trace of his being concerned in an arbitration between Massachusetts and Rhode Island. The only other work he was offered was to value the ships seized and destroyed by the King of Denmark.

6. GOVERNOR OF A NEW COLONY?

The last chapter in Winslow's life is connected with a spirited foreign policy, and takes us to the West Indies.

Under papal grant and treaty with Portugal, Spain steadily claimed everything beyond 370 leagues west of Cape Verde. The first actual English settlement had been in Virginia, far from the Spanish towns; yet the Spanish had seriously considered stamping it out, and it was only on the evidence of John Clarke, afterwards pilot on the *Mayflower*, as to its not having any gold, that they decided to leave it alone as a harmless safety-valve. Since then the Bermudas and Bahamas had been claimed, nearer to Cuba, the headquarters of the Spanish Council of the Indies; and in 1625 there began systematic attempts at settlement in the lesser Antilles. The Spanish were stirred by these invasions, and cleared St. Christopher. When the displaced English went to Providence

Island, off the Mosquito coast, they followed them up, and rooted out the intruders by 1641.

To the general strife there was one marked exception: the coral island of Barbadoes, claimed by James for twenty years, was actually settled in 1625, and was never attacked. As the civil wars developed in England, the colonies were perturbed, and Barbadoes held by the crown, becoming a royalist stronghold, with fifty thousand inhabitants. But when the parliamentary forces won at home, the little island was easily brought to heel by the politic action of Ayscue, backed by a strong squadron. At one time Winslow was considered as a possible governor for it, but it came to be regarded in a rather new light. Instead of being valued solely for its sugar, it was converted almost into the first of the convict plantations. Men were sent to Barbadoes because they were a trouble at home, and because once on the island they could not easily get away. They were really military prisoners, some of them at hard labour, especially those from Ireland.

Hitherto there had been little attempt to work out a colonial policy, and view the Atlantic problems as a whole. There were isolated settlements, on islands or on mainland, with different types of government. With peace restored in England, the time arrived for a connected view to be taken, and for an overseas empire to be founded. Cromwell equipped two fleets which sailed with sealed orders; one under Blake, one under Penn, the vice-admiral. On this second fleet sailed Winslow.

From the beginning there were ill omens. The vice-admiral had actually offered this very year to carry the fleet over to Charles, being already involved in those intrigues which had the one happy result that as a reward his son was afterwards given a huge proprietary province between Maryland and the Jerseys, still bearing the name Pennsylvania. The land-general, Robert Venables, despite five years of good service in Ireland, was second-rate in ability, and is labelled by Carlyle as covetous and lazy. There were two veteran regiments, but there were also some new forces, levied out of the discontented classes who were good fighters, and whose absence would strengthen Cromwell's government.

Winslow was the chief of three Civil Commissioners, whose business would begin when the naval and military forces had succeeded, and there was a new territory to govern. For a new colonial policy seems to have been thought out. Spain had actual possession of vast territories, Mexico and Peru, with no definite boundaries, and she claimed everything. In practice she held islands in the Gulf of Mexico, and had established a strong fort at Saint Augustine in Florida as early as 1565; but had no settlement further north.

Cromwell now came to the conclusion that the mere harrying and raiding which had been frequent was futile. He decided to

make a deliberate capture of some of the Spanish islands in the West Indies, and fixed upon Hispaniola as the first objective. This was the second largest in the group, just east of Cuba, and had developed a flourishing sugar industry, worked by negro slaves imported from Africa to replace the natives who had died under the forced labour. If this became another of the British island colonies, a flourishing trade might be developed. And from Hispaniola it might be possible to reach out towards Cuba itself, where the Council of the Indies sat at Havana, and annex all the island-empire of Spain.

While these plans were concealed from the world at large, Winslow's commission to govern the expected conquest was made out on 12th December, and he, at least, must have had some knowledge of what was in view, even if his comprehension of the New World had not framed the scheme. His practical experience came out promptly. He knew the awful mortality among the first settlers at Plymouth, and the importance of Samuel Fuller the surgeon. So in January, apparently after the expedition had left Portsmouth, he wrote asking for an apothecary to be put aboard the *Little Charity*. A captain who for the last three years had been taking the new *Mayflower* to Boston, bearing supplies for Eliot's work among the Indians, and bringing back masts, received fresh orders. He had gone in January to Barbadoes, thence up to Boston. Here he contracted for provisions and arms to take down to the "Governor of Hispaniola," as it was hoped Winslow would be, when he could reach there.

Well out at sea, the orders were opened, and Penn knew whither he was dispatched. The sixty vessels sailed for Barbadoes, which was thronged with sturdy fighters transported thither to give peace to the Commonwealth. Five thousand of these were enlisted, making up the land forces to a creditable army. But it could hardly be esteemed experienced, or particularly attached to its general. So when Penn brought the fleet to San Domingo where Drake had landed, Venables shrank from repeating his exploit, and attacking the town direct. After some reconnoitring, the forces were put ashore sixty miles from the capital, and proceeded to march through the forests in a heat quite new to most of them. Falling into an ambuscade, they were panic-stricken and fled back to the shore and the fleet, infected with fever, and beat a shameful retreat aboard.

Pestilence raged through the ships, carrying off two hundred daily, and on 8th May Edward Winslow died, in the sixtieth year of his age. Had he lived to see Jamaica captured, he might have figured among the founders of two colonies. But it was his ill hap to pass away in the very wreck of the expedition, and it was their ill fate to lose the only man who had any experience of settlement and administration, and who could have fulfilled

Cromwell's hopes of bringing down settlers from New England to populate the island. Captain Webber, direct from Boston with supplies, was carried off too, and so dramatically the great Pilgrim Father and the last link with the *Mayflower* passed away together.

7. CHARACTER.

The career of Edward Winslow shows the possibilities of the yeoman class realized almost to the full. It reveals the powers latent in the English stock, trained for one or two generations in rural management, and proving equal to developing a new land, organizing local self-government, negotiating with rulers, administering a conquered province.

To estimate the man, we must measure him against men of his own time and origin and function. He has been compared with Bradford and Brewster; in so far as they were weaver and postmaster, while he was printer, the comparison is just. But their plans were petty, their horizon was parochial, they lived and died within a mile of Plymouth Rock. On the other hand, they did try to impress the fine tradition from John Robinson on the Colony, whereas Winslow became the willing agent of intolerance. And while he appreciated the openings for missionary work among the natives, and did no little to further them, he was not just in ignoring the pioneer work of Roger Williams; there seems grounds to suspect some personal feeling. His treatment of the natives was, however, creditable, even before Williams appeared on the scene. He displayed honesty, bravery, ability to negotiate. Though there was a century of Spanish tradition that natives were to be enslaved, he dealt with them as free, and as owners of the soil.

He was the only Pilgrim Father to publish anything beyond a sermon. His writings have two great merits, historical and practical. He gives an account of the last few years at Leyden, including the farewell address of Robinson: in 1622 a large part of the long Journal of the voyage, arrival, building of New Plymouth, and the relation of the early discoveries: in 1624 a further long account of subsequent proceedings, with a description of the country and of the natives. He also initiated public records, and drew up for them a historical preface, which seems quite overlooked in England. All this was done fifteen years before Bradford followed his example and began to compose his manuscript "History of Plimoth Plantation." And it must be plainly said that undue attention has been given to this later work, since its publication in 1856, which has given the very mistaken impression that the Old Colony was due to the Scrooby group. The only family from Scrooby at Plymouth was Brewster's; most from Scrooby and district were followers of Smyth; most who went to Plymouth were, like Winslow, later adherents of Robinson from many parts of England, of

which the coast from Yarmouth to Sandwich was predominant; and the whole Leyden element was swamped within twenty years by other immigrants into the Old Colony.

Many men can write history who cannot make it; but Winslow had vision and energy. He was one of the promoters of the emigration, a leading explorer, negotiator with the natives and new settlers; it was he who imported stores, developed trade, opened outposts far away, fostered new towns, advised the occupation of Massachusetts Bay, systematized the administration of the Old Colony, leagued it with the newer and greater, formally initiated the confederacy of New England, successfully ensured practical independence of England, whether king or parliament. He was the only colonial who won confidence at home; he was chosen to be the link between the tropical and the temperate settlements, economically the complements one of another. While narrow-minded statesmen at home were meditating Navigation laws in imitation of Spain to monopolize colonial trade, he was fostering intercolonial commerce. His untimely death stifled the project, or rather its legality, for by stealth it always went on. Not till 1920 was a treaty actually made to regulate that flow of exchange which he foresaw, and was beginning to develop.

Compare him with other colonial statesmen. The senior colony of Virginia produced nobody more important than a Wyatt; the stronger colony of Massachusetts had a Winthrop, educated at Cambridge and the Temple, but he achieved not so much as the man who at best had been at a provincial grammar school. The one man worth comparing is Sir Henry Vane, the younger. This man started with great advantages, son of a courtier, trained at Westminster and Oxford, on the embassies to Vienna, Leyden and Geneva. Winslow and Vane both emigrated to secure the free practice of their religion, they became governors of adjoining colonies in the same year; they took opposite sides on the question of granting the free practice of their religion to others. Winslow won, Vane lost, and, therefore, returned to fight the same battle at home. In the great questions of war and of the English constitution, Vane played a prominent part, while Winslow never was called upon even to express an opinion. But after the king's defeat and capture, the two men clashed once again on the question of toleration, when for the second time Winslow won the round. A third time their destinies were entwined, for the navy which bore out Winslow as governor-elect of Hispaniola, owed its splendid equipment to Vane as the chief commissioner. The contrast leaves the impression that if the Worcestershire farmer could have given his son the early advantages that the Essex knight gave to his, Winslow could have held his own on the wider stage. On the other hand, the man who for three years had been in contact with John Robinson, shows poorly beside the antagonist of Laud and of Baillie.

Yet there is more to say. Winslow in his last phase was commissioned to uphold the ideals of England against those of Spain. The exact cause of quarrel was that Spain would permit neither freedom of navigation and commerce, nor freedom of worship. Had he actually taken up duty as governor of Hispaniola, and become in natural sequence governor of all British possessions in those seas, he would have found himself once again, as in the days of Leyden, champion of liberty, on a field wider than Vane ever saw. It was ill fate that prevented him removing the one blot on his career, and rounding off his life-work as striving alike for feeedom of the seas, freedom of the individual, freedom of conscience.

THE DESCENDANTS OF THE WINSLOWS.

Edward Winslow senior, of Droitwich and Kempsey, has descendants in both hemispheres bearing his name to-day. The children of Richard, his heir, at Kempsey, indeed died out, leaving no Winslows of his stock in England by 1720. But Governor Edward arranged a marriage for his son Josiah with Penelope Pelham of Bures, and it was in connection with this wedding that a portrait was painted in 1651, on a copy of which figures a coat-of-arms and a motto. If there ever was any authority for these, it was ignored at the Restoration, and the College of Arms disclaims any grant at all. The Winslows were not "esquires" or "gentlemen"; only yeomen at the best, and to say that Edward, "of old and honourable lineage, surrendered wealth and position and forsook his property near Droitwich," is to accumulate blunder upon blunder. What he did was to found a family. Josiah became governor in his turn; his son Isaac held many important posts in Massachusetts; his son John entered the army, took part in the attack on Cuba in 1740, and in the capture of Tonisbourg in Nova Scotia. Just after his death the quarrel between the colonies and the mother-country came to a head, and some of his children took each side. The soldiers sided with England, and from their stock are descended such men as Octavious Winslow, the Baptist D.D., with his brother, Forbes Benignus Winslow, a specialist in lunacy, whose work was extended by his son Forbes Winslow. There was also a Boston branch, senior to this. But it seems to have been outshone by the descendants of Edward's brothers, John, Kenelm and Josiah, which have ramified extensively in Massachusetts.

W. T. WHITLEY, LL.D.

"The Lineage of Locusts"

AMONG the early Puritan tracts included in "Part of a Register" (1593) is one entitled "A View of Antichrist, his lawes and ceremonies, in our English Church Unreformed." It is believed to be the work of Anthony Gilby, and to have been printed in 1570: but no original copy exists. From this tract is taken, with some omissions and changes that are not improvements, the following undated Broadsheet. It was probably issued about 1640. The British Museum Pressmark is 669 f. 4. 21.

Heading:

L.H. The Pope seated, charged by a Unicorn which pushes off his crown.

R.H. The Pope erect holding a torch, three dwarfish figures worshipping him.

Come, come all you that are with Rome offended,
Come now and heare from whence the Pope descended.

THE LINEAGE OF LOCUSTS
OR
THE POPE'S PEDEGRE.

Beginning with his prime ancestor the Divell, plainely set forth, to be noted of all good | Christians and true Catholicks, for the avoiding of those subtill snares | continually layd for them by his insinuating Agents.

THE PEDEGREE.

L.H.
1. THE Divell begat darknesse.
2. And darkness begat ignorance.
3. And ignorance begat error and his brethren.
4. And error and his brethren begat free-will and selfe love.
5. And selfe love begat merits.
6. And merits begat forgetfulness of Gods Grace.
7. And forgetfulness of Gods Grace begat mistrust.
8. And mistrust begat satisfaction.
9. And satisfaction begat sacrifice of the Masse.

10. And sacrifice of the Masse begat Popish priest-hood.
11. And Popish priest-hood begat prayer for the dead.
12. And prayer for the dead begat sacriledge of soules.
13. And sacriledge of soules begat superstition.
14. And superstition begat hypocrisie the king.

And these are foureteene Generations.

1. AND hypocrisie the king begat lucre.
2. And lucre begat purgatory.
3. And purgatory begat foundation of irreligious houses.
4. And foundation of irreligious houses begat patrimonie of the Church.
5. And patrimonie of the Church begat mammon of iniquity.
6. And mammon of iniquity begat abundance.
7. And abundance begat crueltie.
8. And cruelty begat domination.
9. And domination begat pompe.
10. And pompe begat ambition.
11. And ambition begat intrusion into the Church right.
12. And intrusion into the Church right begat symonie.
13. And simonie begat universall superintendence.
14. And universall superintendence begat the Pope, the Cardinalls and all his brethren.

And these are fourteen generations, in the transmigration of abomination.

1. AND the Pope begat mysterie of iniquity.
2. And the mystery of iniquity begat divine sophistrie.
R.H. 3. And divine sophistrie begat rejection of the Scriptures.
4. And rejection of the Scriptures begat tyranny.
5. And tyranny begat murder of the Saints.
6. And murder of the Saints begat the despising of God.
7. And the despising of God begat dispensation.
8. And dispensation begat licence to sinne.
9. And licence to sinne begat abomination.
10. And abomination begat confusion.
11. And confusion begat travell in the spirit.
12. And travell in the spirit begat disputation.
13. And disputation begat matter to write of:

By which writing the sonne of perdition Antichrist specified in so many places of scripture, was revealed.

THE PROTESTANTS CONCLUSION.

The Pope, himselfe (the simple to beguile)
Servum servorem Dei doth instile,
The servant of God's servants, who (we finde)
To seeme his masters better is inclin'd.
Christ humble was, humility requiring,
The Pope is proud to honour still aspiring,
Christ was content to weare a crown of thornes,
But the Popes head a crowne of gold adornes,
A triple crowne which hardly him sufficeth,
But of his foule ambition what ariseth?
Hunc capit infernus, quem deserit ordo supernus.
Forsaken by the Quire supernall
Hee's taken by the friends infernall,
For let false Catholicks say what they can
Hee's neither God nor angell, nor a man,
But a prodigious beast, a monster fell,
With all his brood hatch'd or begot in hell,
And so I leave him.

State Prayers—from the Niblock Collection

(*Continued from Vol. VIII ; p.* 146.)

(*XIV*) *A Prayer for all the Reformed Churches.*

[*This first appeared in the Service appointed for a Fast Day on June 5th,* 1698, "*to Implore the Blessing of Almighty God upon their Majesties' Forces by Sea and Land, and Success in the War now declared against the French King.*" *It recurs, with some variations, and lately with more or less abridgment, in most of the Fast Day Services from this date to the Peace of Utrecht.*]

O God, the Father of Mercies, who of thy great goodness hast united us into the mystical body of Christ (that is his Church), we as living members thereof, mourning with them that mourn and rejoycing with them that rejoyce, do now present our Supplications and Prayers at the throne of Grace in behalf of all the Reformed Churches ; beseeching thee to look down with an eye of mercy and pity upon the sad and mournful estate of such of them whom thou hast delivered over to the hands of superstitious and merciless men, [who have compell'd so many of them to defile themselves with their Idolatrous worship : stretch out thine arm against those deceitful and bloody men ;] suffer them not still to triumph over thy heritage. [How long, Lord, shall thine anger burn for ever ? How long wilt thou forget thy people that prayeth ? O let the cry of the blood of thy saints, and the sighing of the

prisoners, come before thee. Deliver thou those that are as sheep appointed for the slaughter. Hear us, O God, for thy mercy's sake, and for the honour of thy Great Name. Plead thy cause with them that blaspheme thy truth, and persecute thy people,] that so all men may say Verily there is a God that judgeth in the earth. †Purge all thy churches from their dregs, and make them meet for a glorious deliverance; that so all the world may see the Salvation of our God, and that though he hides his face from his people for a season, yet he will not cast them off utterly. Grant that thy true Religion may so shine as to become the joy of the whole earth; and that all Antichristian Idolatry, Superstition, and cruelty being cast out of thy house, all that name the name of Christ may depart from iniquity, and walk worthy of their holy profession, that the kingdom of thy dear Son may come quickly; and that, all his enemies being made his footstool, he who is the Lord of lords and King of kings may reign to all the ends of the earth: to whom, with thee, O Father, and the Holy Ghost, be all honour and glory for evermore. Amen.

[*In Queen Anne's time the portions in brackets are omitted, and all from † is much altered and abridged.*]