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EDITORIAL

OUR Annual Meeting was held at the Memorial Hall on May 10th, 1922; in the absence of Dr. Nightingale the chair was taken by Rev. W. Pierce.

The retiring officers were re-appointed; but the Editorial Secretary intimated his desire to be relieved of his responsibilities at an early date after the next issue of "Transactions." The appointment of his successor was referred to the Autumn Meeting.

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An instructive paper on "The Morisonian Controversy" was read by Rev. M. D. Kirkpatrick: to whom a hearty vote of thanks was accorded, with a request that the paper might be published in our forthcoming "Transactions."

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Since the commencement of the year our society has suffered the loss by death of both its former presidents. On January 16th, Rev. John Brown, D.D., formerly of Bedford, departed this life at the venerable age of ninety-two. His pastoral labours alone would have entitled him to honourable mention, but it is by the fruits of his Historical research that he will be best and longest remembered. His *Life of Bunyan* can never be superseded, and his History of *The Pilgrim Fathers* of *New England* has long been recognized as a standard work on both sides of the Atlantic. His Yale Lectures on *Puritan Preaching in England,* and his Congregational Lectures on *Apostolic Succession,* are of permanent value; and several minor works deserve respectful recognition. His interest in our Society was deep and lasting, and he rarely missed one of our meetings until he was disabled by infirmity.

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Sir John D. McClure, LL.D., Mus.D., presided at the earliest meetings of our society, but gave place to Dr. Brown in May, 1903. In 1891 he had undertaken the Head Mastership of Mill Hill School, which was then in a pitiable state of depression, the number of boys having declined from 180 (in 1880) to sixty-one. Under his management, at once vigorous and genial, it soon began to revive; in 1907, the boys numbered 260; and by the end of last year the total was little short of 300. Sir John died after a few days illness, on February 18th, in his sixty-third year.

The Morisonian Controversy

DISSENT in Scotland has had other characteristics than dissent in England. In Scotland it has been ecclesiastical rather than theological. The religious struggles of its people have turned mainly on the polity of the Church, its constitution, government, rights; hardly ever on the doctrines it has professed and taught. "There are two Kings and two Kingdoms in Scotland," said Melville to the King, "There is Christ Jesus the King and His Kingdom the Kirk, whose subject James the Sixth is, and of whose Kingdom no King, or head, or lord, but a member." That was the idea that inspired Knox and Henderson and their associates. The principle expressed in the motto that gleamed on the blue banner of the Covenant, upheld by the men who fought at Drumclog and Bothwell Bridge and died on the Moors of the West, or in the Grassmarket of Edinburgh, was ecclesiastical. It was for Ecclesiastical freedom and right the Erskines contended, and in vindication of the same the Secession and Relief Churches were formed. The Free Church of Scotland is built on a political principle, and has no testimony to bear which transcends the sphere of Ecclesiastical theory and action. There has always been intenser passion for polity, than for doctrine. In no other land has there been the same strange co-existence of theological uniformity with ecclesiastical difference, sects and churches multiplying while adhering to the same creed and teaching the same doctrines.

Now, ecclesiastical nonconformity has been to the Scotch people a signal good. They owe to it their political progress and freedom, the keen interest in politics, as well as the almost scientific grasp of their problems which distinguishes them. But think what it must have meant when its distinctive doctrines were questioned or denied. Here and there the frozen forms of thought seemed to liquefy in the warm sunshine of intense evangelical enthusiasm—as, for example, the Marrow Men, the Seceder Fathers, and the Congregational Missionaries; but the recognized and acknowledged national theology did not cease to be represented by a "confession" that teaches that "God has foreordained whatsoever comes to pass," has elected some to everlasting life, predestinated others to everlasting death, and has made the numbers in each case so "certain and definite" that increase and decrease are alike impossible. Man is born with his destiny fixed. Those for whom Christ died must be saved, those for whom He did not die must be lost. The redeemed are effectually called by

the Spirit; the rest of mankind, denied his effectual operations, are left to perish in their sins. These were the doctrines that obtained in Scotland in the middle of last century, and still remain as the foundation of the Presbyterian Churches, though the popular and practical theology taught in its pulpits is better and freer than the national creed.

Few systems have been so successful in presenting God in a character offensive to sensitive and reflective minds.

We know, for example, how it sent thinkers like Rosseau, sick of artificial thoughts and systems, to praise the state and religion of nature; or how it contributed to the subtle scepticism of Hume, supplying him with subjects and seasoning for his ironical humour; or how the Calvinist teacher led Gibbon from Rome to cynical scepticism; or its responsibility for the Atheism of Shelley expressed in "Queen Mab," where he sketches the only God his childhood had known. It was the merciless theology of Jonathan Edwards that made Channing, and with him much of New England, Unitarian. The Calvinism of Newton and the English Evangelicals contributed to the later and sadder depression of Cowper, which made him live in despondency and die in despair; drove the sensitive soul of Charlotte Brontë almost to madness; paved the way in the Church of England for the recoil from Evangelicalism to Ritualism on the one hand, and so-called Rationalism on the other, as is confessed by two representative men—John Henry Newman, who fled to the Church of Rome, and Francis William Newman, who wandered into the bleak uplands of naked Theism. The brothers Wilberforce became, the one an easy convert to Rome, the other a leading High Churchman; the brothers Froude followed the brothers Newman, and as the outcome of a theology that had no conception of beneficence and love. It was under the shadow of such a system of thought that my fathers dwelt, dreading lest the decrees of God did not ordain their salvation, and fearful lest the Divine Spirit should never strive with them. I can remember the tale told at my own fireside of how the mother-heart felt when a child was taken, lest being the child of an unbelieving parent it should be denied a place among the angels who behold the Master's face.

It was into such a world of thought that James Morison was ordained. We sometimes say that when God has a work to do, He always provides the man to do it. It was so in this conflict. John Knox had freed the land from Papal and priestly tyranny, Ebenezer Erskine had given church patronage its mortal wound, Thomas Chalmers had called the land to a new venture for God, The Haldanes had cried aloud, "Ye must be born again"; but still there was a want; the doctrine of unconditional election, as I have said, brooded like a terrifying nightmare over the Church

of the most religious people in the world. A man was needed; and, in the providence of God a man arose.

James Morison was licensed to preach the Gospel in the Spring of 1839. He gave promise of great scholarship, which those familiar with his later work of exposition regard as amply fulfilled. But his conception of the evangel was to be determined not in the Academy, but in contact with men. His earliest preaching appointments led him to discover that, with all his academic accomplishments, he had not yet found " the one thing needful " for preacher and hearer—the " knowledge of the truth as it is in Jesus." So real was this consciousness in young Morison, that he actually began to fear there was some serious defect in his experience. Like many another, while he had been deeply studying theology as a science, he had never thought it necessary to bring these studies to bear upon his own heart, or the state of his soul before God. To speak figuratively, the divergent lines of the parabola approached one another at the Cross, and the earnest student of divinity found in the simple scriptural theology to which the needs of men drove him back, that which bathed his soul in bliss.

My narrative, gentlemen, must necessarily at this point be of a personal character. Morison had accepted a call to Clerk's Lane Secession Church, Kilmarnock, but not before he had discovered that Christ had died for all and therefore for him. The lines converged and met which had been kept distinct before. Theology and religion met in the conversion of the soul. It was the knowledge of God as a Saviour, that made men good. He had thought it to be his chief duty, as a minister, to expound the Word of God, seriatim, from Genesis to Revelation; but now he saw that there was *one truth* more excellent than all the others and to which all others did obeisance, as the sheaves of Joseph's brethren.

The Church at Kilmarnock to which Morison was invited, let me note, was one of the best country vacancies in the Secession Church at the time. Before the union of 1822 it had belonged to that section of the Seceders who deemed it to be inconsistent with their conscientious convictions as dissenters to take the burgess oath, and were, therefore, called Anti-Burghers. It had enjoyed the ministry of two remarkable men whose fame travelled far beyond their own country—the Rev James Robertson and Dr. Ritchie. The former was author of a pamphlet on the " Death of Jesus Christ," which created considerable discussion in Ayrshire, and gave rise to Burns's " Kirk's Alarm," which was written as a satire on the Doctor's opponents.

Well, to this Church Morison was ordained on October 1st, 1840. He had taken the " trials " which every minister-elect under the Presbyterian system has to undergo at the hands of his future colleagues. These in his case were unusually severe, partly

because he came to the Presbytery with a high reputation for scholarship, but chiefly because of his discourse on the topic, "Can a Sinner do anything acceptable to God without the influence of the Holy Spirit?" The difference of opinion, however, was not marked as yet, and the "trials" were in the end sustained with high approbation. Between the date of the "trials" and that fixed for his ordination a tractate from his pen and bearing the title, "The Way of Salvation," made its appearance, and created a wide diversity of opinion. To some the statements seemed too strong, to others they were of a cognate character to the wild excitement of the early Methodists. Some of the fathers of the Presbytery felt constrained in all honesty of purpose to "deal" with their young brother before ordaining him, with a view to inducing him to withdraw the pamphlet or modify its statements.

On the day of the Ordination the first mutterings of the storm were plainly heard. When the time of service arrived there was no appearance of either Presbytery or Minister-elect. The overflowing congregation had learned that the Presbytery were meeting in the Session-house, and became indignant when they found that the young pastor was being exposed to a "heckling" as to his religious views. It was a curious scene that was being enacted in the Session-house. The cause of the offence was the tract which one of the Ministers had read in its entirety, while others had not even seen it. As a matter of fact they had gone upon hearsay evidence and rumour. At last Morison produced the pamphlet, and claimed boldly that the doctrines it promulgated were really those of his late teacher Professor John Brown. The matter was compromised by the Presbytery "enjoining Morison to be more guarded in his utterances and to suppress the tract." This he finally consented to do. But the thunderstorm was only postponed.

Fifty years before, the graphic and sarcastic pen of Robert Burns had made the world familiar with the fondness of Ayrshire artisans and rustics for theological discussions in connection with the case of Dr. McGill of Ayr; but a fresh, and in some respects, a healthier, proof of the same liking, was given in the case of James Morison of Kilmarnock. Indeed the public mind had been sharpened and prepared by great historic movements. The agitations about the not too remote Reform Bill had given occasion for many a keen debate. The voluntary controversy had whetted both the temper and the tongue of many a local Hampden, and the Great Chartist Movement had predisposed multitudes of the working classes to see similar inequalities in the National Creed and to welcome any divine who would sweep away the appearance of partiality and the "respect of persons" from the decrees of God.

In January, 1841, Morison published his third pamphlet, entitled "The Nature of the Atonement," which was to bring to a

head the secret agitation which had been conducted against him ever since his ordination by members of the Presbytery. During November and December, 1840, he had preached a series of sermons on the text I. John ii. 2, " He is the propitiation for our sins, and not for ours only, but also for the sins of the whole world." In these he had traversed the whole doctrine of the Atonement, and naturally had evoked a number of important questions from enquirers. To furnish a reply to these his pamphlet was written. It contains six sections. In the first five Morison confines himself to the negative aspect, and shows " what the Atonement is not," thus clearing the ground of ideas often confounded with it. The Atonement is not Pardon ; it is not Justification ; it is not Redemption ; it is not Reconciliation ; it is not the Payment of a Debt. " The Atonement is an expedient introduced into the divine moral government, consisting of the obedience unto death of Jesus Christ, which has completely removed all the obstacles standing between man and salvation, except the obstacles within him."

It must be noted that the view taken at this time by Morison, while modifying materially the high Calvinistic doctrine, must not be supposed to be as yet either professedly or in tendency Arminian. As Dr. Cairns remarks, " the Arminian controversy not only raised the old Pelagian question that God willed the salvation of all men *equally* by the death of Christ ; but also that other which was at issue between Godeschaleus and his opponents, that Christ was not put to death for the *redemption* of the whole world, but only of those who are saved, viz., the predestinated. At least as far back as the Synod of Dort, probably much further, John Cameron asserted that while the elect are by an effectual and irrevocable calling saved through the death of Christ, the latter died for *all men*, with the intention that they might be invited and called to repentance." This view was warmly championed by many of the French Protestant theologians and many of the Reformed Churches. Morison could plead that his statement of the doctrine of the Atonement was practically that subscribed to by the Congregational and Baptist Churches, both in Britain and in America. Also in *some* respects, though not in *all* by Dr. John Brown, *clarum et venerabile nomen*, who, however, did not push his promises to their ultimate logical conclusion, while Morison did. (See Dr. Cairns' Memoir of Dr. John Brown.) The simplicity of the grand doctrines of Redemption was long obscured by a crowd of hair-splitting distinctions which rather tended to perplex than to persuade. In the hope of making clear those issues which had so long been darkened, Morison stated his views as they were related to the Atonement. His fate was the fate of all who are in advance of their time.

It is not surprising that the dissatisfaction of the Presbytery

grew so great that they appointed a committee to confer with Morison concerning his alleged errors in doctrine. The Committee met him twice at Irvine—on January 20th and February 16th, 1841. They could not agree. In March, 1841, he was summoned to meet the Presbytery in his own church at Clerk's Lane to answer to a charge of teaching doctrines inconsistent with the standards of the Secession Church, also to reply to a memorial addressed to the reverend Court by forty-one members of his congregation, who professed to be perplexed by the strange doctrines preached by their new pastor. Against this, a long Memorial was sent in by the Congregation, signed by four elders in the name of between 400 and 500 members, and nearly 200 adherents, intimating their entire satisfaction with Morison's teaching, and throwing out a broad hint, that if any attempt were made to interfere with their minister, the memorialists would withdraw from the jurisdiction of the Presbytery at once. At the Presbytery Meeting, the charges against him were drawn up in tabulated form by a sub-committee and centred round two points. (1) *The alleged* doctrinal errors regarding the Atonement, and how saving faith in its efficiency was made possible to each separate individual. (2) *Whether* Mr. Morison had been guilty of disingenuous conduct over the suppression of his first tract. The first charge was sub-divided into eight heads, dealing respectively with the various errors supposed to have been affirmed by Mr. Morison; viz.:

(*a*) *that the* object of saving faith to any person is the statement that Christ made Atonement for the sins of that person, as He made Atonement for the sins of the whole world; and that the seeing of this statement to be true is Saving faith, and gives the Assurance of Salvation.

(*b*) *that all* men were able of themselves to believe the Gospel unto Salvation, or in other words to put away unbelief, the only obstacle to salvation which the Atonement has not removed;

(*c*) *that no* person ought to be directed to pray for grace to help him to believe, even though he were an anxious sinner; and that no person's prayers could be of any avail till he believed unto salvation, which believing must immediately give knowledge that the person is saved;

(*d*) *that* repentance in Scripture meant only a change of mind, and was not godly sorrow for sin;

(*e*) *that* justification is not pardon, but is implied in pardon; that God pardons only in His character of Father and justifies only in the character of Judge—that justification is the expression of the fatherly favour of God;

(*f*) *that* Election comes in the order of nature after the Atonement;

(*g*) *that there* are in Mr. Morison's publications many expressions

unscriptural, unwarrantable, and calculated to depreciate the Atonement.

Morison answered the charges, but he stood absolutely alone. Only his aged father came from a distant Presbytery to stand by his son. It was proposed that he be admonished and suspended until he should retract his errors, and express sorrow for the offence given to his brethren. The resolution was carried, Morison protested, but "the Presbytery," to quote Dr. Adamson's account of the meeting, "took the case so thoroughly into their own hands that as far as possible they attempted to carry out their own sentence, being determined that they would have nothing to do with him whom they had condemned, that his mouth should be closed, and his pastoral work ended. At an after meeting of the Presbytery, held before the meeting of the Synod, they removed Mr. Morison's name from the roll as a member of the Presbytery, and gave the few who seceded from his Church the name of the Clerk's Lane Congregation. Such conduct was without precedent, and ran counter to the rules of their denomination and all ideas of justice."

Morison, as was to be expected, appealed to Cæsar. This separation from the Secession Church could not be complete until his appeal to the Synod had been disposed of. This was the highest court of the Church and was appointed to meet in Glasgow on June 7th, 1841. If Napoleon's "hundred days" between his departure from Elba and his final struggle at Waterloo were days of fighting, James Morison's ninety days between the Presbytery and the Synod were days of holy calm and usefulness. He prepared and issued the largest of his Gospel publication entitled, "The Extent of the Atonement," in which he discussed the central point in the controversy evoked by his views, viz., "Did Christ, or did He not die for All Men?" It was this pamphlet that Dr. Candlish is supposed to have had in view, in his unsatisfactory work on the Atonement, published some years later, in which he ridiculed the procedure of "those writers who strung so many texts together and called it theological argument, much after the fashion of children who heap stones together on the seashore and call their tottering fabric a house." The third of the four sections into which this treatise was divided was the most important for it contained the discussion of 'objections usually alleged against the Universality of the Atonement." For example, "If Christ died for more than those who shall ultimately be saved, has He not died in vain for many?" "If Christ died for the ultimately unsaved, is it *just* in God to make them pay the penalty of their Sins over again?" and so on. In this discussion Morison laid Usher, Williams, Wright, the writings of Boston of Ettrick and the two Erskines under contribution much to his own advantage. It can be imagined what the effect of such a pamphlet would be issued

only a week before the meeting of the fateful Synod. The principal business was "the Atonement Controversy," and it brought together a large representation of the "Fathers and Brethren." There were speeches as notable for their fairness and moderation as there were others characterized by injustice and violence. The speech of the Debate was that of Dr. John Brown who reasoned with brilliant logic, but without avail. Indeed, the speech of Dr. Brown did Morison's cause more harm than good. The bare idea that their new views could find any favour amongst the professorate of the Secession sent such a thrill of pious horror through the breasts of those good, godly men, that they never really judged the case upon its merits. Heresy, even though only incipient, must be crushed out. The "suspension" pronounced upon Morison by the Presbytery of Kilmarnock was ordered to be continued, and a committee appointed to deal with him. But the Synod had to endure more than one startling surprise on that eventful night.

No sooner had the Moderator pronounced these words—"Mr. James Morison, in the name of the great King and Head of the Church and by decision of this Venerable Court of the Church of Christ, I suspend you from the office of the ministry in connection with the United Secession Church,"—then, amidst profound silence, Morison stretched forth his right hand, and in tones tremulous with emotion said, "Sooner shall my right hand forget its cunning, and my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth, than that this decision shall prevent me from preaching the glorious Gospel of Jesus Christ . . . I will hold myself at liberty to maintain and preach the same doctrines as if no such decision had been come to."

"We have this day cut off from us the ablest of our younger men," said Dr. Heugh to the late Principal Harper, "and one who need never have left us, had his honesty not been in excess of his worldly wisdom." "Ay, mark my words," said one of the Presbyterians when Morison had sat down, "this day a new denomination has been born in Scotland." The prophecy was in due time fulfilled. But the end was not yet. In 1842, Morison's father, the Rev. Robert Morison of Bathgate, was also libelled and suspended from his sacred office. Then, in 1843, the same fate was meted out to the Rev. Alexander C. Rutherford of Falkirk, and the Rev. John Guthrie of Kendal, their offence being that they had indicated sympathy with the Morisons. But the same ferment was also at work elsewhere. In 1844, the Rev. John Kirk of the Hamilton Congregational Church, through the publication of two volumes in which he strongly affirmed the doctrines of Universal Atonement, Man's ability to believe the Gospel, and the Universality and resistibility of the Holy Spirit's operations, found himself at variance with many of his congregational brethren. About the same time also, nine students belonging to the Congregational

Theological Hall at Glasgow, were expelled for holding the "New Views," as Morison's opinions began to be called. Then, five of the Congregational Churches in the neighbourhood of Glasgow and four in the North of Scotland, were "disowned" from the Connection. And so the small Society formed after Morison's suspension under the name of "The Evangelical Union" grew until, in 1850, there were about twenty ministers and a considerably larger number of Churches and Mission Stations. And the blessing of the Lord was upon them all.

With Morison's subsequent fortunes I am not supposed here to concern myself. Let me before bringing this review to a close gather up the main points to be kept in mind, and also suggest to you the service Morison rendered to theological thought.

I have pointed out to you that the "Morisonians" were theological Nonconformists. They formulated no new ecclesiastical principle; they had no peculiar and distinctive church policy to expound or defend. To this day you will find that while the independence of the churches is conserved, the government of some of the churches is after the Presbyterian method, and that of others of the purely congregational order. The Evangelical Union had a very distinct view of the Ministry and demanded that all its ministers should be first of all licensed by the Annual Assembly as fitted to preach the Gospel to the churches to which in the providence of God they might be called; and again by the solemn laying on of the hands of the brethren when ordained to the churches which they had consented to serve. This practice has become somewhat irregular, I believe, since the union with the Congregational Union in 1896. They dissented from the dominant, in a sense, national, theology, and the ground of dissent was its Calvinism.

The points of difference may be exhibited under two aspects—(1) *as regards* God, (2) *as regards* man; that is *first* as regards the divine purpose in redemption, and *second*, as regards the mutual action and relations of the divine truth and the human will. They affirmed that the truths of the Gospel are universal in purpose and provision, designed to secure the salvation of all men everywhere, and conditional in action, becoming effective only through faith. The first of these has always been well described as standing for the three universalities—that God as the real Father of all men loves every man; that Christ made atonement for every man, and so made the salvation of every man possible, in opposition to a limited propitiation; and that the Holy Spirit in its work seeks to reach and teach all men, to secure their conversion, in opposition to the limitation of its work to those whom God had predestinated to faith.

These were the distinctive principles of Morisonians on its Godward side. Its messengers lived to proclaim the absolute, all-embracing

graciousness of God. He is never partial, has in His purposes and decrees no respect of persons. He is love to the individual man, to the collective race. "Men, though they seem but bubbles floating on the stream whose channel is time, are yet godlike spirits, born of Eternal Love, nursed, guarded, guided by it, designed, though not predestined, to the happiness it delights to see and bestow." Whatever man may be, he is a being God did not think it beneath Him to make, and having made and seen fall, to redeem. God is not first creator and sovereign, and then only to a limited extent, and in an adoptive sense, Father; but first and last and always Father; His sovereignty being of the grand and paternal, and not of the artificial, regal sort. And His universal fatherhood implies man's universal sonship; the desires on His side that seek our good, the aspirations on ours that seek His grace, the home whence we came, and to which even in our worst estate, we now and then yearn to return. Though He does what He pleases, He pleases to do only what is good. He has more than the potter's power, He has not less than the potter's heart. The potter has power over the clay—no man questions it; but he will use it to obtain the greatest possible number of honourable vessels, every one doomed to destruction being a loss to the potter, not the clay. That God has power over men, Morison never questioned, but declared that He will use His power for ends prescribed by His universal benevolence and, therefore, so as to lead the greatest possible number to the greatest possible happiness, loss being loss to God as well as to man. The divine purpose is worthy of the Purposer, broad and generous as His love, deep and exalted as His righteousness. "The Lord is good to all and His tender mercies are over all His works." That was the basal and fontal principle of Morisonianism. On that the system was built and from that its several distinctive doctrines flow. Where Calvinism placed the absolute sovereignty, Morison placed the Universal Fatherhood. As Calvinism reasoned from its premiss to a salvation determined and destined to a definite number by a divine decree, Morison reasoned from his premiss to an Atonement determined in extent and intention by the divine paternal benevolence. The will of God can never attempt less than His heart desires. To be a universal father is to be universal love, and to be universal love is to seek the happiness of the universe. Hence the Atonement made by the Son, but designed by the Father, cannot aim at less than universal ends. The brotherhood of Christ is as broad as the fatherhood of God. Hence also it follows that no living man is forsaken of God's spirit. God has poured out His Spirit upon all flesh, that all lands may see the Salvation of our God." "And the Spirit and the Bride say, come, and let him that heareth say, come. And let him that is athirst come; and whoseoever will, let him take of the water of life freely."

On the manward side Morison's theology is throughout consistently and essentially conditional. Man as fallen is ever free, and God respects his freedom. The virtues of the heathen are not splendid vices, but virtues as genuine and virtuous as the Christian. In salvation the human will is as free as the divine, and its action as necessary. Salvation is of our God, but only when man believes is it experienced—does the eternal righteousness become ours. These conditionalities are the necessary counterpart and completion of the universalities. An unconditional Salvation, dependent on the decree of God alone, making God the only real actor, man a mere mask for the divine energy.

A word in closing as to the effect of Morison's views upon subsequent thought. The religious world in Scotland found in course of time that smashing the tables of stone was no way to get rid of the truth they contained; a fool might cut the divine roll into fragments with his penknife, but he does not in that way escape from its eternal demands. Soon the "new views" began to modify the old Calvinism, until it came to pass that while Presbyterian Ministers continued to sign the Confession of Faith, at their ordination, they ceased to preach it in their ministry. At length in the most liberal section of that Communion an Act was called for and passed giving relief to consciences that had become too sensitive to handle the word of God deceitfully. It is not saying too much that Scotland owes to James Morison the present broad and liberal doctrines regarding a full, and free, and present Atonement. Had he done nothing else than break down the middle wall of predestinarian partition separating the great mass of sinful humanity from the elect few whose Calvinism would have shut up, in a sort of reserved compartment entitled the "Covenant of Grace," he would still have achieved a work fraught with immeasurable beneficial consequences to his fellow countrymen. The battle with the Synod over the Universality of the Atonement was in reality a Spiritual Victory, the fruits of which are enjoyed by us to-day. Thank God, no despairing human soul need now seek refuge in the spiritual suicide of scepticism, driven thereto by the Nemesis of a predestinarian creed. That consummation for which we ought to be devoutly thankful we largely own to the heroic stand for the Truth as it is in Jesus, made eighty years ago by James Morison.

> "Well done! Thy words are great and bold.
> At times they seem to me
> Like Luther's in the days of old,
> Half-battles for the free."
>
> LONGFELLOW.

Whitefield and Congregationalism

(*Continued from p.* 180)

IT was the misfortune of the Calvinist section that political conditions so promising coincided with internal conditions that were troublesome and disturbed. Obviously a strong move was necessary if the hour was to yield success, and in the Countess of Huntingdon it had gained a friend capable of controlling the issues. A plan of campaign was inaugurated and Howell Harris refers to it as a new "Defence and Apology for the Methodists." Of this plan of campaign the main features are not difficult to trace.

Justice to Whitefield demands that we should recognize that this movement was engineered into readiness before he arrived again in England; but he was the centre of it, for it is evident from all that followed that its chief purpose was to lift him clear of certain stultifying entanglements and present him to the kingdom in general and the bishops in particular as involved in no sectional or separatory movement, and also, if possible, to clear him and other Methodist clergymen from the charge of canonical irregularity in their method of preaching at large.

Some of the great preacher's proceedings during the ensuing few years which have puzzled his biographers become easy of interpretation if these aims are kept in view.

His first step consisted in accepting the post of Chaplain to the Countess of Huntingdon. As Private Chaplain to a peeress it was assumed that he could not be regarded as a mere parochial clergyman when he intruded into another man's parish. Immediately after this he gathered together the preachers of his own

connection and "read the Riot act"—demanding discipline and administering a cold douche to those who had been advocating separatism. Having by these means rid the connexion of all its most headstrong preachers he promptly resigned his Moderatorship, and, while owning himself "in connection," proclaimed himself free from all responsibility for oversight or propaganda and bent upon serving all sections of the Protestant Church without regard to their denominational or theological complexion. At the same time he began to publish to all and sundry that henceforth he intended to form no societies and to head no party. This cry—"I have no party to head and no particular interest to serve" was the burden of his lay for many months, and on the strength of it he formed a new compact with the Wesleys and was admitted to the pulpits of their societies. He even went so far in the course that had been set as to resign the oversight of Moorfields Tabernacle, his own private Chapel. By these means, in the course of a year or two he had succeeded to some extent in clearing himself of all official responsibility for any one section of the revival work and in establishing himself as a sort of apostle among all, and, withal, a zealous upholder of the forms and formulas of the Church of England.

Not that there had been no set-backs. Far from it. He hoped to have established Lady Huntingdon in his place as leader if not as Moderator, and so far as can be discerned the plan did not break down because she was unwilling. It broke down because the Whitefieldian Societies as a whole were not at all keen for the new arrangement. The supremacy of Whitefield and Howell Harris was established on personal grounds. They were themselves the spiritual fathers of most of the members in the different societies. Their leadership was apostolic far more than it was official. The Countess of Huntingdon, devoted Christian and born leader

though she was, had no such claim upon their allegiance. Moreover, there was a strong leaven of dissent among the rank and file as well as among the preachers. Whitefield shed the latter, but the former remained and seemingly refused to accept the Countess of Huntingdon as their head. Bereft of Whitefield they elected to retain Howell Harris; and thus the only scheme which, Whitefield afterwards declared, he ever made for the perpetuation of his Societies, broke down.

But by this time Howell Harris's position in Wales was threatened. Rivalry between himself and Daniel Rowland was driving the Welsh societies into two camps, and matters were in the greatest confusion among them when, early in 1751, the tidings went through the land that the Prince of Wales was dead.

Whitefield's letters were always "selected" before being published. One reference only to the Prince of Wales' death have I been able to discover. "It hath given me a shock," he says. "It hath given me a shock." Such must indeed have been the case for, so far as can be seen, that event put an end to Whitefield's dream of a bishopric, and the effect is to be discerned almost immediately in the withdrawal of Howell Harris from the ranks of Calvinistic Methodism. The one hope that had held him, despite the equivocal character of his position in England and the uncomfortable character of his position in Wales, had been his hope of ordination, and that was buried along with Whitefield's bishopric in the tomb of the Prince.

With the collapse of its chief feature it might be thought that the whole of the new edifice of Methodist reorganization would come to the ground. That it did not is due to no little extent to the tenacity and pertinacity of the Countess of Huntingdon. The policy pursued by Whitefield was necessarily modified, but it was not changed sufficiently to endanger the pact between himself and the Wesleys—at least for some

years to come. The "irresponsible" preaching of the Gospel to all, in which Whitefield so much delighted, remained still his plan, and if anyone must organize he was content to let it be Lady Huntingdon or John Wesley.

But at the same time it was obvious that this hand to mouth method had its limitations. Especially in London, it was felt, Whitefield must be assured of a pulpit of his own. We may see the effect of the loss of the Prince of Wales in the fact that whereas Whitefield in 1748 was prepared to resign the oversight of Moorfields Tabernacle to any other of the Calvinist preachers who would undertake it, in the summer of 1751 (that is, within a few months after the Prince's death) a scheme for rebuilding the Tabernacle on a larger scale was on foot, and the new edifice was opened in 1753. In this year also the Bristol Tabernacle was erected; and in 1756 Whitefield, in order to have a pulpit in the fashionable quarter of London, erected the Tottenham Court Chapel. This building of new Tabernacles marks, of course, a modification of Whitefield's declaration that he was not out to form Societies or lead a party. Circumstances had been too much for him, and, while keeping within the letter of his proclamation he was being quietly pushed by his environment into a position of responsibility.

The first intention was to place the Tottenham Court Chapel under the protection of Lady Huntingdon as a private Chapel. Hence the name "Chapel" and not "Tabernacle." It was designed to be served by Anglican Clergy only. All this was in line with the earlier scheme. When, however, Counsel's opinion was taken it was found that the privilege of a peer did not extend to the licensing of a Chapel, unless indeed the Chapel was so private that it did not open on to the public way at all. As a result of this finding the building had to be licensed as the other chapels. Still its object

was to accommodate the most aristocratic portion of Whitefield's adherents, and no dissenter or layman was asked to minister within its walls until some nine years later, when Whitefield's plans had undergone still further modification.

Meanwhile Whitefield had, in effect, if not in form, assumed his place as head of the Whitefieldian Societies in England, making periodical circuits among them. But at the same time the Tabernacle Connexion was never formally re-organized on the old plan. Instead the Societies gathered themselves into geographical groups, and what "Associations" were held were group associations only. During these days the position of Thomas Adams as Whitefield's first lieutenant and the virtual administrator of Whitefieldian affairs outside London placed the Rodborough group of Societies in an outstanding position.

In 1763 an event occurred which put another stumbling-block in the way of the Anglican schemes of the Countess of Huntingdon and hastened George Whitefield along the way towards dissent. Daniel Rowland, leader of the Calvinistic Methodists in Wales, was a fully ordained clergyman of the Church of England. On the charge of persistent irregularity in preaching out of his own parish he was excluded from his ministry. This action by his bishop marked the lengths to which opposition to the methodists was now prepared to go, and a significant happening of that same year, which must be regarded along with the Welsh incident, was the ordination of Andrew Kinsman.

Kinsman, like Thomas Adams, was one of Whitefield's own spiritual children. He became a preacher among his own neighbours at Plymouth, and finally built the Tabernacle at Devonport. The sacramental difficulty in those Western parts was felt very keenly, and the separatist spirit at last became so pronounced that Kinsman formed the Society into an Independent

Church and was ordained at Broadmead Chapel, Bristol, by a number of Ministers—some Baptist and some Congregational. Whitefield himself was not present, but that he acquiesced in the deed is evidenced by the fact that he appointed Kinsman to officiate at the London Chapels shortly after.

The need for preachers and more especially for ordained Ministers was acute in these days. The position of Methodists in Church and Meeting was precarious, and many of them were openly in favour of separation. The ordination of Andrew Kinsman therefore marks an epoch in Whitefield's career, and in connexion with that the fact that in the following year Moorfields Tabernacle and the Tottenham Chapel were registered as " Independent " must be taken as a corrolary of the expulsion of Daniel Rowland. It also means that, to all intents and purposes, the pre-1751 pact was at an end.

Whitefield was away on one of his visits to America at the date of the Welsh Minister's exclusion from his office, and it is an indication of his changed outlook that immediately upon his return he appointed Thomas Adams, a layman, and Andrew Kinsman, a minister of Dissenters' ordination, to officiate in Tottenham Court Chapel, as well as at Moorfields.

Time will not permit of our reviewing Whitefield's attitude towards the dissenters in America. Suffice it to say that it was, especially in his later years, of the most intimate description.

During the last few years of the great preacher's life others of the Societies that had been formed by his converts adopted the Independent plan—notably those at Exeter and Gosport, their Ministers receiving ordination at the hands of dissenting ministers.

Whitefield died in 1770, and in the same year also Thomas Adams and Howell Davies of Pembrokeshire passed away, and Calvinistic Methodism was bereft of three out of its five leaders. Only the Countess of

Huntingdon, in England, and Daniel Rowland, in Wales, were left.

At this critical juncture the case of the Gloucestershire Societies becomes interesting.

The Rodborough Connexion, as it was now termed, was of wider reach than Gloucestershire; it embraced the Wiltshire Societies as well. Moreover, the death of Howell Davies had removed the leader from the Pembrokeshire group of Societies and the Calvinistic Methodists in that "little England beyond Wales" were not anxious to join the Welsh Connexion, so they allied themselves with the Gloucestershire group and Rodborough became, to some degree, responsible for Haverfordwest and Narberth and a few smaller Societies.

We have now come to the last phase of our enquiry. The course of Whitefield's Societies has been traced through the period when the Connexion was a closely woven association under a Moderator; and later we have seen how they became loosely confederated, cohering under the informal sway of Whitefield and two or three of his lay colleagues. How this condition of things was tending to end in a type of independency has been marked in the case of two or three particular Societies. It remains to us very briefly to trace the steps by which after the death of their leaders the Gloucestershire Societies adopted that course.

* * * * *

At first the preachers were appalled by the difficulties they were called upon to face. There was now no Anglican Clergyman left to whom they could apply to administer the Sacrament among them. Moorfield's Tabernacle and Tottenham Court Chapel, left under the charge of two Managers by the terms of Whitefield's Will, were almost as sore beset. How even to meet the claims made upon them for preachers they scarcely knew. It was when they were in this pass that William Hogg, now the senior preacher at Rodborough, laid hold

of Rowland Hill, a rising young preacher who managed to obtain deacon's orders—but no more in the Church of England, and he with them set to work to organize their resources. Torial Joss, a sea captain of great preaching powers whom Whitefield a few years previously had made his assistant at London, was now ordained—it is said at Rodborough—and Cornelius Winter was ordained also and was set in charge of the Wiltshire Societies which were constituted an Independent Church.

At this period it was that the Rodborough Connexion fell foul of the Countess of Huntingdon. The cause of the trouble was not simple. Trevecca College, founded by the Countess for the training of young men for the Christian Ministry, was now doing a good work, and some of the students had been allowed to labour among the Gloucestershire Societies. Suspicion arose that the Rodborough Connexion was trying to capture them before they had fulfilled their obligations to the College. In particular one of them, Jehoida Brewer, a very promising preacher and afterwards Minister at Carr's Lane, Birmingham, was persuaded to settle at Rodborough itself and was ordained to the Ministry there, the Society being constituted an Independent Church at the same time. This was in 1778, and the Dursley Society followed suit some six years later by calling another Trevecca Student, whether with the imperious Countess' consent or not history does not definitely say, but the latter is to be suspected.

Out of Whitefield's labours in the County of Gloucester, therefore, without taking any account of their vivifying effect on existing Churches, the following Congregational Churches directly sprang : Bristol and Kingswood Tabernacles, Rodborough Tabernacle and Dursley Tabernacle, and, indirectly, at a later day, Wotton-under-Edge Tabernacle, Nibley, Frampton-on-Severn, Stonehouse and Ruscombe.

In concluding one would enter a caveat in respect of

two possible misunderstandings. In an essay of this character where one phase of a man's life is tracked and described with necessary limitations of time and space, it is possible to suggest a very false view of the man as an "all round" personality. Whitefield must not be judged from the meagre details given here. He was no time-server, and had very much higher motives in submitting himself to the course of action he pursued just prior to 1751 than this story can suggest.

In connecting the name of George Whitefield with any one type of Christian theology or Church polity we are brought immediately into the presence of contradictions and confusions. Perhaps this is to be expected, since the great preacher's happiest qualities lay nearer to the emotional than the intellectual side of his nature. The elements of the Gospel, rather than those developments which ripen into Churchmanship, absorbed him, and though they are in error who tell us that he never took any share in matters of organization, yet the part he took was so trifling as to call for very little attention. The real organizers of his work were Howell Harris, the Countess of Huntingdon, Thomas Adams, and others of his own converts. So far as his denominational position is concerned, the hopelessness of any attempt to do it justice will be realized when I describe him—as the facts justify me in doing—as a priest in the Church of England, who considered Presbyterianism the best form of Church government, and who died the owner of two private chapels both registered as "Independent."

And, lastly, it should be borne in mind that the independency into which the Whitefieldian Societies emerged when they first constituted themselves Churches is not to be identified with the Congregationalism of the Brownists and other early Congregationalists. Indeed in most cases it represented very little more than a negation of Anglicanism, and a claim to self-determination. We may say that it opened the way to the real thing, and there it must be left.

C. E. Watson.

Congregational Benefactors to the Deaf

(*Continued from p. 207*)

3. THE REV. THOMAS ARNOLD.

IN passing to the third member of this great trio—Thomas Arnold—it is of no little interest to note that he was an Irish Moravian by birth, who later in life became member of a Congregational Church. For several generations back his family had been connected with the Moravian Colony in West Cavan, Ireland.

He was born in 1816 at Gracehill, between Londonderry and Belfast, where there was a Moravian settlement. Here he received his early education, which did much to influence him in his zeal for missionary work, in his case demonstrated chiefly in caring for the deaf and dumb. His first connection with these people came about through his friendship with the local pastor of his district, the Rev. George Kirkpatrick, who visited his father's furniture shop one fine spring morning in 1830. This meeting was the beginning of a firm friendship between the two, and it was on one of his visits to the parsonage that he came in contact with James Beatty, a deaf lad from Claremont Institution. Mr. Kirkpatrick was greatly interested in the education of the deaf; he had been for years a liberal subscriber to that school and always entertained the annual deputation, and had sent several children handicapped in this way to be educated there. On Beatty's leaving, the secretary of the school had written to Mr. Kirkpatrick about his being taught some suitable trade, with the result that Thomas Arnold's brother agreed to take him in and employ him in his business. Thus Thomas

Arnold came to know him really well, and did what he could to aid him in his pursuit and add to his knowledge of the world : in this way becoming, as it were, baptized as a teacher of the deaf. Soon afterwards the family moved, and Arnold was sent to Mr. Martin's school in Bridgend, where he learned mathematics and book-keeping required for his father's trade. After two years he entered his father's shop and did his best to assist him, though his heart was in other things. On one occasion Mr. Kirkpatrick called on his father for the purpose of offering him free and full training for ministry in the Church of England at his own expense ; but, since he was needed at home, his father refused the offer, much to the youth's regret. Two years later his brother Samuel married and took over the business, with the result that Thomas was able to take a mastership in the Moravian school at Gracehill, thus paving the way for his future educational and literary career. A casual meeting with Mr. McKellen, one of the superintendents of the Manchester City Mission—some of whose superintendents were themselves Moravian, and in one case at least connected with his father's business—caused him to apply to the Committee with a view to undertaking this work among the factory hands in that great city of cotton. So it came about that Thomas Arnold arrived in England.

In Manchester he made several friends, and while dining on one occasion with a certain excellent Moravian couple—Mr. and Mrs. Hull—his attention was drawn by them to an advertisement in *The Manchester Guardian* intimating that an assistant teacher was wanted at the Yorkshire Institution for the Deaf at Doncaster, which had been started in 1829 under Charles Baker, the uncle of Archbishop Benson of Canterbury. Being still interested in this work, Arnold applied to Mr. Baker, giving some account of his education and experience as a teacher of the young. A favourable reply was received,

with a cordial invitation to visit the institution for the purpose of seeing the methods that were used, and also to enable Mr. Baker to form his own opinion of his qualifications for the post.

The institution at Doncaster is situated close by the racecourse, and some of its buildings at one time formed part of its grand stand; and even now we believe it is not unknown for a sheet or other receptacle to be let down for the purpose of receiving any gifts the generous-hearted Yorkshire spectators are kind enough to bestow on the deaf children within. After a friendly reception from Mr. and Mrs. Baker, Arnold was shown over the school and saw the teachers at work in their classes. These were taught by the manual alphabet, after printed or written lessons. There were more than a hundred scholars, and to instruct them was a difficult and trying task that made the most exacting demands on human patience and experience. To be a teacher of the deaf means that self must always be subordinated to the great task of initiating others into the fulness of life. For the sanguine and energetic to attain to this state of abnegation is a veritable self-crucifixion: "but with God nothing is impossible." On Arnold's leaving, Mr. Baker said: "You may expect to be appointed, for the Committee will be guided by my opinion"; and so indeed it fell out, for within a very few days he received the appointment.

During his stay in Manchester, Arnold met a certain Miss Sarah Simpson, the second daughter of eighteen children, her father being connected with the Society of Evangelical Friends and a native of Wellington, Somerset. This acquaintance ripened into friendship and eventually marriage, Arnold himself telling us that "after forty-six years of married life I can now say we were married by lot, for the Lord gave her to me to be all I wanted as the helpmeet of a minister, schoolmaster and an abider at home."

During his interview with Mr. Baker a wish was expressed that he should attempt the oral instruction of some of his pupils ; so he was given a letter of introduction to Mr. J. Hind, headmaster of the Liverpool Institution, who taught a class by this method. Though he was able to pay a short visit only to this school, he saw enough to convince him that it would be an efficient method if employed exclusively ; for it must be remembered that, although signs come naturally to the deaf, deafness is not the cause but only the occasion of dumbness. In the great majority of the deaf the organs of speech are as sound as in the hearing, and Arnold was perfectly right in doing what he could to make the so-called dumb speak. "Lip-reading," he says, "is nothing more than carefully noting the motion of the lips and other facial organs : first in uttering one sound and then two or more in syllables ; thus lip-reading will be learned in teaching speech. In reading anything that is printed or written the forms of letters to which we mentally attach the sounds are used ; the position of the lips and other organs in speaking are seen, and the deaf mentally associate the vibrations of the same sounds with them, and so they are read, just as we mentally reproduce the words in reading.

"To learn to speak is not learning language ; it is only preparatory, for a word used as a name has no resemblance to its subject and is destitute of meaning till they are visibly associated ; and it is because children who hear have the object and its name at once presented to sight and hearing that they learn language as they learn to speak. Let the deaf be treated in the same manner. Collect the objects, point to each, name it, and, as they repeat it let them point to the object, and they will soon associate them."

Since this method had not been attempted as yet at Doncaster, Arnold had it all to begin under what might be considered the most unfavourable conditions. He

had to deal with twenty new pupils who had a rooted preference for signs, and he had all the initial difficulties to solve encountered in making a change which involved his pupils being unable to associate with their friends in their natural way; since experience had led him to consider that the oral pupils should be taught apart from those educated by silent methods. Progress therefore was slow at first, but great encouragement was found in the rapid progress of one youth—George Cochin, son of a Methodist minister—who soon articulated well and acquired a very fair knowledge of lip-reading; with the result that much attention was attracted to the school and numerous visitors came to see and hear for themselves. A most touching interview between the father and the boy, when the former heard his son's voice for the first time, did much to strengthen their perseverance in this method and greatly influenced Arnold in his future literary and other pioneer efforts. In fact, he was not only convinced but converted, and as result subsequently resolved to form a school of his own; and from this period, too, dates his resolve to draw up what is now one of the most famous books in the world on the History and Teaching of the Deaf, his historical *Manual for Teachers*—a book that has been reissued and improved by his famous pupil, Mr. A. Farrar, of Chislehurst. Probably every worker for the deaf has again and again given thanks to the author of this book for the valuable information comprehended therein. In those days, too, there were no courses of lectures, or teachers' congresses, though such amenities were just beginning in America; and, excepting for isolated books by Dr. Watson and Mr. Baker, nothing was published on the subject. No one to-day thanks Thomas Arnold more gratefully than the writer of this paper for his wonderful achievement in forming what now is known throughout the deaf world as the Arnold Library, a large collection of books which he left on his death to be

for ever available for the use of teachers of the deaf, and which is housed at the National Deaf Bureau, 104, High Holborn, where no doubt members of this Society will be able to see and study this unique collection for themselves. We should like to say here how much honoured we feel in being allowed to pay this poor tribute to a great man, and it is an occasion for regret that we never had the opportunity of meeting him in person.

Reverting to the Doncaster period of his life, we find that he was at the cross-roads, as it were, of his religious experience, the crisis being precipitated by an invitation from the committee of a newly-formed school for the deaf to take sole charge as its headmaster—an offer he felt bound by his religious opinions to refuse, for the influence of the Oxford movement so repelled him, as indeed it did many others, that he felt called on to take the definite step of leaving the Moravian and English Church to which he had belonged in youth, and to cast in his lot with the Congregationalists. It is not a little striking to remember that each Church to which he belonged at one period or another earnestly besought him to prepare for the ministry; and this he was eventually persuaded to do—the more so since he saw clearly that no institution for the deaf would appoint him headmaster so long as he stayed outside the Established Church, and this he felt he was called to do. After a formidable *vivâ voce* examination of his faith, on the application of Mr. McCall, of Doncaster Congregational Church, he was accepted for training at Rotherham College, under the presidency of the Rev. Dr. W. H. Stowell. During his training he took charge of the country district of Kimberworth, and subsequently was at Hamburg, in Germany, for a few months; after which he was appointed to Burton-on-Trent, and his marriage with Miss Simpson became an accomplished fact. After a short stay here he was appointed to

Smethwick, near Birmingham, where much good wa done by means of an outdoor mission and by the erection of a new and enlarged chapel for the benefit of the large "black country" population who were to be reached.

In a year or so (1868), however, a call came from Sydney, Australia, to which his missionary spirit led him to respond; and in a very short time he and his family had a wonderful trip of three months from London on the beautiful Aberdeen clipper, *Damascus*, *viâ* Madeira and the Cape to that wonderful Australian port, possibly the finest harbour in the world. The voyage was saddened by the death of a consumptive sailor to whom he had ministered frequently, and this led to his conducting regular Sunday services in the forecastle, with the result that two at least of his congregation themselves became keen Churchmen in Sydney. Though a warm welcome awaited him at Balmain, the post was a far from easy one, since the late minister, with part of his flock, had separated from the Congregational Church and joined the Presbyterians, and all had to be reconstructed and re-established. This Arnold effected by refusing to hear of the past and by making an entirely new beginning; the matter being handled in so tactful and Christian a spirit that in less than twelve months the Church began to prosper again.

The Hon. T. Holt, a member of the legislative council of New South Wales, on learning that Arnold was a teacher of the deaf, applied to him to educate his deaf son, then twelve years old. After consulting his congregation, who cordially approved, he undertook the task, taught the lad orally, and through this incident was brought in contact, at a later date, with his famous pupil, Abraham Farrar. He then suffered from a serious spinal illness, and, after baffling the doctors, practically cured himself by lowering a boat, and, with his wife at the helm, rowing three miles each way.

Being now warned by his medical advisers to return

to England, he accordingly gave up the Church and returned to this country, visiting Palestine on the way for the benefit of his deaf pupil, Holt. He was welcomed and entertained by the Bishop in Jerusalem, and by other members of the English colony at Jaffa and elsewhere. On arrival at the docks he was greeted with a call to the charge of Doddridge Chapel, Northampton, which call he accepted; and it was here that Farrar and others were privately educated, he being able to instruct them individually on the oral method. Thus was established his well-known School for the Deaf Sons of Gentlemen, so successfully carried on by him and by Mr. H. N. Dixon, and which to-day is under Mr. Ince Jones. After resigning the cure in 1884 to devote the remainder of his life to literary and educational work connected with the deaf, Arnold breathed his last in January, 1897, in Northampton, when he was well over eighty. Tablets were erected to his memory in Doddridge Chapel and Beverley Minster.

Among many who were influenced by Arnold to give life-service to the deaf, may be mentioned Mr. Fisher, head of the Hugh Myddleton School for the Deaf, Clerkenwell.

In concluding this paper, it is safe to say that the memory of these three great men will live throughout the deaf world so long as history is recorded; and, if these few notes on their distinguished careers have done anything to bring fresh but richly deserved merit and distinction to the Church to which all three belonged, we shall feel amply rewarded and satisfied that our effort has not been in vain.

Another slight but interesting link with Congregationalism is the fact that the training college for Congregationalists, built at Homerton in 1822, is now an institution for the deaf, under the care of one of the most distinguished teachers the deaf world possesses, Mr. F. G. Barnes; which institution, we understand, is to be

removed this year to a new site in the historical Penn and Chalfonts country.

The Rev. Bodvan Anwyl is an example of a living minister of the Congregational Church who has done good service in the cause of the deaf, having been for several years missioner at Pontypridd. His literary interests, however, have led him to resign this post, and he is now doing much useful linguistic work in the National Library of Wales at Aberystwith. We once had the honour of taking his anniversary services when he was at Pontypridd, and we have now visited both Doddridge Chapel and Springfield School for the Deaf on more than one occasion; so have felt naturally drawn to the task we have set ourselves of strengthening the link that binds us together as brethren who aim to propagate the Christian Faith.*

SELWYN OXLEY.

*The greater part of these facts are taken from the Rev. T. Arnold's own Reminiscences of his Life, written for his *History of Doddridge Chapel, Northampton.*

Williston Walker

IT would not be fitting for this number of the "Transactions" to appear without some reference to the death of one who was the leading Congregational historian of his time in the United States, perhaps it is safe to say, in the world. On March 9th Professor Williston Walker passed away, all too soon, at the age of sixty-one.

The son of one of the best-known ministers in Connecticut, he had for over thirty years filled various professorial chairs with honour to himself, advantage to learning, and benefit to the Church and the community. First at Bryn Mawr, where he succeeded Woodrow Wilson, then at Hartford, and finally at Yale, where besides being Professor of Ecclesiastical History for twenty years, he has during the last two years held the responsible office of Provost of the University—he has instructed and influenced successive generations of students.

Of Walker as teacher and administrator we on this side know comparatively little; it is as writer and friend that we have been able to appreciate him best. On my shelves there stand, side by side, his "John Calvin" (1906), his "History of the Christian Church" (1918), the "Approaches Towards Church Unity," edited by him and Newman Smyth; and then there is a space which should be occupied, did we live in a world where borrowers return books, by his "Creeds and Platforms of Congregationalism."

All these volumes one lays under constant tribute. The last named, published when its author was little over thirty, is an indispensable work of reference for all concerned with the development of thought and

practice in the Congregational churches; the "Calvin" has been translated into French, and is highly esteemed by French Protestants; the "History of the Christian Church" succeeds in the very difficult task of combining in a book of outlines accuracy, proportion, and "readability."

The "Approaches Towards Church Unity"—I value my copy because it was sent to me by Walker—ought to be much better known in this country than it is. Walker contributes the first chapter, on "The Early Development of Church Officers," a chapter so packed with information and judicious comment, that one could readily understand the writer's statement that he had put as much work into it as into any one of his writings. In 1920 Walker had it in mind to expand this chapter into a volume, and it is to be hoped that he has been able to carry out this plan.

Perhaps the best known of Walker's writings to the general public are his biographical sketches—"Ten New England Leaders" (1901) and "Great Men of the Christian Church" (1908). The first of these, with his "History of the Congregational Churches in the United States," brought him recognition from all sides as the foremost authority on the history of the denomination in America, while the active part taken by him in many departments of Congregational activity made him one of the best known figures in state and national assemblies.

Before 1920 I knew Walker through his books and letters only, and had been indebted to him many times for help in various lines of research. I met him first at the International Congregational Council in Boston in that year, and when afterwards I spent some weeks at work in the Yale University Library, he helped me in many ways—welcoming me into his home, allowing me to browse in his library, and showing me the beauties of Newhaven and its surroundings. One recollection of many conversations remains clearly in my mind.

Referring to one who is now the most courageous member of our Episcopal bench, he said :—

> "In that very chair where you are now sitting, he uttered in 1909 a most remarkable prophecy about the war. We were at dinner, and he began to say that war between England and Germany was inevitable, that it would break out in 1912 and would last a long time, and its issue would be determined by the decision of the U.S.A. to fight. Everybody laughed at this as absurd, but he was so much in earnest that he rose from the table and walked about the room to emphasize his words,—and he proved right in every particular except the date!"

Walker's home and home life were alike charming, and he was quick to acknowledge all he owed, first to the past, and then to the one who has been through a married life of thirty-five years his partner in many-sided service. He had many blessings, but he was dominated by a sense of responsibility, and by voice and pen, by research in the library and discussion in committee, he laboured to serve the church he loved. He has lived a full life, and left behind him books which will carry on his work for many years. Thanking God for him, we can confidently apply to him the words by which the Yale Memorial Window describes his predecessor, G. P. Fisher, "A Scholar, A Teacher, and A Servant of God."

ALBERT PEEL.

The Early Independents and the Visible Church

IN all criticism of movements or of societies from an outside point of view there lurks the peril of misunderstanding and therefore of unconscious misrepresentation. Alike by the width of his scholarship and by his eminent fair-mindedness, Bishop Creighton was an historian admirably fitted for the difficult task of describing with sympathy an ecclesiastical position far removed from his own. And yet it is safe to say that no Independent would accept as accurate the following description (occurring in his "Historical Lectures and Addresses") of Congregationalist ideals:—

"What the Congregationalists deny is the conception of the Church as a visible body. Luther asserted that the Holy Catholic Church, consisting of those who were justified by faith, was not the same thing as the Church of Rome. But in his eyes the invisible Church stood to the visible as the soul to the body, the primitive principle which was always striving to find a fit expression. Calvin in like manner contended that his system was universally the true and only expression of the form of the invisible Church in Scripture. The Congregationalists recognized the futility of such claims at the bar of history, and threw away the idea of a visible Church altogether. Believers might meet and worship as they pleased; through faith they had direct communion with their Lord; what more was needed?"

Now, as a matter of fact, the Church Visible has always been a more vivid fact, a more constantly present reality, to the Independents than to the "Low-Church" section of the Church of England. As to the first two generations of English Independents (the Church Fathers, martyrs and exiles of Independency)—it is impossible to study their writings, or even to make acquaintance with them at second-hand through such works as Dexter's "Congregationalism of the Last Three Hundred Years" or Powicke's "Henry Barrow and the Exiled Church of Amsterdam," without discovering that these men erred, if they erred at all, rather by excess than by lack of devotion to the Church Visible. So far from tending to conceive of the Christian life as a life of communion with Christ apart from the Church, they inclined to think of the Church as speaking with the voice of Christ, and possessing the authority of Christ, in its dealings with its members.

(1) Not a few of them, far indeed from allowing believers to "meet and worship as they pleased," were fanatically eager to regulate the government and worship of the Church, down to the smallest detail, in exact accord with Apostolic patterns. To these first Independents joining the Church meant putting themselves under the direct rule of Christ. Nothing could have been further from their thoughts than the emancipation of the human spirit, if emancipation be understood to mean liberty for each man to live his own life as he chooses, or, in popular phraseology, to "get to heaven his own way." The Church was to them the visible kingdom of Christ on earth (2): outside that kingdom, apart from its Divinely directed discipline, there was no promise of salvation, no certain path to heaven. This "High-Church" character of early English Independency comes out most clearly in Henry Barrow and John Greenwood, the martyrs of 1593, and founders of the Independent denomination, and again in John Smyth and Thomas Helwys, pastors of an exiled Church in Amersterdam and subsequently founders of "the first Baptist Church." But sentiments very similar to theirs may be found in the writings of Robert Browne, "the first Independent" (3) and of Francis Johnson and Henry Ainsworth, pastors of two of the exiled Amsterdam Churches, in some of the earlier works of John Robinson, pastor of the exiled Church which sent out the "Pilgrim Fathers," and in many other Independent tracts.

Now this tendency of the Independents to exalt ecclesiastical authority and to contend for forms of ecclesiastical government or details of worship, is the more remarkable by reason of the contrast which it presents with the prevailing trend of opinion in both the Puritan and the anti-Puritan parties in the Church of England. No doubt, throughout the reign of Elizabeth there must always have been a host of inarticulate "Catholics": and as early as 1588 Richard Bancroft (afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury) created a considerable stir by affirming, in a sermon at

(1) For instance, John Smyth actually applied to the Church such sayings as "In none other is there salvation: for neither is there any other name under heaven that is given among men wherein we must be saved," and "I am the Way, the Truth and the Life." ("Principles and Inferences Concerning the Visible Church," p. 252 of "Works of John Smyth," Cambridge University Press.)

(2) See, for instance, Smyth's "Parallels" (Works, p. 353):—"The visible Church which is Christ's Kingdom"—a thought which permeates the writings both of Barrowe and of Smyth.

(3) Robert Browne, the first Englishman to publish to the world (about 1580) the doctrines of Independency and the founder of an exiled Church, subsequently recanted and resumed his ministry in the Church of England. Greenwood, speaking for himself and Barrowe, declared: "We never had anything to do with Browne." See p. 54 of Powicke's "Henry Barrowe and the Exiled Church of Amsterdam." (James Clarke.)

Paul's Cross, the Divine right of episcopacy. But until the preaching of militant Presbyterianism began seriously to menace the security of the Anglican settlement of religion, Presbyterian orders were accepted in the Elizabethan Church as sufficient to qualify a man for an English benefice. And, in the main, Barrowe correctly described the position of the *articulate* parties in the Church of England as he knew her during the latter half of the reign, when he protested :—(4) "And sure most devilish and detestable are these two generally received opinions of these contrary factions of English clergymen. The one" [*i.e.*, the party which persecuted the Puritans for their refusal to conform to the requirements of the Act of Uniformity or the Queen's regulations when these seemed to conflict with New Testament models of ecclesiastical discipline or worship] "giving out that the form of ecclesiastical government prescribed in Christ's Testament, practised by the Apostles and primitive Churches in the time of persecution, is not necessary or tolerable under a Christian Prince. The other" (*i.e.*, the Puritan party, many of whom believed the Presbyterian discipline to be the only form of Church Government with any warrant in the New Testament while nevertheless remaining in an episcopally governed Church where discipline was very lax) "that those ordinances which they acknowledge Christ to have instituted and prescribed unto His Church unto the world's end, may not now under a Christian Prince be put in practice by the Church if he forbid the same as they might ought and were under heathen Princes by the faithful in all ages." The "judicious" Hooker and Archbishop Whitgift may fairly be taken as spokesmen for the Church of England of Barrowe's day. Now Hooker, in his famous "Ecclesiastical Polity," while insisting that episcopacy was an institution dating back to the days of the Apostles, at the same time recognized the right of the Continental Reformed Churches to substitute the rule of presbyteries for the rule of bishops out of regard for the extraordinary circumstances of the early years of the Reformation and the special needs of their own countries. And Whitgift (who, as Archbishop of Canterbury during the last twenty years of Queen Elizabeth's reign, was largely responsible for the Elizabethan persecution of the Puritans both Conformist and Nonconformist) maintained (as Dr. Powicke has shown), in opposition alike to Presbyterian and Independent "High-Churchmen," an ultra-"Low-Church" and ultra-Erastian position. "The essential notes of the Church," he insisted, "be these only: the true preaching of the word of GOD and the right administration of the sacraments." (5) "The controversy is not whether many of

(4) "Plain Refutation of Mr. Giffard."
(5) Works: Vol.: p. 185 (Parker Society's Edition).

the things mentioned by the Platformers" (the Presbyterian propagandists) "were fitly used in the Apostles' time or may now be well used in some places . . . neither do we take upon us *as we are slandered*" (Italics mine) "either to blame or to condemn other churches for such orders as they have received most fit for their estates; but this is the whole state of our controversy, when we of this Church, in these perilous days, do see that we have a great number of hollow hearts within this realm that daily gape for alteration of religion and many mighty and great enemies abroad, busily devising and working to bring the same to pass and to overthrow the state both of religion and of the realm—whether, seeing we have a settled order in doctrine and government received and confirmed by law, it may stand with godly and Christian wisdom, with disobedience to the Prince and law, and with the unquietness of the Church and offence of many consciences to attempt so great alteration as this platform must needs bring, and that for matters external only." (6) "The continual practice of Christian Churches (in the time of Christian magistrates), before the usurpation of the Bishop of Rome, hath been to give to Christian princes supreme authority in making ecclesiastical orders and laws, yea, and that which is more, in deciding of matters of religion, even in the chief and principal points." (7) "I perceive no such distinction of the commonwealth and the Church that they should be counted, as it were, two several bodies, governed with divers laws and divers magistrates, except the Church be linked with an heathenish and idolatrous commonwealth." (8) "It cannot yet sink into my head that he should be a member of a Christian commonwealth that is not also a member of the Church of Christ, concerning the outward society." (9) Now a comparison between two Puritan petitions presented to James I. on his accession—the petition of various independent bodies and the famous "Millenary" Petition of Puritan clergy—brings out very clearly the fact that the Conformist Puritans accepted, while the Independents repudiated, this conception of a State Church embracing all the citizens of the State.

The Independent petitioners describe their Churches as companies of people "separated from the world by the word of GOD and in a voluntary profession of the faith of Christ." "Separated from the world," "voluntary," these are deeply significant expressions. The first explains the meaning of that frequently misunderstood name of "Separatist" borne by the earliest English Independents. The great "separation" was made not primarily between these Nonconformists and the Church of England but

(6) Works 1, p. 4. (7) Works 3, p. 306. (8) Works 1, p. 22.
(9) Works 1, p. 388.

between them and the world. (10) In the word "voluntary" we have the whole doctrine of religious liberty in the germ. This "separation" was no self-willed revolt against authority: it was simply the assertion and putting into practice of an ideal of the Church. The great question at issue between the Separatists and the Established Church was this question of what John Smyth called the "constitution" of the Church: Did the "true matter" of the Church consist of "saints" (11) voluntarily uniting together or of citizens compelled to Church fellowship by the law of the State? In other words: were Church and State (as Archbishop Whitgift insisted, the same entity in two different aspects, or were they two totally distinct entities?

It would be easy to multiply quotations from all these early Independents to prove that in their eyes the whole constitution of the National Churches of their day—Anglican, Scottish (12), Genevan or Lutheran—was a heinous offence, a negation of the very essence of the true visible Church. Barrowe and Greenwood were wont to protest that "at the blowing of Her Majesty's trumpet at the

(10) John Cotton, a prominent New England Independent, tells us (in his "Way of Congregational Churches Cleared"), concerning John Robinson, pastor of the "Pilgrim" Church, that "when some Englishmen that offered themselves to become members of his church would sometimes in their confessions profess their separation from the Church of England, Mr. Robinson would bear witness against such profession, avouching they required no such professions of separation from this or that, but only from the world."

(11) See his "Principles and Inferences." (Works, p. 253.)

(12) The militant Presbyterians of the first half of Queen Elizabeth's reign resembled the Independents in exalting ecclesiastical authority and in reverence for New Testament models of Church government, but differed from them in conceiving of Church and State as co-extensive. Thomas Cartwright, who, as the leader of a Presbyterian revolt against the established church order, crossed swords in the early seventies with Whitgift, maintained (against the "Low-Church" position of the future Archbishop) the "High-Church" position with regard to the importance of Church government, even going so far as to declare—"à propos" of the rules which he thought that he found in the Scripture regulating the office of the Church:—"If all the world might be gained with a little breach of GOD'S word it were not to be done: better it were that the whole world should perish than one jot of GOD'S truth be slipped."

But the Presbyterians desired simply to effect, by the arm of the secular law, certain important repairs in the structure, and alterations in the status, of the National Church. It was left to Browne, "the first Independent," to preach, some ten years after the Cartwright-Whitgift controversy, the revolutionary doctrine that "the Kingdom of GOD" was not to be begun "by whole parishes, but rather of the worthiest, were they never so few" ("True and Short Declaration"), and to demand the total rebuilding of the Church on a new foundation. Declaring war on the idea of a State Church, he attacked the Presbyterians equally with the Episcopalians:—"Sathan is that envious and malicious man which hath builded again this city (of Jericho). His eldest sons were the first beginners of this lamentable state, whom GOD did scourge and call to repentance in the time of Queen Mary and brake their enterprise: and his youngest sons are these latter reformers, whom GOD also will certainly plague except they repent."

coronation" the whole nation was "in one day received without conversion of life by faith and repentance" into the reformed Church of England, and that "the profane, ungodly multitudes without exception "of any one person are with them received into and retained in the bosom of the Church." (13) These startling assertions become intelligible when we realise that at the accession of Elizabeth out of 9,400 parish priests (many of whom were too scandalously ignorant to have any clear conception of the Christian faith at all) only, at the highest estimate, 250 resigned their benefices. In many parts of the country a sermon was the rarest of luxuries. (14) Deprived of that teaching by image and ritual which had at all events provided some kind of food for their souls, the illiterate people received no instruction whatever in the faith apart from the only half intelligible gabbling of the Liturgy by some ignorant "mass-priest." We can well believe the frequent and definite statements of contemporary Puritan writers to the effect that great numbers of the people threw off all regard for religion of any kind and often for morality and decency as well. No doubt, as the reign progressed and the "mass-priests" were gradually replaced by educated Protestant clergy, ignorance and irreligion became less wide-spread. But as late as 1585—*i.e.*, just at the time of the first rise of Independency —the author of "A Lamentable Complaint of the Commonalty by Way of Supplication to the High Court of Parliament For a Learned Ministry" represented the average parishioner of his day as totally uninstructed in the very elements of Christianity. (15) It was the thought of this great mass of ignorance, worldliness and open ungodliness within the fold of the State Church which moved Barrowe and Greenwood to hurl at the heads of the clergy the indignant accusation :—"You stand ministers to all the land in high sacrilege." (16)

With a sense of infinite refreshment and relief the Separatists turned from the depressing spectacle of the State Church to con-

(13) For the first quotation see Barrowe in conference with Sperin, Greenwood in conference with Hutchinson, and Barrowe's "Brief Discovery of the False Church." For the second quotation see a Separatist manifesto ("A Brief Summe of the causes of our separation") included in the 1605 edition of Barrowe's "Plain Refutation of Mr. Giffard," and reprinted in Appendix II. of Powicke's "Henry Barrow."

(14) For details with regard to conditions in the early years of the Elizabethan settlement of religion, see pp. 145-6 of Powicke's "Henry Barrow," Frere's "English Church in the Reigns of Elizabeth and James I." (Macmillan) (pp. 104-7), Dexter's "England and Holland of the Pilgrims" (Archibald Constable) (p. 92), Marsden's "Early Puritans" (Hamilton Adams and Co.) (pp. 100-102).

(15) See pp. 151-2 of Dexter's "England and Holland of the Pilgrims."

(16) Conference with Sperin and Cooper.

template " the true visible Church, which," said Smyth (17), " is the Temple of GOD, II. Corinthians vi. 16 " and " consisteth of a holy people which must come out from the unrighteous and unbelievers that are Belial even without the yoke of the Lord's ordinances, and must be a separated people." The act by which the separation was made was the taking of a solemn covenant to walk TOGETHER in the ways of the Lord (18) ; the yoke which every individual member of the Church bore was the yoke of subjection to the admonitions of his fellow-members, gathered together in Church meetings. Church fellowship was to these men and women an intensely precious thing, without which the leading of a full Christian life was impossible. Smyth was fond of arguing (19) that loving watchfulness over the spiritual life and growth of his fellow-Churchmen is an absolutely essential part of that duty of " brotherly love " which every Christian is called upon to fulfil towards other believers. He bluntly told a self-willed and eccentric clergyman :—" So long as you are not under . . . the Lord's ordinances, the censures of the Church, you shall find little rest to your soul." (20) To the same clergyman (Richard Bernard, a well-known Puritan, but a scoffing opponent of " the Separation ") John Robinson gave the following description of the " Pilgrim " Church :—(21)

" If ever you saw the beauty of Sion and the glory of the Lord filling His tabernacle, it hath been in the manifestation of divers graces of GOD in that heavenly harmony and comely order wherein by the grace of GOD we are set and walk. Wherein if your eyes had but seen the brethren's sober and modest carriage, one toward another, their humble and willing submission unto their guides in the Lord, their tender compassion towards the weak, their fervent zeal against scandalous offenders and their long suffering towards all, you would (I am persuaded) change your mind."

Now the Conformist Puritans had as strong a sense as the Separatists of the necessity for " separation " between the " saints " and the world. But with them this idea of separation did not embody itself in any ecclesiastical shape. The " Millenary " Petition contains no hint of any wish to protest against the close union of Church and State. On the contrary, it opens with an explanation that the signatories are not " aiming at the dissolution of the

(17) " Parallels " (Works, p. 364).

(18) See pp. 386-7 (with footnotes) of Dexter's " England and Holland of the Pilgrims " for several typical examples of a Church covenant.

(19) See, for instance, p. 359 of Works (" Parallels ").

(20) P. 528, Works (" Parallels ").

(21) " Justification of Separation."

state ecclesiastical" but are merely "desiring reformation of certain ceremonies and abuses of the Church." The Petitioners do indeed ask that the discipline and excommunication may be administered "according to Christ's own institution" and not "under the name of lay persons, chancellors, officials, etc.," and "that examination may go before the communion." But they were not prepared to fight even for such a half "separation" as the granting of these very moderate demands would have involved.

But the Independents were tormented by an urgent conviction that a Church which suffered within her fold persons known to be evildoers, unbelievers or indifferent to religion, thereby became so corrupt that none might hold communion with her without sharing in her pollution. (22) The dread of being involved in the apostacy of a polluted communion drove the fanatical section of the Separatists into the ultra-"High-Church" practice of "rigid "separation" from "false" Churches. The rigid separatists, whose harshness and intolerance brought early Independency into a good deal of disrepute with the charitably minded, prohibited all attendance at the preaching of any clergyman of the Church of England, however "godly" and evangelical the preacher might be. "Whatsoever company or communion of men do worship God being not of the communion "of a visible Church sin," declared Smyth, (23) and he admitted (24) that in the Church over which he presided persons persisting in "hearing the word" of Anglican ministers were excommunicated. Francis Johnson, pastor of the Church which had once numbered Barrowe amongst its members, went so far as to warn a perplexed soul that the more truth the minister of a false Church preaches the more is he to be avoided, lest his wholesome words should prove decoys to lure his hearers on into the acceptance of his errors. (25)

Over and over again the Separatist and Conformist Puritan came into sharp conflict over the question as to what constitutes a valid ministry. The two Petitions bear witness to the wide divergence of opinion on this point. The Separatist petition demands that ministers shall be elected by the Church and shall be

(22) See, for instance, Smyth's words to Richard Bernard:—"That one sin of one man publicly and obstinately stood in and not reformed by a true constituted Church doth so pollute it that none may communicate with it in the holy things of GOD till the party offending be by the Church put out after lawful conviction . . . is the most comfortable and holy truth we hold in walking one with another in communion of GOD'S ordinances. ("Parallels") (Works, p. 440). See also "Principles and Inferences" (Works, p. 263).

(23) "Principles and Inferences" (Works, p. 252).

(24) "Parallels" (Works, p. 541).

(25) Reply to Hildersham's "Letter to a Separatist Gentlewoman."

only such as are " appointed by Christ in His last will and testament " ; while the Millenary Petition confines itself to the request " that none hereafter be admitted into the ministry but able and sufficient men, and those to preach diligently." To the Conformist Puritans a man inwardly conscious of a call from Christ was a true minister provided that this inward call was ratified by those whom the law appointed to be governors of the Church, approved by the people of the parish where he ministered and attested by the conversion of souls. In conference after conference with Puritan clergymen, Barrowe and Greenwood argued with vehemence against this " Low-Church " doctrine of the ministry, maintaining steadfastly that the only entrance into the true ministry is through " the holy and free election of the Lord's holy and free people " (26) —not the parishioners of a particular parish or even a congregation assembling in a particular Church, but a people definitely " gathered" to Christ and separated from the world by a solemn covenant. (27) Those entering into the ministry by other means Barrowe compared to the " thieves and robbers " who climb into the sheepfold by " some other way " than the door. (28)

M. DOROTHEA JORDAN.

(To be continued.)

(26) " True Description of the Visible Church," reprinted in Powicke's " Henry Barrow."

(27) See Barrowe's conference with Sperin, in which the Puritan clergyman was told that, even though he had been called by the congregation to which he ministered, " They being as yet ungathered to Christ . . . neither may in this estate choose a minister nor any exercise ministry unto them without heinous sacrilege."

(28) " True Description of the Visible Church " and various conferences with Puritan clergy. See also Smyth's " Parallels " (Works, p. 353).

Correspondence of Sir Edward Harley, K.B., and Rev. Francis Tallents

IN our last issue we promised a first instalment of an interesting correspondence between Rev. Francis Tallents, of Shrewsbury, one of the Ejected ministers of 1662, and Sir Edward Harley, K.B. This promise we are now able to fulfil; and in doing so must express our obligations to His Grace the Duke of Portland, K.G., in whose library at Welbeck the letters were found; to Mr. R. W. Goulding, F.S.A., the librarian at Welbeck; and to Rev. A. S. Langley, F.R.H.S., of Louth, by whom they have been transcribed and placed at our disposal. The correspondence altogether consists of nineteen letters of Tallents and one of Harley; but several of them have no particular interest, and are therefore omitted.

SIR EDWARD HARLEY, K.B. (1624-1700), was the eldest son of Sir Robert Harley, of Brampton Brian, Herefordshire. A colonel in the Parlimentary Army, 1644; general of horse for Herefordshire and Radnor, 1645; M.P. for Herefordshire, 1646-1656; impeached for supporting the disbanding ordinance, 1648; member of the Council of State, 1659; Governor of Dunkirk, 1660-1; and opposed the sale of Dunkirk, 1661. After the Restoration, being a strong Presbyterian, he was closely associated with several Nonconformist ministers in Herefordshire and frequently attended the ministry of Richard Baxter in London. "He vigorously opposed all the Acts for persecuting Dissenters, and the Act that made the Sacrament a civil test (1673) . . . forseeing the King (James II.) would attempt to set up Popery, he declined all manner of public employment, and neither he nor any of his family ever took any oath to that King." He sat in the First, Third and Fourth parliaments of William III. Although often spoken of as "a mortal enemy of the Church," he is called by Calamy "an ornament and support of religion." He published several theological tracts, the most important appearing in 1695, from a London press, with the title "*A Scriptural and Rational Account of the Christian Religion;* particularly concerning Justification only by the Propitiation and Redemption of the Lord Jesus Christ." This correspondence passed on Sir Edward's death to his son Robert, who forsook the principles in which he had been educated, became leader of the High Church and Tory party, and was created Earl of Oxford and

Mortimer by Queen Anne. He was the founder of the Harleian collection of books and MSS. These letters of Tallents went along with other MSS. to Welbeck Abbey in 1741 on the death of Edward, the second Earl of Oxford; for his MSS., etc., were inherited by his only daughter and heiress, Lady Margaret Cavendish Harley, who in 1734 had married William Bentinck, second Duke of Portland. Most of the Harleian MSS. were transferred to the British Museum in 1759, but many historical papers and letters remain at Welbeck Abbey. The treasures of the library are only partially known to the readers of the Reports of the Historical MSS. Commission.

FRANCIS TALLENTS (1619-1708), eldest son of Philip Tallents, whose father, a Frenchman, accompanied Sir Francis Leake to England after saving his life, was born at Pilsley, in the Parish of North Wingfield, Derbyshire, in November, 1619. His father dying when he was fourteen, Tallents was sent by an uncle, Francis Tallents, to the free schools of Mansfield and Newark, where he was said to have "not silver, but golden talents." He entered Peterhouse, Cambridge, in 1635, but removed to Magdalen College, to become sub-tutor to the sons of Theophilus, Earl of Suffolk. He graduated A.B. 1640-1 and A.M. 1645. In 1642 he travelled abroad with his pupils, and resided for a time at Samur. Upon his return he was chosen Fellow of Magdalen College, and was afterwards Senior Fellow, and President or Vice-Master of the College. He was ordained at St. Mary's Woolnoth, London, on 29th November, 1648, by the third classical Presbytery in that province. In October, 1649, he was chosen one of the twelve graduates who had power to preach without episcopal licence. In 1652, Tallents was invited by the mayor and aldermen, and urged by Baxter, to become lecturer and curate at St. Mary's, Shrewsbury. His nomination was dated 4th January, 1653, and the committee of plundered ministers added £50 to his income. In 1656 he was moderator at a public dispute about baptism in the church of Ellesmere, in Shropshire, between Thomas Porter, M.A., of Whitchurch, and Henry Haggar, Baptist minister of Stafford. It was a reference to this dispute that led to the discovery of this correspondence. At the Restoration the commissioners appointed to restore deposed ministers were petitioned to allow him to remain, his predecessor, one Prowde, concurring. On 10th October, 1661, he received confirmation of his office, but the next year was several times imprisoned in Shrewsbury Castle for preaching, and, on his refusal to receive further ordination, he was ejected in September, 1662. After that he regularly attended worship at St. Mary's, only preaching himself at different hours, and thus he escaped molestation. From February, 1670-1 to about 1674, he resided with his pupil John Hampden, the Younger, near Paris.

On his return he joined with John, eldest son of Dr. J. Bryan, in ministering to the Presbyterian congregation at Oliver Chapel, High Street, Shrewsbury. An indictment was framed against him for holding a conventicle in December, 1680, but he was able to prove an *alibi*, having spent the whole of the winter in France. He was under suspicion after Monmouth's rebellion in 1685, and was lodged in Chester Castle, but was soon released, and on the progress of James II. to Shrewbury, he joined in the presentation to the King of a purse of gold in recognition of the Indulgence of 1687. He died at Shrewsbury, on 11th April, 1708, aged nearly eighty-nine years, and was buried on the 15th, in St. Mary's Church, having composed his own epitaph. Besides a sermon preached at the funeral of Philip Henry, Tallents published the following, viz. :—

1. *A View of Universal History*, a series of chronological tables which he had engraved on sixteen copper plates in his own house. 2. *A Sure and Large Foundation*, designed to promote Catholic Christianity. A copy of this was given by him to the school library at Shrewsbury, in 1696, but the work is not otherwise known. 3. *A Short History of Schism*, for the promoting of Christian moderation. This was written in the eighty-fifth year of his age, and was answered, with great indignation, by " S.G. " *i.e.*, Samuel Grascome, in " Moderation in Fashion, or an Answer to a Treatise." Tallents wrote a reply in a manner becoming a Christian, a gentleman, and a scholar, according to Calamy, in 4. *Some few Considerations upon S.G's. Large Answer to the Short Treatise.* Grascome answered in " Schism triumphant, or a Rejoinder to a Reply."

Letter from Tallents to Sir E. Harley, K.B.

(1) Salop. Oct. 19, 1689. Sends a MS. entitled: "If Persons ordain'd by Presbyters may be received as Min^rs of Christ amongst us without a new Ordination or imposition of hands by some of our Diocesan B^ps. This hath been done; This may be done according to o^r B^ps principles; This ought to be done now."

(2) Salop. Aprill 16: 1695.

Hon^d Sir,

I am very glad to heare that some in London are promoteing a Contribution for our good Mr. Taylor,[1] a Nonconformist Minister, and that you are pleased to enquire concerning him.

What you are Informed of him is very true and I know not a greater and more deserveing object of Charity (of that kind) then He, for this 42 yeares that I have been in this County, Mr. Bryan[2] and I have knowne him a savoury holy ingenious man and a good preacher; and I knew him before a godly studious youth in the University. His House with his Bookes and goods were burnt in the ffire at Wem ab^t 17 yeares agoe. He is not quite blind, but his sight is soe farr gone that he cannot Read any thing to any purpose with the help of any Spectacles, yet Continues to preach tho' he be also weake and sickly. His Loveing usuall Hearers are soe poore that they can give him little, scearce 6^l a yeare, and his supplies from other places are inconsiderable, and his straites are very great. His wife is Liveing and 9 of his Children (some of which his Christian ffreinds help'd him to put out) yet none of them able to helpe him much if at all and some of them yet depend on him.

These things are generally knowne and that he is in debt, and I know he owes above 25[l] besides other smaller matters that I know not.

And S[r] if the Journey was not soe farr I would upon some little Concernes have come to London and have done my best with some persons of note there, and particularly with yo[r] honoured ffreinds Mr. Hampden and Mr. Boscawen,[3] for his effectuall Releife that he might not sink under his Burthen. But Blessed be God I hope it is in better hands and that through your Incouragem[t] which you will Condiscend to give for yo[r] Blessed Lord's sake it will have a good effect.

Good Mr. Bryan Recomẽnds him to you as I doe p[r]sente his most humble service to you; is Recovered in a good Measure, preached this day as hee hath done for 2 or 3 Months.

Wee begg S[r] the Continueance of yo[r] life & health, a Blessing on yo[r] endeavors for God both in greater & Lesser and a great Reward from him to you, & all others that ffaithfully serve him.

I am, w[th] much Respect, Honoured S[r], Yo[r] most humble & most obedient servant,

FRA: TALLENTS.

Yo[r] son M[r] Harley will accept of my humble service. I hope S[r] you Continue yo[r] kindnesse for young Mr. Hampden.[4]

I pray S[r] Lett yo[r] man Informe me what this Colleccon shall come to, for he may easily be acquainted of it.

[Addressed: "These To the Hon[ble] S[r] Edward Harley, a Member of the House of Comons in Westminster."]

(3) Wem, Frid: June 28, 95.

S[r],

I lately heard by M[r] Edward Harley[5] that you was pleased to promote a collection for Rev: M[r] Samuel Taylor of this Countie; God reward y[t] your work & labour of love. I think fit to acquaint you that it hath

pleased God to take him from us to his rest early on Wedn : morning last, & I am now at Wem to shew my true respects to him at his funerall, & to his poor desolate widow, who is left overwhelm'd with debt as well as sorrow. Your kindness, & other her frends, I hope will be continued, & I send this to desire you to finish that good work, & not let it fall upon y^e^ report of his decease. I pray you, let me know what you shall have collected, & let it be returned to his widow as she shall direct.

I am S^r^ Your very respective frend & servant in o^r^ Bl : Lord,

FRA. TALLENTS.

A letter directed to me in Salop will come to my hands.

[Addressed : "These For my honoured Frend Mr. Fisher, London." Fisher sent the letter to Sir Edward Harley.]

(4) Sir Edward Harley to the Rev. Francis Tallents.

Kinge Street, Bloomesbery, July 2^d^ 1695.

S^r^,

By yo^rs^ of June y^e^ 28 to M^r^ Fisher[6] Certified The Death of M^r^ Taylor. The money Collected and Contributed for him by M^r^ Fisher was fourteen pounds and five shillings Sealed vp in a browne paper with a Letter Directed to yo^r^self, all which was Delivered about a week since to Madam Beal[7] who promised to Convey it safe to yo^r^ self at Salop so that I hope it will be Comsortable Reliefe for M^r^ Taylor's Desolate widdow.

It pleased God Last week to visit my son Harley with a Dangerous Inflamation in his Throate, but through Gratious mercy hee is in a good way of Recouery. M^r^ Richard Hampden[8] is at Bath, as I hear Receiues Benefit by Drinking of those waters. His son is in this Town not well. I Beseech M^r^ Brian to Accept y^e^ affectionat Service of, S^r^, Y^r^ most humble servant,

EDW. HARLEY.

(5) F. T. to Sir E. H.

Salop, July 29, 95.

(After thanking Sir Edward for a book he had written and given to him, Tallents proceeds :—)

Yong Mr Henry,[9] who is Minr in Chester, told me that on Lord's day sevenight, Mr Weld,[10] who succeeded Mr Mather[11] in Dublin, preach'd an Excellt Sermon for him ; and sais, one end of his journey to London was to endeavour to unite Mr Williams[12] & Mr Mather, being well acquainted with both, but especially ye latter. God prosper such endeavours.

I have received the 14li. 5s from Madam Beal ; when she opened ye paper to pay it to be return'd to me, ye Person yt was to receive it, refused 16s as bad, wch she (good Gentlewoman) made good, & will make ye best of what was refused. I have paid it as Mrs Taylor ordred (wch I think she did in the best way) & have help'd her to 17l more, which may help her to pay her debts & subsist a little. Good Mr Fisher sent me a kind letter with it, for whose great illness I am very sorry.

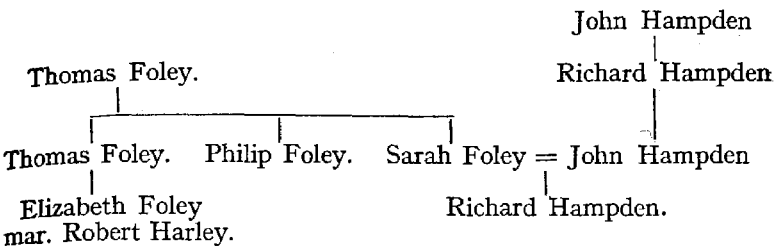
1. SAMUEL TAYLOR (1672-95), Matriculated as pensioner at Magdalen College, Cambridge, in 1645, B.A., 1648-9 ; Curate at Edstastion, then a chapelry in the parish of Wem. Though in very low circumstances, with a wife and many children, he quitted his living in 1662, choosing rather to beg his bread than wrong his conscience. He continued in Wem, and preached then as his strength and liberty would permit. Licensed as Presbyterian to preach in his own house at Wem, 8th May, 1672. His house was burnt down, with nearly half the town, in 1676. In the survey of 1691 the report concerning him was " maintenance next to nothing." He received from the Presbyterian Fund £6 per annum from 1690 to 94, and £5 in 1695, in which year he died on June 26th. Philip Henry preached his funeral sermon from II. Corinthians iv. 7

2. JOHN BRYAN, was the eldest son of Dr. John Bryan, of Coventry. Admitted pensioner at Emmanuel College, Cambridge, 10th January, 1643-4, aged sixteen ; removed to Peterhouse, 3rd December, 1644 ; B.A., 1647 ; M.A., 1657 ; became domestic chaplain to the Earl of Stamford and lecturer at Loughborough ; Vicar of Holy Cross (the Abbey Church), Shrewsbury, 1652 ;

minister of St. Chad's, Shrewsbury, 27th March, 1659; ejected 1662. He was twice imprisoned for preaching before 1666. He removed, under the Five Mile Act, to Shifnel, Salop; visited Shrewsbury congregation by night. Received in 1672, a general licence as a teacher, and special ones for the houses of Charles Doughty, Salop, 13th May, and Elizabeth Hunt, 10th June. In 1683, he was fined £40 for preaching. Tallents became his colleague at High Street, in 1674. Their ministry was much disturbed until 1687. Died, 31st August, 1699, and was buried in St. Chad's Churchyard.

3. HUGH BOSCAWEN, who, in 1720, was raised to the peerage as Baron Boscawen and Viscount Falmouth. Died, 25th October, 1734. The leading Cornish politician of his time in the Whig interest. In 1671, Tallents had with him in France a pupil called Boscawen, but unfortunately he died of the smallpox at Strasburgh.

4. JOHN HAMPDEN, THE YOUNGER (1656-1696). Second son of Richard Hampden. In 1671, went to France to travel under the tutorship of Tallents. February and August, 1679, elected M.P. for Bucks. Played a very insignificant part in Parliament. Left England for sake of his health in 1680, and remained in France till September, 1682. Elected in his absence in 1681 member for Wendover, and his father took his place as member for the county. While in France got into trouble with the French Court, who suspected Hampden of intrigues with the Protestants there, and at the same time the English Ambassador thought he was carrying on some secret negotiation with the agents of Louis XIV, on behalf of the English opposition. Condemned for complicity in the Rye House Plot. Committed to the Tower and fined £40,000. After Monmouth's rebellion he was charged with high treason. Pleaded guilty and threw himself on the mercy of the King, because his condemnation was absolutely certain. Sentenced to death. The King was content with his humiliation and fine of £6,000. He had stooped to supplication which saved him and his house to him but from that moment he never knew peace of mind. In 1689, he represented Wendover in the Convention Parliament. He supported the granting of indulgences to Nonconformists, and opposed the provision in the Toleration Act, which restricted its benefits to Trinitarians. Failed to secure re-election for Bucks, on 10th December, 1696, cut his throat, dying two days later. He married twice, his first wife being Sarah Foley, daughter of Thomas Foley, of Witley Court, Worcestershire, and widow of Essex Knightley, of Fawsley, Northants, by whom he had issue Richard (the "dear son" of the letter 13th June, 1696) and Letitia. She was the sister of Philip Foley mentioned in the letter of 6th April, 1696. She was also aunt of Elizabeth Foley, wife of Robert Harley (Sir Edward's elest son). In pedigree form it would appear thus :—



Hampden's first wife died in 1687. His second wife was Anne Cornwallis, by whom he had two children John and Anne. She is the Madame Hampden of the letter 13th June, 1696.

5. EDWARD HARLEY (1664-1735), second son of Sir Edward. Educated at Westminister School; Barrister of Middle Temple; Auditor of Imprest; Acted in Revolution of 1688; Recorder of Leominster, 1692; M.P. for Leominster, 1698-1722; one of the Executors of Richard Baxter and along with his father an original trustee of the Charity founded by Philip, Lord Wharton. Published anonymously, in 1733, *A Harmony of the Gospels.*

6. SAMUEL FISHER, son of Thomas Fisher, of Stratford-on-Avon. Born, 1617, and educated at Oxford. Matriculated at Queen's College, 1634; graduating at Magdalen College, B.A., 1636; M.A., 1640. He took holy orders, and officiated at St. Bride's, London, at Withington, Salop, and at Shrewsbury, where he was curate to Thomas Blake. Both were turned out for not taking the Engagement against the King and the House of Lords in 1650. He afterwards held the Rectory of Thornton-in-the-Moor, Cheshire, until the Ejectment. He spent the rest of his life at Birmingham, where he died, "leaving the character of an ancient divine, an able preacher, and of a godly life." In 1672, by petition to the King he applied for a licence as a teacher, and also for licences for his own house and the Town Hall as meeting places. These were granted, except the Town Hall, and later he applied in vain for one for "the Scool House." He published three of his sermons.

7. Probably the widow of WILLIAM BEAL, who was ejected, in 1662, from the Rectory of Stow-on-the-Wold, Gloucestershire. Calamy is wrong in saying that he died in London not long after his ejectment. Beal applies for, and, through Joshua Churchill, receives licence to preach in his own house at Cripplegate in 1672. His will, proved April 14th, 1679, shows that his family belonged to the city of Gloucester and that he was living, seven years after obtaining his licence, in 3, King's Court, Whitecross St., London.

8. RICHARD HAMPDEN (1631-95). Second son of the great John Hampden. In 1656 returned to Cromwell's second parliament, as member for Bucks. One of the members of Cromwell's House of Lords, M.P., for Bucks in 1681 and 1690. Wendover, 1660, 1661, 1679, and in the Convention Parliament of 1689. A strong Presbyterian, he befriended many ejected ministers. In 1665, R. Baxter found refuge at Great Hampden, and describes Richard, his host, as " the true heir of his famous father's sincerity, piety, and devotedness to God." Hampden first became prominent in politics by his zealous advocacy of the Exclusion Bill, and of a full investigation into the popish plots. In the convention Parliament he seconded the proposal that William of Orange should be asked to undertake the government pending the settlement of the succession.

On February 14th, 1689, appointed a Privy Councillor. In April of the same year became one of the Commissioners to the Treasury. March 18th, 1690, Chancellor of the Exchequer. Resigned 1694. It is said that King William offered him a peerage and a pension. He is reported to have replied " that he would die a country gentleman of ancient family as he was, which was honour enough for him, that he had always spoken against giving pensions to others, and at such a time it was oppressive, whilst he had a roll or a can of beer he would not accept sixpence of the money of the nation."

9. MATTHEW HENRY (1662-1714), born at Broad Oak, Flint. Second son of Philip Henry, M.A. Entered, 1680, the academy of Thomas Doolittle. Admitted Gray's Inn, 1685. On 9th May, 1687, he was ordained by the presbyters in London, and began his ministry at Chester. One of the founders of the Cheshire Classes. A meeting-house was erected for him in Crook Lane in 1700 ; a gallery was added to accommodate the Independents in 1706 ; Daniel Williams named him as a trustee to his foundation, but he did not live to enter on the trust. Removed to Mare St., Hackney, London, in 1912. Died on a visit to Nantwich, and was buried in Trinity Church, Chester. His greatest work was his " *Exposition of the Old and New Testaments.*" He got no further than the Acts, leaving his notes on the remainder in a very imperfect state. It was completed by thirteen Nonconformist Divines after his death.

10. NATHANIEL WELD (1660-1730). Independent minister at Eustace St., Dublin, and grandfather of Isaac Weld (1710-78) his successor.

11. SAMUEL MATHER (1626-1671), born at Much Woolton in Lanceshire. His father Richard Mather emigrated to New England in 1635. Samuel had his education at Harvard College, and was

the first Fellow of that College who took his degree there. Returning to England in 1650, he became Chaplain of Magdalen College, Oxford, by the favour of Thomas Goodwin, who was then President. He frequently preached at St. Mary's. Took his degrees, by incorporation, both at Oxford and Cambridge. Attended the Parliamentary Commissioners to Scotland, 1653; he went to Ireland with Lord Henry Cromwell. Was made a Senior Fellow of Trinity College, and again took his degree, 1654; ordained at Dublin, 1656; curate at Burton Wood, Lancashire, 1660; ejected, 1662; erected meeting house in New Row, Dublin, 1662. His successor, on his death, was his younger brother, Nathaniel Mather, M.A. (Harvard.) He wrote several works, including one entitled "*An Irenicum, in order to an Agreement between Presbyterians Independents, and Anabaptists.*" This was published in 1680, in London, after his death. Is this the one Tallents refers to in his letter of October 11th, 1700?

12. DANIEL WILLIAMS (1643-1716). Born at Wrexham, in the county of Denbigh. He declares in his preface to "*A Defence of Gospel Truth,*" that from five years old he had no employment besides his studies; and adds, that before nineteen, he was regularly admitted a preacher. Chaplain to the Countess of Meath, 1664; preached at Drogheda; joint minister of Wood St., Dublin, 1667-87; Presbyterian minister at Hand Alley, Bishopgate, London, 1687-1716. Succeeded R. Baxter as Merchant's Lecturer at Pinner's Hall. Published, in 1692 "*A Defence of Gospel Truth,*" founded on his lecturers and giving rise to controversy because of his handling of Antinomianism. He founded the Salter's Hall Lectureship in 1694; opposed the bill against occasional conformity in 1704; Edinburgh and Glasgow Universities both sent him their D.D. diploma in 1709; he headed the deputation of Protestant Dissenting Ministers which presented an address of congratulation to King George I., on his accession, 1714. He was a man of substance, which came to him chiefly through his wives. He left large sums to be devoted mainly to scholastic and reglious purposes. His extensive library formed the nucleus of the "Dr. Williams' Library."

The Lofty Bishop, The Lazy Brownist, and the Loyal Author

(From a volume of Broadsides in the British Museum. Pressmark 669 f. 8. 32.)

1. The Bishop Sings

What would yee lazie Brownists have ;
You rage and runne away,
And cry us downe, our Church, and eke
the forme therein we pray.
Oh Monstres great ! Abortive sonnes
Your Mother to forsake.
To church you doe refraine to come,
Your prayers there to make
You will admit no governement
in Church at all to stand.
Without the which, would soon be seene
Strange errors in the land.
You do assume yourselves to be
More holy than all people ;
Therefore 'mongst all you will not come
to pray in Church or steeple.
You'l speake as faire and soberly,
You will protest in speech,
With eyes and hands eke lifted up,
Yet will us overreach.
You doe presume, you have no sinne,
And that you have the spirit ;
And though you cozen and deceive,
You heaven shall inherit
O fie upon your idle life !
how dare you zeale pretend,
To loyter here, and there all day,
a prating life to spend.
What separatist in your Rout
makes conscience of all sinnes,
And in his calling paines doth take
so soone as day beginnes ?

2. The Brownist Sings

Your lofty Lordship tearmes us lazie
and runagadoes too ;
But I could wish you Bishops would
but labour as we doe.
Sure yee be monsters, for such members
of Christ his Church as yee
I have not read of in God's word
allowed by him to be
Then you must rather be out of Christ,
and in his church impostors,
For Christ allows you Lordships none,
if you will be his Pastors.
You did presume, you were cockesure,
and in your glory firme,
Christ's little flock to tyrannize,
with countenance full stearne.
The Apostles of our Saviour Christ
you pleade you doe succede ;
And yet would starve those soules which they
did labour for to feede.
Though with your mouth you Rome deny,
yet still her wayes you take ;
A strumpet you confess she is,
yet doe her not forsake.
How dare you, who appointed are
to Preach God's holy word,
Sit in pompe and presume to bear
in hand the temporall sword ?
Is any Pastor made a Lord,
but soone's from preaching taken ?
Yea, though he laboured much before,
this makes all be forsaken.

3. The Author Laments

Here's lazie Brownists, lofty Bishops,
and both accuse each other
As runagadoes, Monsters eke,
unto the Church their Mother.
And yet were both bread up by her,
and yet Church Monsters too ;
The one would quite forsake the Church,
the other would her undoe.
But now the Parliament no doubt
these Monsters will destroy ;
Or else will set them such a forme
whereby the Church may joy.
The one in pride, the other in
conceited puritie
Doth trouble both the Church and State
such Monsters for to see
Whilst one dissembles, th' other doth
affirm vaine things for truth ;
Whilst one in pomp his time doth wast
the other it spends in sloth ;
Whilst both doe wander from the way
wherein the Church of God
Directed is by him to walk,
both other paths have trod.
The Brownists noses want a Ring
(to draw them with a Rope ;)
The Prelate's wings do cutting neede,
(least they fly to the Pope.)
That so the one in Church may Preach
Gods word, the other heare ;
That both may honour God, and eke
his lawes may love, and feare.

Printed *Ann. Dom.* 1640.