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## EDITORIAL

LONDON, *September, 1923.*

**A**S this is the last issue of the *Transactions* which will appear under the editorship of our venerable friend, the Rev. T. G. Crippen, the honourable duty has been assigned me of writing the necessary editorial notes in his stead. It enables me in the first place, on behalf of the Society, to recognize with gratitude the many years of service which he has rendered us as our Editorial Secretary. His competency for this post was obvious from the beginning. All who have made use of the Congregational Library for research into the history of Congregationalism or of early Nonconformity generally, must have at once discovered how extended and yet how exact and particular was his knowledge of the literature of their subject. But Mr. Crippen has not only the librarian's and bibliographer's knowledge of his books, but a scholar's acquaintance with their contents and their authors. This exceptional knowledge of the older Theology of Nonconformity and its literature, and his keenness and unwearying industry in research, made him the most competent Literary Secretary for our Society that could have been found within the ranks of Congregationalism. And we cannot part with him in this capacity without recording our indebtedness to him for his gratuitous and most efficient service to the Society.

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But we have not only to record the close of Mr. Crippen's editorship; we have also to welcome the advent of Dr. Albert Peel, who will take over both Mr. Crippen's duties and my own, an arrangement which will have many practical advantages. This combination of related duties is possible under Dr. Peel. His capacity for editorship might naturally be taken for granted, from his appointment to the responsible post of editor of the *Congregational Quarterly*. But he had earlier given proof of his special gifts in his edition of *A Seconde Partie of a Register*, which is an exemplary work, both in the arrangement of its material and in the learning and research shown in its notes and elucidations. Dr. Peel also possesses, in a degree denied to his predecessors, the gift of administration and management. I only regarded my own tenure of office as an emergency arrangement; but it had to be continued for a good many years. Now that Dr. Peel takes

up the work of the secretaryship, we can look forward to the prosperity of the Society with much confidence.

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The May Meeting of the Society was made noteworthy by the presence of Professor Claude Jenkins, the Archbishop's Librarian at Lambeth, who read a most interesting paper, and has added to his most generous service by permitting it to be printed in our *Transactions*. The Library under Professor Jenkins's care is the most valuable collection of books and manuscripts in existence, for the purposes of the student of English Ecclesiastical History; and for the special needs of the historian of English Nonconformity, it has some excellencies which naturally no other library can share. And to add to it all, the courtesy and helpfulness of its learned Librarian make it a pleasure to work at Lambeth. Professor Jenkins's appearance at a gathering of the Congregational Historical Society is not only evidence of his own kindness and catholicity. It is a sign of the times. And concerning his paper, I would add, that the evidence it gives of Dr. Whitgift's serious religious character and his constant and whole-hearted devotion to his Church, we accept fully. The Archbishop had many virtues, virtues not too common in the Elizabethan hierarchy. And he was, to boot, an out and out evangelical in theology, and had most liberal views in regard to the ministry. If he had not been a convinced persecutor, he would have been the most attractive personality of the Elizabethan Church.

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The Programme of the Society's engagements in connection with the October meetings of the Congregational Union at Northampton, the first under Dr. Peel's direction, is clearly the most attractive that has been offered to the members for years past. I hope the engagements of the Society will be a conspicuous success, and greatly advance its interests. Sir Rylands Atkins, K.C., D.L., M.P., a Northampton man, can be trusted to give a brilliant account of the saintly Dr. Doddridge as a preacher. And Mr. Hugh N. Dixon, M.A., F.L.S., for many years a deacon of the Church, in his quiet scholarly way, will not miss any picturesque or quaint entry in the old Doddridge Church Books. Then, under Mr. Dixon's guidance, an Exhibition has been organized which will be unique of its kind, and should by no means be missed. The meeting will be held at Doddridge Memorial Church—which is in the St. James' district, on the west side of the Railway Station—on Wednesday, October 3rd, at 3 p.m.

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The unveiling of the Memorial to Robert Browne in the churchyard of St. Giles's Church, Northampton, on a day to be

announced, when an address will be delivered by Dr. J. D. Jones, of Bournemouth, will be a function of the greatest importance to the Congregational world. It marks a trend in the amenities of inter-denominational relations, which should gladden all hearts. It also marks, though this can only be mentioned with some little shame, the recognition by Congregationalists of the eminence of their illustrious founder. Never was a great historical personage so buried beneath a weight of slander and misrepresentation. Fortunately, some twenty years ago or more, the Rev. F. Ives Cater, then a young student from New College, settled at Oundle; and being of a studious and enquiring mind, he began to interest himself in the career of the Founder of English Congregationalism. The results of Mr. Cater's persevering researches, though I believe they have never had the slightest official recognition, contained in the excellently written series of articles to be found in the second and third volumes of our *Transactions*, are the most important contribution made in recent years to the history of Congregationalism. They have vindicated the character and standing of the genius who, transcending the moral conceptions of his age, gave to the world the truth that democracy is integral to Christianity, and that full religious liberty was of the essence of the faith of Christ. The unveiling of the monument to Robert Browne is a milestone in the history of our Churches.

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Mr. B. Cozens-Hardy, who is one of the secretaries of the Norfolk and Norwich Archæological Society, contributed to the printed Proceedings of that society a paper on "The First Seventy Years of Guestwick Independent Church," an off-print of which, making a pamphlet of 20 pp., has come to my hands. I value it very highly; it makes excellent reading. Guestwick is a village about eighteen miles, as the crow flies, to the north-west of Norwich, a considerable distance in the years long before railways or motor-cars were dreamt of. All the more significant is it that the Old Meeting Congregational Church at Norwich sent two representatives to be present at the formation of the new Church of their order at Guestwick. So says the entry in the Old Meeting House Church Book, under date 5 Sept., 1652. Mr. Cozens-Hardy gives us a brief account of the first minister, Richard Worts, a man well worth knowing. He was apparently for a time Rector of Foulsham, and also minister of the Independent Meeting at Guestwick. But after Black Bartholomew he showed his faith by choosing the path of suffering, for years enduring the filthy imprisonment accorded at the time to Nonconformists. We have glimpses of the life of the little Church; among other things, a record of a day of humiliation and prayer, when Sister Lydia Codling was, for grave reasons, "cast out of y<sup>e</sup> Church," and

the minister delivered a solemn discourse. After the sentence was pronounced, the plain old record states, "all present were greatly affected and hardly a drye eye in ye whole meeting." Mr. Cozens-Hardy tells his story with an easy simplicity which hides its skill, and makes his pamphlet all too brief. A charming photogravure is added of the old Guestwick Communion Plate.

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Our readers may have seen in the religious papers the announcement that, by the kindness of Mrs. Turner, the papers of the late Professor G. Lyon Turner, including valuable transcripts from records and registries relating to the religious life of London and a number of English and Welsh shires, during the Commonwealth and the Restoration, have been deposited at Dr. Williams's Library. Students of Nonconformity will be grateful to Mrs. Lyon Turner for making this valuable material easily accessible.

WILLIAM PIERCE.

## An Elizabethan Episcopal Register

IT is related of one of the most magnificent of English deans that having on the occasion of a great ecclesiastical gathering proceeded up the nave of his abbey church with an archbishop on either side, himself in the midst, he spoke subsequently of venturing as a presbyter to address the Fathers of the Church of God. Remembering the declaration of the Congregational Union at Hull in 1889, that your pastors are bishops, a simple presbyter who belongs to the ranks of what authority as well ecclesiastical as civil has frequently called "the inferior clergy" might hesitate in addressing your right reverend paternities, to use the designation which a mediæval clerk would have adopted as usual in such a case. I would prefer rather to speak to your Historical Society as a brother student of history, a field in which the humblest may have something to contribute when once he has learnt to use a spade, if only he have eyes to see what he has turned up, and laying aside prejudice, or at least allowing weight to his consciousness of its existence within him and around him, will endeavour to be a faithful reporter of what he has seen and to understand and correlate the results of his exploration.

It has seemed to me that it might perhaps be interesting to others as well as to myself if I were to try to describe some features of ecclesiastical records of the latter part of the sixteenth century. It may be a dangerous temerity to choose a period which has been the subject of far wider study in regard to printed sources than I have ever been able to give, and of embittered controversy for which I have the strongest natural distaste. Controversy has often led to investigation, and investigation has often produced results of permanent value as materials for forming a judgment; but judgment is, and will remain, one-sided, unless we have the grace to invite the co-operation of that Christian charity which the entrance of controversy usually succeeds in frightening from the room. It is not enough that we should judge the sixteenth century by the standards of the twentieth or of the first; we must, if our estimate is to be just, endeavour, even if the effort be great, to see things as the men of the sixteenth century saw them, and from more than one side. Few of us would claim to understand our own age, and, though distance may lend enchantment to the view and a certain detachment is necessary for impartiality, there are far greater disadvantages than we always remember in being separated by some centuries from a period which we are studying. I propose

to speak chiefly of official and for the most part unprinted records of the primacy of John Whitgift, Archbishop of Canterbury (1583-1604), for three reasons apart from limitation of time. In the first place most of the printed material available is already known to you in Dr. H. M. Dexter's extraordinarily valuable book "The Congregationalism of the Last Three Hundred Years as Seen in its Literature," (1) and in subsequent studies by others in the forty years which have elapsed since the publication of his volume in 1880. Secondly, because it seems unlikely that Whitgift's papers and records as a whole will ever be published—at least in the lifetime of any of us here—for the three great volumes of the Register alone contain 1,133 folios, or more than 2,250 pages of between forty and fifty lines to the page. And thirdly, because I would fain hope that what I say may suggest to some of you a field in which something may be gleaned, even where Strype has reaped, and that judging of the possibilities of other registers and papers from what is said of one section, students may be induced to give more attention than they do to the great series both of Registers and Chartæ Miscellanæ deposited in the Muniment Room at Lambeth, and placed gladly and freely by the Archbishop at the disposal of all qualified students in Lambeth Library for the purpose of historical research.

There is one general characteristic of the Registers at Lambeth which is well known and yet is not sufficiently appreciated. They are provincial and not merely diocesan. The record of the actual consecration of a bishop will occupy perhaps nine to twenty-three lines in each case: the recital of the forms by which secular and ecclesiastical lawyers have sought to secure that all things shall be done decently and in order may fill in the sixteenth century a dozen pages. In the vacancy of the see the whole of the ordinary administration of the diocese will devolve upon the Archbishop as metropolitan or upon persons delegated by him. The records of that administration equally in Surrey, or in the remotest parts of Pembrokeshire or Cornwall will normally, therefore, be found entered in the Provincial Register. Whether or not it will yield matter of interest for the student of the religious life of the country may seem to be a matter of chance, and sometimes the search may be as tedious as the turning over of Assize rolls in the Public Record Office; but one may be allowed to bear witness that in neither case has it always gone unrewarded.

There will also not infrequently be commissions to enquire into the state of dioceses or cathedrals during the vacancy of a see, and articles of enquiry during a metropolitan visitation, of which the character may be judged from the great collection edited

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(1) London: Hodder & Stoughton [1880].

by Dr. Frere for the Alumni Club. More interesting still sometimes will be the letters of the Archbishop to the Bishops bidding them make enquiry and to make return of the clergy in their dioceses, with note of their intellectual attainments and spiritual abilities that he "may be the better furnished to govern." (2) The consequent returns have been bound up in many cases in the enormous volumes of *Chartæ Miscellanæ*, and it is permissible to urge that they deserve to be studied side by side with Dr. Peel's admirable edition of "The Seconde Parte of a Register," (3) to which I have found myself turning again and again and never without instruction and interest. In one case, as many know from Strype, the Register itself contains the Archbishop's "Orders for the better increase of learninge in the inferior Ministers and for more diligent preachinge and Catechisinge" in 1587. (4).

"Everie minister havinge cure and beinge under the degrees of mr of arte and Bach. [fol. 131b] of Lawe and not licensed to be a publique preacher shall before the second daye of februarie next provide a bible and Bullingers decades in latin or Englishe and a paper booke and shall everie daye reade over one chaptre of the holie scriptures and note ye Principall contentes thereof breiffie in his paper booke and shall everie weeke read over one Sermon in the said Decades and note likewise the cheife matters therein conteyned in the said paper and shall once in everie quarter (viz. within a fortnight before or after the ende of the quarter) shewe his said note to somme preacher nere adioyninge to be assigned for that purpose.

"Then the Bushope Archdeacon or other Ordinarie beinge a publique preacher shall appoint certain grave and learned preachers who shall privatlie examine the diligence and vewe the notes of the said ministers assigninge sixe or seaven ministers as occasion shall require, to everie such preacher that shalbe next adioyninge to him so as the ministers be not driven to travill for the exhibitinge of their notes above six or seaven miles (if it may be)."

Certificates of performance are to be sent to the Archdeacon or to the Bishop himself and equal care is taken as to diligence in catechizing and ability to perform it.

It may be said, and no doubt with truth, that it is one thing to make regulations and another to secure obedience to them, and so Whitgift and also some of the bishops themselves found. But what it is fair to remember is that the returns shew a genuine frankness in stating the true position so far as it could be ascertained. We may take examples of favourable as well as of unfavourable returns, especially as it is not always remembered that fairness demands this. Thus Alexander Nowell *status* married *ordo* minister *gradus* M.A. *qualitas* "gravis, prudens et sobrius" *eruditio* a man learned in every kind of letters, rector of

(2) Reg. Whitgift, i. 90b.

(3) Cambridge University Press, 1915.

(4) Reg. Whitgift, i. 131ab.



Hadham Magna and Dean of St. Paul's; and Robert Key, B.A., Vicar of Ware, "gravis et sobrius," and laudably versed in things sacred and human(5), are to be found followed by others of less learning and some of none, a real effort being made so far as one can judge to appraise them fairly. This illustration is in a record probably to be dated in 1576, and, therefore, strictly outside the period with which we are dealing. Another, which may belong to Grindal's time, relates to the Archdeaconry of Leicester: Baldwin Dereham, parson of Goodby, is "understanding in the Latin tonge but lackinge iudgmt in the Scriptures"; John Bringhurst, parson of Waltham, is one "knowing the Latine tonge indifferently and reasonably entred in the knowledge of the Scriptures"; Richard Woodward, Vicar of Peatling Magna, ordered by B. Bonner, is "mere ignorant in the Scriptures and Latine tonge"; Robert Hampton, vicar of Shakerston, is "reasonably well learned in the Latine tonge and in the Scriptures an hable man and teacher in his owne charge"; while the next man, the parson of Newbold, is "resident," but also "mere ignorant."(6) Take one undoubtedly of Whitgift's time—a return from the diocese of Oxford—important as giving not only dates of ordination, etc., as well as character, but other details. If John Oliver, curate of Chalgrove, is "weake in learning" and the parson of Sendcombe is "sufficient in learning, but scandalouse in behaviour," there are many others who are "sufficient" and a few who are "tollerable." The official did not award high classes, and his return ends with a significant note: "The last Bushope of Oxon did order none to our knowledge. Nether was their anie deprived for insufficiency in his tyme or since."(7)

There is a general insistence upon the things which matter most, such as diligence in study of the Scriptures and in the performance of duty, as great as any Puritan would have desired. Nor can anyone who reads Whitgift's repeated censures of the abuses of excommunication and the grounds upon which it was inflicted, fail to recognize that he was as keenly aware of the tyranny and vexatious exactions of minor legal officials as he found them difficult to control. And the same may be said of the abuses connected with the commutation of penances for money payments.

It is no part of the purpose of this lecture to serve as an apology, nor even to enquire how far Whitgift's position was representative of the mind of the Church of England then or now. But it may be of interest, as an indication of what may be found in a Register to refer to the case of certain Ministers of Sussex in 1583, reproduced, though not quite accurately, in Strype. (8) It is unnecessary to

(5) MSS. Lamb. *Chart. Misc.* xii. No. 1.

(6) *Chart. Misc.* xii. No. 4.

(7) *Ibid.* No. 3.

(8) *The Life and Acts of . . . John Whitgift, D.D.* (London, 1718), pp. 129, 30.

labour the fact that the age of Elizabeth was an age of insistence upon the requirement of uniformity in public worship, so far as it might be had. We live in a generation which does not love uniformity, and especially an uniformity imposed by authority. The English clergyman of Whitgift's time who read his *Decades* as he was bidden, in English, would have learnt that they "are very fools and godless people, or, to use a more gentle term, they are shuttle-witted, and ignorant of all good things, whose stomachs do rise at the ceremonies that God hath taught, and whose ears are offended to hear a sober and godly treatise upon the exposition of those divine ceremonies." (9) And this sentiment may well have appeared worthy of careful note in the paper book in which he entered the fruits of his reading for inspection by authority. But there were some who doubted what ceremonies might mean, especially when there was required of them subscription to the "boocke of Commond prayer set fourth and allowed by the lawes and statutes of this Realme." (10) In December, 1583, eight of the Sussex ministers—William Hopkins, vicar of Salehurst, Samuell Norden, parson of Hamsey, Anthoney Hobson, vicar of Leemister, Thomas Underdowne, parson of St. Maries in Lewes, John German, vicar of Burfeham, Richard Wheataker, vicar of Ambreley, John Bingham, Preacher of Hodeleigh, and Thomas Helye, Preacher of Warbleton, appeared before Archbishop Whitgift, the Bishops of London, Sarum and Rochester, and Gabriell Goodman, dean of Westminster, and being required to subscribe.

"Alleged that there were certeyne Rubrickes in the said booke wherin ther was conteyned some ambiguity or doubtte which moved them to enquire of the said most reverend father and the rest affore-named the interpretation of the said Rubrickes, which being made and geiven accordingly the said most Reverend and the rest declared and signified unto them that (touching the Rubrickes w<sup>ch</sup> they thought doubtfull and named unto the said reverend fathers) their subscription was not required to anie other sence then such as was not against the word of god and agreeable to the substance of Religion now professed in this Church of England and by law established and according to the analogie of faith. And that ther subscription is most (*sic*, for 'not') to be extended to anie thing not expressed in the said boocke. And hereuppon they did voluntarily subscribe."

To this is appended the objections that they raised and the explanations given to them.

"The Rubrickes in the former Acte specified and w<sup>ch</sup> they named unto us and made ther doubties of was that in the latter ende of the preface set before the Catechisme in the Communion boocke in these

(9) *The Decades of Henry Bullinger*, "Parker Society" (Cambridge University Press, 1850) iii. v. 129.

(10) Reg. Whitgift, i. 349.

woordes And that noe man shall thincke that anie detriment shall Come to childerne by deferringe of ther Confirmation he shall knowe for trewth that yt is certeyne by godes worde that Childerne beinge baptised have all thinges necessarie for there salvacion and be undoubtedlie saved. Upon w<sup>ch</sup> wordes they moved this doubt whether by these woordes the boocke confirmed this opinion that the sacrament of Baptisme did of ytself Conferre grace Tam quam ex opere operato that is, that whosoever is baptised must of necessity be saved ex opere operato, though otherwise an hipocrit or Infidell. Whereunto yt was answered. That the boocke had noe such meaninge, and that by these wordes yt onely diswaded from the opinion w<sup>ch</sup> the papistes had of there Confirmation Called bussopping w<sup>ch</sup> they beleve to be necessary to salvacion. And therefore they make Confirmation a sacrament and bring there childerne therevnto beinge Infantes, whereas this Church of England hath noe such opinion thereof but doth use yt to this ende specially that Childerne may knowe what there godfathers promysed for them in there baptisme and also learne to performe the same and likewise that it may be knowne whether the godfathers have performed ther promyse in seeinge these Childerne instructed as the boocke requireth. And therefore that Rubricke to contayne nothings in yt contrarie to goddes word to the substaunce of Religion nowe professed in this Church of England and by lawe established or to the Analogy of faith w<sup>th</sup> w<sup>ch</sup> answeere they were satisfied.

“ The second doubtte was of this Rubricke in the forme of baptisme. Then the prieste shall make a crosse upon the chilles forehead sayinge: whether thereby the crossinge of the child were made an addition to the sacrament as a parte thereof And as though baptisme were unperfect without yt. Whereunto it was answered that the boocke had noe such meaninge And that the crossinge of the child was only a ceremony significant and a profitable circumstance according to the wordes expressed in the booke w<sup>th</sup> w<sup>ch</sup> answeere they were also contented

“ The third doubtte was of these wordes in the boocke of orderinge Deacons and preistes etc Receive the holy Ghoste and whether therby it was meant that the bushopp had authority to geeve the holy ghoste I[t] was answered that the bushopp did not thereby luke (*sic*) upon him to geeve the holy ghoste but only instrumentaliter even as the minister geiveth baptisme when he saith I baptise the in the name of the father etc whereby he doth not take upon him to be the author or geiver of baptism, but the minister thereof only as John the baptist did, for Christ only is the geiver of the holy ghoste and of baptisme, John and others are the ministers of the sacrament and of the Ceremony.

“ The wordes are Christes wordes used in the admittingte of the Appostelles to the ministrye and therefore used by us in the like accion to signify that god by our ministrye and imposition of hands as by his Instrumentes doth geve his holy spirite to all such as are rightlie called to the ministrye. W<sup>th</sup> w<sup>ch</sup> answeere they were likewise satisfied.

“ The last doubtte was of baptysing by woemen Whereunto yt was answered that the boocke did not name woemen when it spake of private baptisme. And that there subscription was not required

to anie thing that was not expressed in the booke: upon these answers geiven unto them by us they did voluntarily and without anie protestacion at all subscribe to the three articles set downe for all Preachers and ministers to subscribe unto."

We are not here concerned with this as a statement of doctrine but as an illustration of what a Register may contain and beside it may be set a long letter (11) eight years later, in which the Archbishop expresses his deep sorrow that "the Bishoppes of my Province of Canterburye doe so generallie begin to neglect to confirme," a letter which contains some striking passages about the training of the "yowth (beinge as it were the frie and seminarie of the Churche" in their "Duetie to God, to their prince, their countrie and their neighbours." And it may be noted in passing that in the register of Archbishop Abbot, in the following century, there will be found many things connected with theological teaching to which attention has seldom, if ever, been called. Some of them would seem to reflect the meditations of King James I. and VI. upon that curious passion for metaphysics and preternatural skill in dividing the Word which as all Southerners know is best nurtured and developed north of the Tweed.

But we are not all theologians, though most of us may be preachers, and there were other topics upon which Whitgift deemed it desirable that the clergy should instruct their flocks. The letter which I am about to quote (12) is equally characteristic of the sixteenth century. It is written in August, 1596.

"Upon advertisement out of all partes of the Realme of the dearth of all manner of grayne, and that in most partes of the Realme the pryces thereof are excessively risen: her ma<sup>tie</sup> consideringe howe the same is inhaused especiallie w<sup>thin</sup> theis two or three monethes doth impute the fault thereof as well to the covetous dispocicion of the farmers and engrossers of corne that seeke all excessive and ungodlye lucre by hordinge upp of corne and makinge more scarcytie then there is, and in some part of the neglect of the execution of such good orders as have been devised for the due servinge of the marketts and avoidinge those abuses that are practized by covetous persons . . . hath published a proclamacion . . . Howbeit forasmuch as this covetouse humor doth grow chieffie by want of that Christian charitie w<sup>ch</sup> men ought to have, And for that alsoe of all other kynde of lucre, that is most ungodlie, that is gotten by pinching and starvinge of the poore people. It is most fitt and necessarie that the preachers should generallie in their sermons admonishe the ffarmers and owners of Corne of this dishonest and unchristian kynde of seekinge gaine by oppression of their poore neighbourss and recommend to the richer sorte keepinge of Hospitality for the relief of the poore. And likewise that howsekeepers beinge of welth would be content in their owne dyet to avoyde excesse and to use fewer dishes of meate in this tyme of

(11) Reg. Whitgift, i. 181.

(12) Reg. Whitgift, ii. 145b.

dearth And to forbear to have suppers in their howses on wendesdaies frydaies and fastinge daies whereby much might be spared that would be better bestowed a great deale on the reliefe of the poore. And in like manner to admonishe gentlemen and others of meaner sorte that keepe kennelles of howndes that they should better to forbear the keepinge of dogges in theis tymes of dearth and to convert that they spend superfluously that waye to the reliefe of the poorer sorte, And in noe case to forgett to reprove that untollerable excesse of eatinge and drinckinge that is commonly used in Alehowses and other like places of common resort. Theis and other such like exhortacions I earnestlye praye and requier yo<sup>r</sup> Lo: in her ma<sup>ties</sup> name to recommend to the preachers and ministers of your dioces to be used with all earnestness and discretion."

Those clergy who do not reside are to be ordered to do so to give example of hospitality, an injunction with which one many imagine that many of them would find it easier to comply than to deal in their exhortations with earnestness coupled with due discretion with the rich farmers or sport-loving squires or yeomen of their parishes.

At the end of December, 1596, Whitgift issued urgent letters (13) to the bishops of his province in favour of enforcing abstinence by all manner of persuasion. The famine and scarcity are treated as God's judgment upon "our excesse and ryott in dyett and the wastfull consuminge of his good creatures" and every effort is to be made to secure the observance of Wednesdays and Fridays both by services for prayer and by abstention entirely from flesh meat. The Queen has done her part by causing "great store of graine to be provided from forreine partes freelye without payinge anie custome," (14) her subjects must do theirs. Householders are required "not for sparinge to discharge anie of their houshold to shifte for themselves, on days appointed for fasting days noe suppers att all are to be provided or taken by anie." The clergy are to be exhorted to set a good example and to recommend the observance of the injunctions.

"And alsoe doe from tyme to tyme in their sermons and exhortacions earnestlye and pythelie exhorte and stirr upp everie of them to fervent prayer both publique and private, to abstinencye fastinge true humiliation to forbear all excesse to relieve the poore and needie by good housekeepinge, by settinge them one worke and by other deedes of Almes and brotherlie compassion . . . the people must be duellie taught to endure this scarsitie with patience and especiallie to beware howe they give eare to anie persuasions or practizes of discontent[ent]ed and idle braines to move them to repine or swarue from the humble[r]e duties of good subiectes to the further offence of God and discontentinge of her Maiestie." Certificates both of disobedient

(13) Reg. Whitgift, ii. 149.

(14) See the very numerous directions for the regulation of the corn trade in *Acts of the Privy Council*, N.S. vols. xxv., xxvi., 1595-6, 1596-7 (Stationery Office, 1901, 2).

delinquents and of the well disposed are to be transmitted monthly to each diocesan bishop. Special care is to be taken against "callinge or sufferinge persons of other parishes to assemble themselves as some heretofore offensivelie of their owne headds have attempted under coloure of generall fastes."

It is an utterance curiously characteristic of the Elizabethan era, and from another side we can see tendencies developing which converged in the same direction of prescription of modes of assembling for worship and otherwise by a style of regulation which we may call "grandmotherly" or inimical to freedom, but which was conceived of as necessary to national well-being. There are many references in the Register to the dark designs of the Pope and of the King of Spain, to the danger of foreign invasion and the requirement of arms and equipment, from the clergy as from others, in order to repel it. It is not a question of trying to justify the official efforts to enforce uniformity in all directions, but of an effort to understand the causes from which it proceeded. To scruple at taking the oath of supremacy, even though it were a scruple based on the question of lawfulness of taking any oath at all, to scruple at attendance at the parish church, to shew an undue fondness for debating points of divinity, to display a predilection for private assemblies where no one knew what might happen and still less what might be said—these things were possible symptoms of disloyalty, or at least of disaffection, and a disregard of her Majesty's "princelie care and gracious tender affection." And it is, one may be justified in thinking, doing no dishonour to the men and women who felt bound for conscience' sake to resist, if we try to understand a little better the point of view of those who stood in their eyes for an illegitimate attempt to fetter liberty of conscience, and could not appreciate a loyalty which did not express itself in the acceptance of what Authority saw fit to enjoin. And there is one other feature in the regulations of the period to which it is necessary to direct attention: they were at any rate in intention, and generally in fact, to be applied without respect of persons. A very noteworthy instance of this is to be seen in regard to the prohibition of clandestine marriages which a vigorous effort was made to abolish, for the regulations were put into force not merely against ordinary folk, but against even the Lord Keeper himself, who had broken the law in respect of the marriage of his daughter "in privatis edibus vulgariter vocatis Russell house infra vel iuxta le Strond in com. Middlesex." (15)

There are many other features in the Register to which it would be interesting to call attention if time allowed. The briefs for the collections for captives of the Turks in Argier (16), where often the

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(15) *Reg. Whitgift*, iii. 120.

(16) *Ibid.*, i. 108, 118b, 119; ii. 146.

names of the sufferers are given, for the inhabitants of Pensance "spoyled and brent by a sodaine incursion of the enymie" (17) in 1595, or for the sufferers in the great fire at Namptwich in 1583 (18) or Tiverton in 1598, (19) the licences or revocation of licences for schoolmasters, all yield something for the student of local history. The same may be said of the account of the proceedings against certain persons at Wye and at Faversham for contempt of the Book of Common Prayer. (20) And curious and illuminating as are the licences to practice medicine and surgery in their indication of what our forefathers suffered, they are probably not less important in their accounts of the persons to whom the licences were given. The licence was granted to those who had proved their skill before receiving it, and usually in desperate or nearly desperate cases. (21) They are of great variety, ranging from a general licence to a restricted one for the cure of persons suffering from melancholia or frenzy, (22) or of others who suffered from diseases of the limbs, from spasm and diseases of the eyes, called in English "the gowte," or from "crampe and sore eyes," (23) a condition of licence being willingness to take an oath to recognize the royal supremacy. And the last volume of the Register contains some pages of very human and enduring interest. On one page there is the form of prayer for the great Queen in her last illness, and below it the style ordered in bidding prayer for King James and his family. (24) Here, too, are contained the letters of King James, in 1604, for the new translation of the Bible (25) inserted in this volume, though not issued until after Whitgift's death. The object of the letters is the provision for the expenses of maintenance of the translators, which Bancroft, the P'shop of London, explains that "his ma<sup>tie</sup> was verie ready of his most princely disposicion to have borne; But some of my LL. as thinges nowe goe did holde it inconveniente." (26) His Majesty himself with the greater caution says: "And yet we of ourselfe in any convenient tyme cannot well remedy it," and so the duty is passed on to bishops and deans and chapters, and "anie of the Laitie when we shall in tyme move them to so good and religious an acte . . . that so our said intended Translacion may have the helpe and furtherance of all our principal learned men within this our Kingedome." (27)

(17) *Ibid.*, ii. 139.(18) *Ibid.*, i. 93.(19) *Ibid.*, iii. 99b.(20) *Ibid.*, i. 184, 185b, 197.(21) *Ibid.*, i. 90.(22) *Reg. Whitgift*, iii. 122.(23) *Ibid.*, iii. 110.(24) *Ibid.*, iii. 148b.(25) *Ibid.*, iii. 155b.(26) *Ibid.*, iii. 156.(27) *Ibid.*, iii. 155b.

And above it is the record of the breaking with an iron hammer of the Archbishop's seal in a certain room called "le Waytinge Chamber," in the house of the late most reverend father John Whitegifte, Archbishop of Canterbury, within the manor of Lambeth in the County of Surrey. Whitgift was dead, a great chapter in English history was closed, and we may do well to remember in regard to a man of whom English Protestants have found it hard to think kindly that among the last of his official acts here registered is a letter transmitting to his clergy a royal brief for the relief of the City of Geneva, and commending it to them "the intente and purpose beinge so charitable and christian and for releife of a Cittie which meinteines the Gospell, and for professinge thereof endureth these troubles."(28) It is, as I have said, not in the spirit of an apologist that I have desired to speak to you of the founder of the great library at Lambeth, for it is to Whitgift as well as to Bancroft that the title belongs, but rather to shew something, however imperfectly, of the interest of the official record of his acts. The evil that men do lives after them. The good is oft interred with their bones: Let us try to recall in a different age and in different circumstances something of a larger charity in the labours and plans which filled his dying thoughts *pro ecclesia Dei*.

CLAUDE JENKINS.

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(28) *Ibid.*, iii. 152.



## The Early Independents and the Visible Church

(Continued from p. 266)

IT was quite an usual thing for these Separatists to quote, in support of their opinions, the very passages of Scripture which are, or have been in our own day, appealed to by High-Church Anglicans—for instance, the story of Korah, Dathan and Abiram (29) and the mistranslation of “ John x., 16 ”—“ There shall be one FOLD and one Shepherd ” (30). Again, Barrowe, like a modern High-Churchman, incurred the reproach of “ popishly abusing ” “ John VI. 53 ” by expounding it as having some connection with the sacrament of the Lord’s Supper. And in defending himself against this accusation, he thus explained his position (31).

“ Though I acknowledge that many thousands that never attained the symbol of the supper yet do feed of that body and blood of Christ by faith unto eternal life ; yet this I say that such as by censure are put back from the Table of the Lord are cut from the communion of Christ and His Church and so from life : for if he have not communion with Christ and His Church he can have no life. . . . They that pluck away the seal cancel the deed. . . . Therefore they (as far as man can do) cut him from Christ and His covenant.”

We find an equally startling resemblance between “ rigid ” Separatists and High-Church Anglicans of our own day when we inquire into the attitude of the former towards the worship, ritual and organization of the Church. The Separatist petition of 1603—which was evidently drawn up either by the moderate party or by persons sufficiently worldly-wise to refrain from prejudicing their cause with the King by obtruding extremist opinions—contains only one slight trace of this zeal over matters of detail, in the request already mentioned that the officers of the Church shall be those “ appointed by Christ in His last will and testament ”—*i. e.*, pastor, teacher, elders, deacons and deaconesses, whose credentials the Separatists believed that they found in the first epistle to Timothy. (32) Concerning the worship and ritual of the Church the Separatist petition has less to say than the

(29) Barrowe’s “ Plain Refutation.”

(30) See, for instance, Smyth’s “ Parallels ” (Works, pp. 353 and 361-2).

(31) “ Brief Discovery of the False Church.”

(32) See, for instance, Smyth’s “ Principles and Inferences ” (Works, p. 259).

"Millenary" Petition. For, whereas the latter enumerates a list of specific grievances concerning the established worship and ritual, the former, neglecting matters of detail, sets forward primarily great general principles—for instance, making a revolutionary protest against the formalism of liturgical worship. It is only when we study the writings and the actions of "rigid Separatists" like the uncompromising Smyth that we are reminded, in the oddest and most paradoxical way, of certain Anglican or Roman Catholic "ritualists." "This true and visible Church is called Christ, I. Cor. 12, 12," declared Smyth. (33) "Whosoever taketh upon him . . . to appoint new officers, laws, ministry, worship and communion in the church is Antichrist, I. John 4, 3. 2 Thes. 2. 4. Revel. 13-16, 17." And during a brief period of extreme fanaticism (described by himself in his "Last Book" (34) as "the days of my blind zeal") he broke with his fellow-Separatists, attacking them (in his "Differences of the Churches of the Separation") largely because they recognized (as he himself had formerly done) the threefold eldership of pastor, teacher and "ruling elders" in the place of the uniform eldership of a number of equal pastors (which by 1608 he had come to accept as the Scriptural plan) and because they consulted their Bibles during sermon-time, contrary to the practice of the primitive Church and in a fashion which he held to be incompatible with the "spiritual worship" of the New Testament. Throughout the writings of Barrowe and other rigid Separatists the curious plea is constantly reiterated that GOD could not be less careful "for the structure, forms, orders and ordinances" of the Christian Church than He was for those of the Jewish Tabernacle and Temple. (35)

The early Independents devoted a vast amount of pious ingenuity to the task of piecing together from various passages of Scripture a pattern of the Christian Church and of its worship, concerning which Barrowe declared (36) that it was "Christ's last will and testament, whereunto nothing may be added, nothing diminished, nothing altered or changed, violate or wilfully neglected, without most heinous transgression, sacrilege and impiety. . . . Neither hath any angel in heaven, any mortal man, no, not the whole Church,

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(33) "Principles and Inferences" (Works, p. 268).

(34) "The Last Book of John Smyth, Called the Retraction of His Errors and the Confirmation of the Truth"—a most touching and beautiful little tract (published after his death and re-published in Barclay's "Inner Life of the Religious Societies of the Commonwealth," as well as in "The Works of John Smyth") in which he confessed the sins that he had committed, during the period of his controversial activity, against "the rules of love and charity, which is the superior law."

(35) "Brief Discovery of the False Church" (see Powicke, p. 95). The Presbyterian Cartwright had made the same curious point. See p. 132 of Dexter's "England and Holland of the Pilgrims."

(36) "Brief Discovery of the False Church."

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power or prerogative to alter or neglect the least jot or tittle thereof," adding : " For as there is but one truth, so whatsoever is diverse more or less than that truth is faulty and to be repented." But in order to see this ultra- " High-Church " intolerance in its extremest form we must study the writings of Thomas Helwys (Smyth's co-adjutor and pastor of " the first Baptist Church ") who taught (37) not only that every man who had ever borne the office, name or power of a bishop and died without repenting of this error had perished, but also that his own fellow-sufferers for the cause of " the Separation " would be eternally lost if they remained obstinate in defending infant baptism. He insisted that the " simple-hearted . . . being led by their teachers, if they justify ANY ONE error or false way and condemn ANY ONE truth " will share in their leader's condemnation. According to him, everyone was in imminent, awful peril of damnation who had in any one particular deviated from the Apostolic pattern of the true Church, " the exact rule of the law of Christ Jesus distinctly and most perfectly set down in the New Testament which he hath purchased and sealed unto us with his blood, to stand for a law of election and ordination " (*i.e.*, of the ministers of the Church) " for ever : unto which whosoever addeth or taketh away either by word or action, by doctrine or example, the Lord will add unto them all His judgments and take away all His mercies."

This exclusive loyalty to the Bible as the sole authority in matters of Christian faith and practice is one of the most striking differences between " High-Church " Separatism and High-Church Anglicanism of our day. It suggested, and was bound up with, all the other differences—the absence of a sacerdotal or clerical order, the decision of vital questions by the brotherhood, the bare simplicity of worship. " I took the whole word of GOD to be the foundation and faith of Christ's Church and servants," declared Barrowe (38), " and that this whole faith of the Church ought not to be called upon, limited or restrained unto a few articles only." " The King's people," Helwys complained to James I., " must not understand the Word but as the Lord Bishops will have it understood, and they must not pray nor administer the holy things but as they appoint. . . ." " This hierarchy of Archbishops and Lord Bishops doth nothing differ from the first Beast : for the first Beast keeps both the word and the spirit from the people ; and they keep the spirit of GOD in bondage and then is the word of GOD of no effect, debarring the people of GOD thereof, tying them to their spirits in the understanding of the Scriptures."

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(37) All the quotations from Helwys in this article are taken from his " Short Declaration of the Mystery of Iniquity," a brief tract which may be seen in the Bodleian Library. The italics are mine.

(38) " Few Observations of Mr. Giffard's Last Reply."

Smyth protested (39) that the assemblies of England " (*i.e.*, the Church of England) " do neither themselves profess the true faith of Christ contained in the New Testament, their faith being stunted and limited under certain devised articles and convocation house synodical decrees or constitutions . . . neither therefore do they baptize into the New Testament of Christ indefinitely and simply, but respectively and definitely into that faith and doctrine which is taught in their stunted book of articles."

But if the faith and practice of the Church was not to be " stunted and limited " by decrees of synods, by what means was the teaching of the New Testament to be applied to those problems of the Christian life which the Church has to face and resolve? The Separatists would have replied to that question by a quotation from the famous passage on which their Church polity was based." (40)

" Where two or three are gathered together in My Name there am I in the midst of them." " Here is the controversy," Smyth explained (41), " here is the state of the question " (between Separatists and Catholics) " whether the holy things with Christ be given originally to the body of the Church, to the faithful ; or whether the holy things with Christ be given to the ministry originally and that the Church hath all from the ministry : and that is the point of succession " (*i.e.*, of Apostolic Succession). Throughout his " Parallels "—a voluminous treatise written in exposition and defence of the Separatist faith as taught by Barrowe—he contended with the utmost earnestness and with a wealth of argument and illustration that " the power of binding and loosing "—*i.e.*, the power to decide questions of conscience arising in the Church, to censure and excommunicate or to acquit alleged offenders against the Christian law—is vested in " the whole multitude of the faithful " and in thus insisting he was only claiming what Barrowe and the Petition of 1603 had claimed before him.

But this power of binding and loosing was a law-interpreting and law-enforcing, not a law-making, power. " It is not the men but the word of GOD which bindeth and looseth," Greenwood explained to an objector. (42) The decision of difficult questions

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(39) " Parallels " (Works, p. 466).

(40) Matt. xviii., 15-20. See, for instance, Barrowe's " Brief Discovery " (*e.g.* p. 166) and his " True Description of the Visible Church," Smyth's " Principles and Inferences " (a pamphlet reprinted in Vol. I. of his Works), and his " Parallels " (*e.g.* pp. 433-4 of Works).

(41) " Parallels " (Works, p. 529).

(42) The words were uttered in answer to an objector who asked whether the Church might excommunicate the Queen, to which awkward question Greenwood very tactfully replied :—" I doubt not but Her Majesty would be ruled by the Word : for it is not the men," etc.

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by counting heads Barrowe pronounced to be "unheard of and insufferable" (43) in the Church of Christ. "There all from the highest to the lowest in all actions enquire the will of GOD, which being known they all then walk by the same rule and with one consent do the will of GOD accordingly. There is no division in that body." Smyth explained (44) that "if the matter be not evident but doubtful and controversial, communion still must be preserved peaceably, notwithstanding diversity of judgment, till the truth be discovered . . . during which time all men must carefully search out the truth and labour for information." In cases where unanimity could not be attained, or where different congregations came to different conclusions, it was always possible for a number of Churches to take counsel together: this was the usual practice of the Congregationalist Churches of New England. (45) But no Congregationalist synod could force a Church to act against its own conviction. Independency stood—and stands to-day—not for any idea that each congregation is entitled to do "as it pleases" nor for the theory that truth is too complex to be apprehended in all its aspects by one any community, but simply for the great principle that reluctant, enforced obedience to a Divine command or unintelligent acquiescence in the doctrine of the New Testament is worthless in the sight of GOD—that, as Helwys put it, "they that obey the truth in love, whom the love of GOD constraineth, their obedience only shall be acceptable to GOD." Just as an individual defying the Church of which he was a member suffered no penalty save that of excommunication, so an individual Church defying the verdict of her sister-Churches could be subject to no other form of constraint than that of exclusion from their fellowship. (46) The subjects of Christ must be willing subjects: for not only had they to be "saints"; they were also to declare and administer the will of their Lord. Every soul, therefore, was in so far set free that it was not compelled, nay, was not suffered, to enter the true Church unless inwardly persuaded of its trueness: nor, having once entered the Church, might a man lawfully

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(43) "Plain Refutation."

(44) "Principles and Inferences" (Works, p. 265).

(45) See Dexter's "Congregationalism of the Last Three Hundred Years," and article on Congregationalism in *Encyclopedia Britannica*.

(46) For the Independent view of the power of synods see pp. 105 and 125-6 of Powicke's "Henry Barrow." See also Smyth's "Principles and Inferences" (Works, p. 267). "Every true visible Church is of equal power with all other visible Churches . . . and hath power to reform all abuses within itself, which power is spiritual, as is Christ's Kingdom, not worldly, bodily or carnal." For the Independent view of excommunication, see the previous page of "Principles":—"The end of excommunication is not the destruction of the offender but the mortification of his sin and the salvation of his soul. The party excommunicate is not to be counted as an enemy, but to be admonished as a brother."

submit to its authority (47) if he believed that that authority was not being exercised in accordance with the will of Christ, as declared in the New Testament. (48) That is to say:—the earliest Independents believed devoutly, often indeed fanatically, that the one and only sure method of salvation was set forth in great detail in the Bible: but they also held that every man must discover this method for himself and yield a conscientious, intelligent obedience to the Church—*i.e.*, the brotherhood.

The Church as conceived by the Independents was the monarchy of Christ the King, acting not through a code of law or a governing class, but in every instance directly and immediately through the agency of His convinced and willing people (49)—a “demos” which knew no division and which refused all blind submission either to its own officers or to any outside body. “We hold all true believers ecclesiastical,” declared Barrowe (50): and he protested against the terms “clergy” and “laity” as “popish.” (51) Amongst these earliest Independents a pastor, once chosen, approved and instituted to his sacred office, was bound to his flock by a bond which, save in the case of some fault or disability of the first magnitude on his side, was almost unbreakable. (52) It was his duty to be the guide and teacher of his people and to preside at every act of the Church: it was his right to be treated

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(47) See, for instance, Smyth's “Parallels” (Works, p. 539):—“The true constitution” (of the Church) “must be taught, and men must be brought to the faith, before the Church can be constituted.”

(48) See, for instance, Barrowe's “Brief Discovery”—“The least member of the Church is not subject to the Church neither to follow it further than it followeth Christ.”

(49) This deep desire to maintain unceasing, direct contact with the Holy Spirit explains, and partly excuses, the fanaticism with which some of these early Independents inveighed against set forms of prayer and the prescription by authority of particular “lessons” from Scripture for each day of the year. See, for instance, the following passages from Barrowe's “Brief Discovery” “Is the Church of GOD still in wardship and such infancy? Shut up as under a garrison that it must have such tutors and rudiments? Is not Christ now dead, risen and ascended? And hath freed His Church from such tutelship? He Himself now becoming their lawgiver and minister in person and hath now given them His Holy Word and Spirit to administer wisdom unto them in all freedom to use the same His Word according to His Will and their own occasions unto His glory and their comforts”; and again:—“Shall we think that GOD hath at any time left these his servants so singly furnished and destitute of his grace that they cannot find according to their necessities and faith to express their wants and desires, but need to be taught line unto line, as children new weaned from the breasts, what and when to say, how much to say and when to make an end, to say this collect at the beginning, that at the end, that before, the tother after, this in the morning, that at afternoon.”

(50) Barrowe and Greenwood's “Collection of Certain Slanderous Articles.”

(51) See “Collection of Certain Slanderous Articles” and “Brief Discovery of the False Church.”

(52) See Smyth's “Principles and Inferences” (Works, pp. 256 and 264).

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with reverence, and, within the limits imposed by Holy Writ, to receive the willing and loving submission of his flock. But outside his own congregation he exercised no authority: while inside it he had no power to over-ride the Church if he could not convince it. To the Separatists the true Church, which had a right to speak in the name of Christ, was a company of humble believers united for the purpose of MUTUAL assistance in the duty of understanding and obeying their Lord's commands, MUTUAL loving correction and admonition; renouncing the pride and self-will which makes men of the world delight in the exercise of authority; ready to hear the voice of Christ in the rebuke of the lowliest "brother" who could convict either the Church as a whole or any individual member (were it the pastor himself) of transgressing His law as laid down in the New Testament. (53)

It was such a kingdom as this that Smyth had in mind when, in the course of his controversy with Richard Bernard (54) he insisted that, whatever "invisible" faith a man might have in his heart towards GOD, the only unmistakable *visible* sign of true faith and obedience consisted in humble submission to the kingly rule of Christ over His Visible Church. (55) "The sum of the

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(53) See Powicke's "Henry Barrow," particularly the chapter on "Barrowe's Doctrine of the Church," for an excellent account, illustrated by copious quotations from the Church Father's own writings, of the status of the ministry, and the share of the ordinary member in exercising the authority of the Church, amongst the Separatists.

(54) See his "Parallels, Censures, Observations," the bulk of which treatise consists of a letter which he wrote to Bernard in 1607 and of a defence of that letter point by point, which he published in 1609, in reply to Bernard's "Separatists' Schism" of 1608.

(55) See, for instance, a strongly worded sentence in his "Parallels" (Works, p. 561):—"Therein" (*i.e.* in the "government" of the Church of England) "can no good Christian join except it be lawful for a good Christian which is *or ought to be*" (*italics mine*) "a subject of Christ's Kingdom which is His Visible Church, to submit to the utter enemy of Christ and to his authority, which what is it else but to be a traitor against the Lord Jesus?" That clear conception of the distinction between "visible" and "invisible" Churchmanship which pervades his "Parallels" and "The Character of the Beast" (a treatise of 1609 against infant baptism) was expressed by Smyth as early as 1607 (in his "Principles and Inferences"), in the following explicit terms (Works, pp. 251-2):—"The Catholic Church is the company of the elect, and it is invisible. . . . It is one thing to be a saint, another thing to be of the visible communion of saints. . . . Invisible communion with Christ is by the spirit and faith. . . . Communion with the elect living is prayer proceeding from love, for them that are uncalled that they may be called, for them that are called that they may be confirmed. Communion with the elect angels is the help of their ministry, reverence of them and love unto them. A visible communion of saints is of two, three, or more saints joined together by covenant with GOD and themselves freely to use all the holy things of GOD, according to the word, for their mutual edification and GOD'S glory. This visible communion of saints is a visible Church. The visible Church is the only religious Society that GOD hath ordained for men on earth."

Gospel is this," so he pleaded with his opponent (56)—" that Jesus Christ the Son of GOD and the Son of Mary is the only King, Priest and Prophet of His Church, governing, sacrificing, making intercession, and prophesying after that holy manner and according to those rules which He hath prescribed in His Testament. Now to believe truly concerning the person of Christ and to believe falsely concerning His office, as you do, is not to believe the whole gospel but only a piece of it."

It was chiefly because the Puritan clergy acquiesced in, or at best did not totally dissociate themselves from, the bishops' attempt to suppress by force the holy societies of meek believers that Barrowe, from his gloomy dungeon, assailed them in such fiery invectives as the following (57) :—" The Christ these men preach is utterly without power to put anything of His own will in practice but is sold as a bondslave to these anti-Christian bishops and preachers"—*i.e.*, the Puritan preachers, (58)—His enemies. He cannot by virtue of His own word and authority redress anything, be it never so heinous, or enormous ; neither can He establish or bring in anything that is wanting, be it never so necessary and important, without humble suit and attendance unto the high court of Parliament or upon the high court of commission. If they reject His suit, though it be by thirty years together . . . yet must this poor Christ, with all His servants, even the whole Church, still surcease the practice of the Gospel and continue under these abominations, yea, if He anger His lords the bishops much, He shall be whipped with scorpions, with new rods, and this by the universal consent of all His learned preachers in the land."

The liberty which the first Independents preached was most certainly NOT based by them upon any theory that men have a natural right to worship GOD as they think fit—a doctrine of the later seventeenth century which would have amazed most sixteenth century Englishmen. Nor yet was it founded on faith in democracy, if democracy implies the right of an adult community to govern itself as it chooses. For the Independents of the first generation were quite as incapable as their compatriots of even conceiving such an idea : to them, as to practically every Englishman of their day, it came naturally to think and speak of " the Prince " as the ruler of the State. It was no RIGHT to liberty, no RIGHT to become a member of a self-governing body, that they preached, but the DUTY of refusing a blind obedience to man which hampered the soul's endeavour to learn and to do the will of Christ,

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(56) " Parallels " (Works, p. 471).

(57) " Brief Discovery."

(58) Rigid Separatists habitually styled " false " Churches " Anti Christ " (and their members " Antichristians")—no doubt partly because they usually persecuted the " true " Church.



the DUTY of living in subjection to the admonitions and censures of the saints. Resistance to man was the outcome of the humblest desire to submit to Christ : each soul in these Separatist churches was summoned to " stoop low within those bounds " that men of the world " o'erlooked."

But, alas, there were fanatics amongst the early Independents who displayed a perverse ingenuity in making the bounds as narrow as possible. A whole catalogue of manufactured sins might be drawn up out of Barrowe's writings. Paradoxically enough, most of these sins were against Christian liberty. (59)

Out of the fear of being brought into bondage to man Barrowe and some of his followers created a new kind of bondage. They so expounded and applied the doctrine of liberty as to debar the Church from regulating her public worship from time to time as she might think fit : while Smyth and Helwys were for ever tormenting themselves and their fellow-Separatists by their feverish eagerness in evolving new scruples (60). All this fanaticism, this " preposterous zeal "—as Smyth himself, in his wiser and later days saw it to be, (61) sprang from a strange kind of fetich-worship of that model of the Apostolic Church which the Scriptures were supposed to contain.

For, alike for good and for evil, the first Independents were above all things Churchmen, deeply and eagerly concerned about matters ecclesiastical, jealous in asserting that it was at once the right and duty of the Church to be governed by her own law and not by that of the State. On the other hand, the Conformist Puritans of the Elizabethan period were indifferent about the structure and government of the Church and even about Church fellowship, content to acquiesce in the rule of the " magistrate " over the Church so long as he abstained from interference with the preaching of the Gospel of individual salvation through individual repentance and faith : while Queen Elizabeth's bishops were for the most part extremely " Low-Church " in their readiness to accept whatever government and worship the civil power might

(59) For instance, while holding it lawful to take a voluntary " oath," Barrowe refused in his first examination before Archbishop Whitgift to take an oath imposed by authority (basing his refusal on " I. Cor. vi. 12 ") and persisted in this refusal even when it involved him in imprisonment without trial.

(60) See, for instance, Smyth's " Differences of the Churches of the Separation " (1608) and a piteous complaint by Henry Ainsworth Teacher in the principal Separatist Church in Amsterdam :—" He increaseth daily " (his differences) " with deadly fued and open opposition, as all men may see " (" Defence," 1609).

(61) His actual words (in his " Last Book ") were :—in the days of my blind " zeal and preposterous imitation of Christ—I was somewhat lavish in censuring and judging others."

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prescribe for the National Church (62). In short, the popular conception of the Anglicans of the first generation as pre-eminently "Churchmen" and of the Separatists as disbelievers in a Visible Church with a fixed structure, government and laws, is the exact reverse of the truth.

M. DOROTHEA JORDAN.

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(62) See, for instance, in addition to the quotations from Whitgift in this article—Powicke's chapter on "The Bishops of Barrowe's Day" for examples of episcopal subservience to the royal will. See also pp. 94-101 of Dexter's "England and Holland of the Pilgrims" and pp. 25-33 of Marsden's "Early Puritans."

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

*(Continued from p. 277)*

Tuesd : Dec. 17. 95.

(6) Honoured S<sup>r</sup>,

It's a rejoycing to many y<sup>t</sup> your Houses begin w<sup>th</sup> seeking God for wisdom & a blessing, & calling others to it. There's great need of it as ever, for your work is difficult, & far beyond the wisdom of y<sup>e</sup> greatest Men; but if we truly ask it of God, it may be had. Even that of y<sup>e</sup> Coin, which may seem little, but is of main concern, how hard is it? If made of a lower valew, y<sup>e</sup> foraign merchants will undo us; And if of the old Valew, it will be exported; as the Scotchmen y<sup>e</sup> pedlars now daily by divers arts buy up all y<sup>e</sup> milled money (w<sup>ch</sup> provokes many) so that now very little of that is to be found among us. S<sup>r</sup>, we are very sensible of the pains & inconveniences you endure in attending the House; but it's for God, & that sweetens all to you. The land fund wherein your son M<sup>r</sup> Edward is engaged, will be, I suppose, at some stand, till y<sup>e</sup> money be new coined. I shall take it for a favour, if you please to order your man to let me know how that stands; and if good M<sup>r</sup> Fisher who took such pains in that charitable work, be living, & in health. I hope, S<sup>r</sup>, you take some fit occasions to continue your faithfulness & kindness to M<sup>r</sup> John Hampden, whose happiness, with his honoured fathers, I much desire, tho' at this distance I know not how to be serviceable to them. Good M<sup>r</sup> Bryan is tolerably well, & heartily joins with me in most unfeigned service to you, & both your honoured sons, and in our poor

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prayers for your lives, & prospering in all things (y<sup>t</sup> concern yourselves or the publick) especially in your souls. I am with much respect,

Honoured S<sup>r</sup>,

Your most humble and most obedient  
servant.

[Addressed

These To the Hon<sup>ble</sup> S<sup>r</sup> Edward Harley, a Member  
of y<sup>e</sup> House of Co<sup>m</sup>ons at Westminster.]

(This letter is in the handwriting  
of Francis Tallents, but it is not  
signed. It is endorsed by Sir  
Edward Harley : " Mr Talents. Dec :  
17.95.)

Tuesd : Dec. 31. 95.

(7) Honoured S<sup>r</sup>,

I humbly thank you for yours wherewith you was pleas'd to honour me, and for the particular account of the decease of the much honoured M<sup>r</sup> Hampden (which our News letters mention'd in generall) with which I was much affected; for He was certainly a truly good Man, and so, a great loss; as also of the weak condition both in body and mind of my dear M<sup>r</sup> John Hampden, which affects me much. I have scribbled something as I can, but far short of what I would; and not knowing which way to send it, make bold to give you the trouble of it to Him.

I bless God from my heart for His great goodness to you and both your worthy sons, whom I beseech God to keep upright, humble, and near to Himself, in the midst of their Honours, & varietie of weighty businesses they are, and may be concern'd in. The Devil Negotium is a chief One; And I am glad, S<sup>r</sup>, you are so near them, to advise, direct, and encourage them. My humble service to them both I humbly pray you. They onely are safe whom God keeps. S<sup>r</sup>, you began well with a fast, & good reason for it; and if it shall please God to give success to our counsels

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& forces, as I hope he will (tho we be very unworthy) I wish our thanksgiving may not be crouded into the Lords day (to gratifie or force some perhaps y<sup>t</sup> else would not keep it) but may have a solemn time for itself, & be more publickly own'd. However, S<sup>r</sup>, we are in the hands of J : C<sup>t</sup> our King ; who hung upon the tree once for us, & rules alwaies for us, and will reign till (he) shall have put all His & our Enemies under His feet, & rais'd us up to Everlasting glorie. O that we may be His true subjects & soldiers, & act for Him, & suffer for Him if He call us to it, & be glorified with Him. M<sup>r</sup> Bryan honours you in his heart, as I also do, who am with much respect,

Honoured S<sup>r</sup>,

Your most humble and most obliged Servant,

FRA. TALLENTS.

Be pleasd, S<sup>r</sup>, to order your man to let us know, how your little grandson at Brampton doth.

[Addressed These To the Hon<sup>ble</sup> S<sup>r</sup> Edward Harley, a Member of y<sup>e</sup> House of Co<sup>m</sup>ons at Westminster.]

Mond : Apr.6.96.

(8) S<sup>r</sup>

Some months ago Mr Bryan & I took the boldness to write to you, to desire your and your sons help to procuer some place of employment for his son in law M<sup>r</sup> J<sup>n</sup> Cooper ; (13) and he writes that he sent up the letter to you by your man, & hath been severall times at your lodgings but could never get admittance to you. Nw, S<sup>r</sup>, it's possible that letter never came to your hand, and therefore if he should come again to wait upon you, I entreat you to give order to your servant y<sup>t</sup> if such a one do come he may have y<sup>e</sup> libertie of access to you. Possibly, S<sup>r</sup>, it may not be in your or your sons way to help him ; & if so, it will be an advantage to him to know it. I write this without any order of M<sup>r</sup> Bryan's, who is troubled for his

daughter's condition, and you will be pleased to pardon this freedom in

S<sup>r</sup>

Your most humble Serv<sup>t</sup> in our Bl : Lord

FRA. TALLENTS.

M<sup>r</sup> Philip Foley (14) shows great willingness to help him if he could.

[Addressed

These To the Hon<sup>ble</sup> S<sup>r</sup> Edward Harley a Member of y<sup>e</sup> Hon<sup>ble</sup> House of Commons in Westminster.]

(9)

Salop. June 13.96.

Honoured S<sup>r</sup>,

I bless God that hath graciously freed you from your troublesome distemper, and continues in you a heart devising good things ; and amidst your thoughts of the weightiest things of our Church & Nation, to condescend to think of that poor widow, & to direct how she (& some others too I hope) may be relieved. I have writ to S<sup>r</sup> Thomas Rokesby, (15) and desired my good friend M<sup>r</sup> Richard Stretton (16) to sollicite the matter as effectually as he can, being myself unknown to y<sup>e</sup> Judg. He y<sup>t</sup> minds the low & y<sup>e</sup> poor, & rewards those y<sup>t</sup> honestly give but a cup of cold water to a disciple, bless you y<sup>t</sup> consider the poor, preserve you in time of trouble, & strengthen you when you shall be upon your bed of languishing.

And, honoured S<sup>r</sup>, as you have opportunitie, I pray you be as a father to poor M<sup>r</sup> Hampden. I wrote lately to him, but know not what my letters may signifie to him. His dear Son is at M<sup>r</sup> Woodhouses, (17) was with me a little, & will ere long I hope see me again. Madame Hampden his mother favoured me with a very kind letter dated Apr. 18 ; complains in it y<sup>t</sup> her son hath sold Dunton [Bucks] one of his best Mannors, & y<sup>e</sup> onely place y<sup>t</sup> was free for him to make away, & is cutting down y<sup>e</sup> woods & Timber ; y<sup>t</sup> he

casts off y<sup>e</sup> seeming to own any thing or any body y<sup>t</sup> looks to Religion, hath married a — & y<sup>t</sup> he came once to see her since his fathers death, w<sup>ch</sup> is all she supposes she shall see of him. I hope, S<sup>r</sup>, she is mistaken in some of her thoughts. I have writ to her again. Possibly, S<sup>r</sup>, if you gave her a Visit, it might be much for y<sup>e</sup> good of both of them. My humble service to your worthy sons. God guide y<sup>e</sup> hearts & Counsells of all y<sup>t</sup> mean well & seek His glory. I am with much respect,

Your most humble servant,  
FRA. TALLENTS.

M<sup>r</sup> Bryan presents his service & returns his humble thanks for y<sup>r</sup> fav<sup>r</sup> to his son.

[Addressed These For the Hon<sup>ble</sup> S<sup>r</sup> Edward Harley in King street in Bloomsbury London.]

(10) (To Edward Harley, second son of Sir Edward Harley.)

Tuesd: Oct. 6.96.

Honoured S<sup>r</sup>,

Having an opportunitie of sending the inclosed papers by so sure a hand, & so speedily by M<sup>r</sup> Beal, who knows not what they are, & I desire y<sup>t</sup> neither he nor any others may, but onely your honoured Father & dear brother Harley. (18) You may wonder to see such a thing from me ; but so it is. If you please to peruse them, & think it may be well to print them, let it be so. I wholly leave the matter to your honoured father, brother, & you, but if you think it best to suppress them, after some time I pray you send them safely to me again.

But if you publish them, I pray you let my Name be concealed, & be pleased to blot out of the extract what you Judg fit—and change the preface as you think fit, & add what you will. And as for y<sup>e</sup> comparison at y<sup>e</sup> later end, possibly it may be best to leave

it out wholly; I have scribbled it hastily, & do not greatly approve of it. But I leave all wholly to you.

Some time ago, I heard one had offered to print an abstract out of Hacket, (19) but was opposed; whereupon he threatened to put out severall passages that had been left out of Hacket's when it was printed; But I have heard nothing of that since.

God guide your hearts, & give you wisdom fit for your great employment, & good success, & so work in y<sup>e</sup> hearts of our Kings & Parliam<sup>ts</sup> that it may not be said our historie w<sup>ch</sup> may be writ hereafter—Stultorum Regum et Populorum continet iras.

With my heartie thanks ffor all your kindness & especially for the last opportunitie you gave me of converse with you, & y<sup>e</sup> charitie you left for others, I take leave & rest,

Honoured S<sup>r</sup>

Your much obliged and most humble Servant,  
F. T.

I pray you let me know what you shall intend to do with those papers.

[Addressed  
These

For Edward Harley Esq<sup>r</sup>.]

(11) Salop. Tuesd : Aug : 10.97.

(Recommends the following persons for charitable help :—)

Widdows

Mrs. Jane Heath (20) of Shrewsbury

Mrs. Taylor of Wem

Mrs. Cooper of Moseley [Mowsley]

Y<sup>e</sup> last sumer M<sup>r</sup> Edward your son gave me 3<sup>l</sup> for

Mrs. Heath, 3<sup>l</sup> for Mrs. Taylor, & 1<sup>l</sup> for Mrs. Cooper.

Yong Students

Isaac Owen, son to Mr. James Owen (21) of Oswestrie—  
a hopeful youth, & you know his father



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William Cook, son to W<sup>m</sup> Cook, a farmer—a very a hopeful youth every way, & his father but low Daniel Madox, near Whitchurch, his father dead, & his mother has many children, & he very hopefull M<sup>r</sup> Evance (22), N.C. Min<sup>r</sup> of Wrexham his son (23)

—I promised to reco<sup>m</sup>end him to you.

Mr J<sup>n</sup> Lewis who preaches near Braginton [Salop] is well known to you, & hath but very little given him for his labours.

S<sup>r</sup>, I will mention no more lest I clog you. They y<sup>t</sup> are nearest & most importunate usually speed best; but I have confidence you will think fit to remember them y<sup>t</sup> are afar off, & modest, & have great need, & hope you will consider these I have mention'd according to y<sup>r</sup> need, & to what you have to dispose of. You will be pleased, S<sup>r</sup>, to let me know you have rec<sup>d</sup> this, & what can be done.

(12) Salop. Frid: Sept. 8, 99

“I am now naked by the decease of my old Frend M<sup>r</sup> Bryan, by whose means I first came to be known to you.”

(13) Salop. Apr. 20. 1700.

What am I, Honoured S<sup>r</sup>, that I should have such a place in your most serious thoughts? I bless God that I have, & beleve I fare better for it, and the kindness of some others also. God is gracious in freeing me from torturing pains, & exercising me onely with such gentle ones as I may easily bear, & yet mind me of that better world before. I have, S<sup>r</sup>, with M<sup>r</sup>, Owen done our best to find out such a one as you desire, and y<sup>e</sup> Messengers return will shew the issue. How few are there, of any rank near to yours, that mind such things? Rejoyce, honoured S<sup>r</sup>, & beleve more & more that since you beleve in Jesus Christ you are freed from condemnation, are a child of God, & an heir of glory, & shall be carried on by His Power to it. This strengthens as well as comforts, & glorifies

our Gracious God. Even He bless all the branches of your familie, & make them blessings alwaies. I am, Honoured S<sup>r</sup>, Your much obliged & most humble servant,

FRA. TALLENTS.

(14) Frid: Oct. 11, 1700.

I know not, Honoured S<sup>r</sup>, how to move you better to favour good D<sup>r</sup> Long, (24) in bestowing some of my Wharton's charitie upon him, then by sending his letter inclosed, which I hope will be prevalent, if all be not dispos'd of alreadie. I lately read over a late little piece cal'd Irenicum Magnum; I am much for Large Foundations, but not so large as that designs, to bring in Socinianism, &c. (which yet may be excluded by a Confession of Faith in Scripture words w<sup>ch</sup> he insists on) & destroy y<sup>e</sup> inward vitals of true Religion many waies; of w<sup>ch</sup> one is to have no Prayers in Publick but in such generall terms as all Persons can agree in, &c. With all due respects, begging a remembrance in your prayers, I rest Your much obliged and humble serv<sup>t</sup> in our Lord

FRA. TALLENTS.

(15) Salop, Sept. 23, 1700.

"I cannot let this opportunitie pass w<sup>th</sup>out a thankfull acknowledgment of all your great love and kindness to me for many years, as well as from your most honoured Father & Brother, which I shall never forget. And I am very sensible of your readiness to have assisted my nephew Hutchinson (25) in his concern, which tho it was just, I was sory he engaged himself in."

#### NOTES.

13. JOSEPH COOPER (1635-99), the son of Hugh Cooper, a worthy minister at Preston, in Salop. He began to live the life of a man and of a Christian in his twentieth year. Became skilled in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew. Became curate at Mowsley, a chapelry of Bromsgrove, in Worcestershire. A poor place. The inhabitants made up the income to £50. Ejected 1662, but continued to

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preach till December, as there was no one else to supply his place. A troop of horse came, he was taken out of the pulpit and confined in Worcester jail six months. He had the courage to preach again the day of his release. He had a licence to preach in 1672 in his own house. He died in 1699, having published three works.

14. PHILIP FOLEY, of Stourbridge, son of Thomas Foley, the founder of the Hospital of Old Swinford, Worcestershire. His brother Paul was Speaker of the House of Commons, 1695-98. Bishop Burnet says of Philip that he was "one, who from mean beginnings, had by ironworks, raised one of the greatest estates that had been in England in our time."

15. SIR THOMAS ROKEBY (1631-99), whose father was an officer in Cromwell's army, and killed at the battle of Dunbar, was a strong Presbyterian, and confidential adviser of the Nonconformists in the North. B.A., Catherine Hall, Cambridge, 1649-50; Fellow, 1650; Barrister, Gray's Inn, 1657; elected ancient, 1676; possessed of large estates and influence at York, he exerted himself on behalf of the Prince of Orange in November, 1688. He was appointed by William III. one of the Judges of the Common Pleas (1689), knighted at Whitehall (1690), and made a Judge of the King's Bench (1695). After his raising to the Bench "he was constant to his principles, and always attended the preaching of good Mr. Stretton to his dying day," which was November 26th, 1699. He died in London, but was buried in the Church at Sandal Magna, near Wakefield, his ancestral home.

16. RICHARD STRETTON (1632?-1712) was born at Claybrook, Leicestershire. Matriculated, 27th November, 1652 (signing Streaten), at New College, Oxford. B.A., 1655-6., M.A., 1658. Became Chaplain to the College. Received Presbyterian ordination at Arundel 26th October, 1658; and in the same year became curate to Dr. Francis Cheynel, who held the sequestered Rectory of Petworth, Sussex. Ejected 1660. Chaplain in Yorkshire to Thomas, Third Baron Fairfax, till the latter's death. Licensed 29th May, 1672, as Presbyterian teacher in the house of Francis Richardson, Cawood, Yorks. Subsequently ministered at Leeds. Removed to London, 1677, and ministered to a Presbyterian congregation in the Haberdashers' Hall, Staining Lane, Wood Street, Cheapside. Imprisoned 1683, for refusing the Oxford oath (1665) against endeavouring alteration in Church and State. He was an original manager of the Common Fund. He was very generous in furnishing books to students and academies. Stretton, who was one of the Lady Hewley Trustees, proposed (2nd June, 1712) to free the London Fund from its obligations in the five Northern Counties, but his co-trustees would not agree to the proposal. He died July 3rd, 1712, was buried in Bunhill Fields, and Matthew

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Henry preached his funeral sermon from II. Cor., viii. 16. He published at least two works.

17. JOHN WOODHOUSE (1627-1700). Third son of John Woodhouse, of Womborn Woodhouse, Staffs. Commoner at Trinity College, Cambridge, but did not matriculate. In 1662 was silenced when chaplain to Lady Grantham, in Nottinghamshire, unordained. The Episcopal Returns of 1689 report John Woodhouse, gent., as preaching at Saxelly, Leicestershire, to about fifty ordinary persons, denomination "not known." Had a large fortune by his wife, Mary Hubbert, of Reresby, Leicestershire. Conducted at Sheriff Hales, Salop, an Academy of note. Many students went to him with bursaries from the Presbyterian Fund; Robert Harley, first Earl of Oxford, was amongst his pupils. In 1697 he succeeded Samuel Annesley, D.D., as minister of Little St. Helens, London, still continuing to train ministers. Buried at Reresby, October 17th, 1700. Published three works.

18. ROBERT HARLEY, the first Earl of Oxford and Mortimer.

19. JOHN HACKET (1592-1670), born in St. Martin's, Strand, 1st September, 1592; was educated at Westminster School, and Trinity College, Cambridge. Matriculated 1609; A.B., 1612-3; A.M., 1616; S.T.B., 1623; S.T.D., 1628; Fellow immediately on taking his degree; Chaplain to Lord Keeper Williams; in 1621 inducted Rector of Stoke Hammond, Bucks., 20th September; and to Kirkby Underwood, 2nd November; incumbent St. Andrew's, Holborn, 1624-45; and Cheam, Surrey, 1624; Chaplain to King James, 1623; prebendary of Lincoln, 1623; archdeacon of Bedford, 1631; attempted to moderate Laud's zeal; as member of committee of religion made able speech before Commons in defence of deans and chapters, 1641; after Restoration resumed preaching at St. Paul's as canon residentiary; bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, 1661-70; restored Lichfield Cathedral, partly at his own expense; bequeathed money to Trinity College, Cambridge; and his books to the University.

In 1648 he published in Latin a comedy entitled "*Loyola*," which was acted before King James; his great work was the life of Archbishop Williams; in company with Ben Jonson he translated Bacon's "*Essays*" into Latin. In 1675 there appeared "*A Century of Sermons, on several remarkable subjects*," which was edited, with a memoir, by Thomas Plume. In 1671 a book called "*Christian Consolations*" was wrongly attributed to him.

20. WIDOW OF RICHARD HEATH. Educated at Christ's College, Cambridge. Great Oriental scholar. Corrected the Arabic and Syriac of the Polyglot Bible. Ejected 1662. Under the Five Mile Act he removed to Wellington, March 25th, 1666, and there

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died on May the 28th following. Though he was learned and able, he printed nothing.

21. JAMES OWEN (1654-1706), born at Bryn, parish of Abernant, Carm. Second son of John Owen. His parents were Episcopalian Royalists, but all their nine children became Nonconformists. Having been grounded in Classics by James Picton, a Quaker, and at Carmarthen Grammar School, he studied philosophy (1672) under Samuel Jones. After acting as tutor, he spent six months with his godfather, James Howell, a clergyman. Deciding on Nonconformity, he went and studied at Swansea under Stephen Hughes. His first settlement was at Bodwell, Carm., his next as assistant to Hugh Owen. In November, 1676, he became chaplain to Mrs. Baker, of Swinney, near Oswestry, and minister of the Oswestry congregation founded by Roland Neavett. From this town he conducted a North Wales Mission which led to a public disputation with William Lloyd, Bishop of St. Asaph, at Oswestry, in 1681. In 1690 he opened an academy for ministerial training. The Presbyterian Common Fund granted him for Oswestry £8 a year from 1690-94, and then £5 a year until 1699. In 1700 he became colleague to Tallents, and removed his academy to Shrewsbury. Owen translated the Shorter Catechism into Welsh. He also had controversies with B. Keach and Thomas Gripps. Mr. Owen was the author of several works in both the Welsh and the English languages. In his dispute with Keach he issued in 1693 the first book in Welsh on the baptismal controversy, "*Bedydd Plant o'r Nefoedd*" (Infant baptism from Heaven). It was answered by Keach in 1696 in "*Light broke forth in Wales.*" He also wrote the account of the Welsh ejected ministers in Calamy.

22. JOHN EVANS, born at Great Sutton, near Ludlow. His father and grandfather were successively Rectors of Penegos, in Montgomeryshire. Educated at Balliol College, Oxford. Left the University rather than submit to the parliamentary visitors. Returned to Wales, ordained at Brecknock by Dr. R. Mainwaring, Bishop of St. Davids, on November 28th, 1648. Changed his views on Conformity. Admitted one of the itinerant preachers of Wales, and was successively master of the free schools of Dologelle and Oswestry. Ejected, 1662. Had to sell his library to provide for his family. Went to Wrenham. Chosen pastor of an Independent church there in February, 1668, and continued until his death in 1700.

23. JOHN EVANS (1680-1730), son of the last named. Born at Wrenham. Educated under the Revs. Thomas Rowe, Richard Frankland and Timothy Jollie. Lived for a time in the home of Mrs. Hunt, the sister of Lord Paget. Perused, under the direction of the aforementioned James Owen, the Christian writers of the first

three centuries : ordained, 1702, at Wrenham, as minister of a new Congregational church. Invited to Dublin, but dissuaded by Dr. Daniel Williams, whose assistant he became at Hand Alley, Westminster, until 1716. Then chosen his successor. Came to London an Independent but threw in his lot with the Presbyterians. Lecturer at Salters' Hall until 1716. In 1723 elected a Merchants' Lecturer at the same place. Edinburgh and Aberdeen Universities created him a D.D., both about the same time. He took a leading part in the Arian controversy, siding with those who refused to sign the Articles. In 1729 a new chapel was built for him in New Broad Street, Petty France, Westminster. Died 16th May, 1730, from dropsy and a complication of other disorders. Buried in Dr. Williams' vault, in Bunhill Fields. Wrote over twenty works, the most notable being his "Discourses on the Christian Temper," which passed through many editions.

24. GEORGE LONG (1628-1712). Matriculated at Trinity College, Cambridge, 1646 ; Scholar, 1649 ; B.A., 1649-50 ; Fellow, 1650 ; M.A., 1653 ; deprived of his fellowship, 1660, because he refused conformity before they certainly knew the terms that would be fixed. Riding through Newcastle-under-Lyme, he found the people without a minister and preached. Invited to settle, which he did. Ejected, 1662. Qualified, M.D., at Leyden, and returned to practise medicine. In July, 1672, living at Leicester, and licensed as Presbyterian teacher "in any allowed place." After the revocation of the Indulgence he was successively driven by persecutions from Newcastle and Birmingham ; went to Ireland, returning 1689. He was at Darlington, and also at Coventry, in 1690, but apparently not as settled minister in either place. Returned to Newcastle about 1692 ; retired about Midsummer, 1705. Died at Bristol, December 26th, 1712. According to Calamy his retirement was necessitated by mental decay.

25. FRANCIS HUTCHINSON (1660-1739), second son of Edward Hutchinson. Born 2nd January, 1660, at Carrington, Derbyshire. His mother was Mary Tallents, sister of Francis. Matriculated as a pensioner at Catherine Hall, Cambridge, 1678 ; B.A., 1680 ; M.A., 1684 ; Tallents directed his historical studies, and employed him, about 1680, in taking his MSS. of his "*View of Universal History*" to Stillingfleet, Beveridge, and Kidder, for correction before it was printed. He was Vicar of Hone, Suffolk ; before 1692 incumbent of Bury St. Edmunds. Besides several single sermons and small pamphlets he published "*Historical Essay concerning Witchcraft*," 1718 ; "*Life of Archbishop Tillotson*," also in 1718 ; "*Church Catechism in Irish*," 1722 ; and, in 1734, "*A Defence of the Ancient Historians*."

ARTHUR S. LANGLEY.

## The Associate Congregations, London, 1805

**A**BOUT the beginning of the nineteenth century there were, in and around London, several Independent congregations which were not strictly Congregational. They generally used a more or less liturgical form of service, carefully avoided any appearance of antagonism to the Established Church, and were commonly called "Calvinistic Methodists," though not by any means to be confounded with the Welsh body so named. A few of these Societies are still flourishing, having been reorganized on the regular Congregational model; most of the others have long been extinct.

In 1805 a number of the aforesaid Calvinistic Methodist Societies entered into a union for mutual co-operation, to which they invited the adhesion of others that might be like-minded. In their "Address to the Religious Public" they expressed their opinion that "while each congregation is left to its own discretion in the choice of the form . . . Church order and discipline ought to be established in all; and especially with regard to the terms of admission to the Lord's Table, and expulsion from the benefit of Christian Communion." They claimed that union on such a basis was "countenanced by the Apostles and the usage of the Churches in the first ages of Christianity. . . . That the Church at Antioch considered itself connected with the general body of Apostles, and Elders, and Brethren meeting at Jerusalem; and therefore agreed to refer to their decision a point which . . . they could not amicably settle among themselves; choosing Paul and Barnabas and some others to be their representatives in the Council. From

the Apostolic age till the time when a corrupt Christianity usurped the civil authority of the State, individual Churches of the same district, or province, seem to have formed a general association among themselves; their Pastors or Bishops meeting in periodical Assemblies, and discussing those subjects which related to the common good of the Union, while every particular congregation (as Cyprian and others inform us) was deemed competent to the government of its own internal affairs." The Address proceeds to quote at length a noteworthy passage from Watts's "Rational Foundation of a Christian Church," in which the author maintains the legitimacy of *any* form of Ecclesiastical Polity, Democratic, Presbyterian, or Episcopal, on which a Christian Community may agree, subject to this one reservation:—"that though all the Churches in a nation should be united by their representatives, and call themselves one National Church, they could acquire no divine right or authority thereby to impose any new doctrines or practices in religion, any creed, or articles, or canons, or rules of worship of their own making, on any particular Church or person whatever, without their own consent."

The projectors of the Association desired to establish a Common Fund, which should be applicable

1. "To assist in defraying the expenses occasioned by the education of gifted and pious young men for the Gospel ministry." It was desired to provide for "all the dark villages of our Country, a well-informed and respectable Itinerant Ministry."

2. "The relief of our aged, afflicted, and destitute ministers, and occasionally of their widows and orphan children."

Quarterly and annual meetings were to be held, in which attention should be given to the welfare of particular congregations and plans formed "to extend the knowledge of Christ in our respective districts, and



measures concerted to promote the general progress of religion.”

The signatories of this Address agreed, under the appended regulations, to form themselves into a general body, designated

*THE ASSOCIATE CONGREGATIONS, Comprehending that large body of Christians throughout the United Kingdom, who have been commonly called Calvinistic Methodists.*

### RULES.

i.—In order to facilitate the accomplishment of the grand objects of this associate body, a fund shall be raised by the united exertions of its various branches, for the purpose of affording aid in the instruction of godly and gifted young men who are to be devoted to the ministry:—for ameliorating the condition of ministers of limited incomes, who are members of this Association:—And also for the relief of their widows and orphan children.

ii. There shall be a Committee, a Treasurer, and a Secretary chosen annually, to whom all letters relative to the business of this Union shall be addressed.

iii. A meeting shall be held four times in the year (or oftener if advisable), viz., on the first Tuesday in January, April, July, and October, at each place of worship in rotation (in every district where it may be practicable) a sermon shall be preached by one of the pastors in the morning, and the afternoon of the day shall be devoted to the business of the Union. Besides the above, there shall be an Annual Meeting to be held on the Tuesday after the second Wednesday in May. Every minister or deputy of a congregation belonging to this Union has a right to vote at all the said meetings.

iv. No minister or congregation shall be admitted to this Union that does not profess to believe in the

Sovereign everlasting love of God the Father; the particularity and efficacy of the redemption of God the Son; the special and effectual sanctifying operations of God the Holy Ghost;—and that does not maintain the necessity of a strict conformity to the whole revealed will of God.

v. Every minister or congregation desiring to join the Association shall be proposed by a member, at a quarterly meeting; and provided a ballot of two-thirds of the members present be favourable to the proposal, such minister or congregation shall be admitted to the Union.

vi. Every Society shall be left to its own discretion as to the mode of public worship, and of admission to the Lord's Supper, as well as to expulsion. But we are decidedly of opinion, that no persons applying for membership should be admitted except the minister be satisfied of their real conversion and moral deportment.

vii. Every congregation in this Union shall be expected, on all occasions, to show a firm attachment to the person of our Sovereign, and to the Constitution of our country, under which we enjoy so many privileges.

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*The following are some of the Special Regulations of the UNION.*

I. All the business of the Union shall be attended to immediately after the public service.

III. The minister at whose place the service is held shall be chairman for the day.

IV. The afternoon shall be employed in the discussion of some theological subject, proposed at a prior meeting.

VI. We will sign no case for the erection or repair

of places of worship, but such as is sanctioned by the Union at their usual meetings.

VII. Every case presented must be accompanied by a testimonial, that the congregations and friends in the neighbourhood have actually subscribed at least one-third of the sum to be expended.

VIII. Every minister, or layman, presenting a case, must have testimony from the neighbouring ministers to the purity of his moral character.

IX. Every case must have had the pecuniary aid of those congregations whose ministers have joined in the recommendation.

X. Where these testimonials are presented the Union will not limit itself to any given number of cases yearly, nor bind itself to any rotation; as it is possible some cases may be more urgent than others.

*The Undersigned form the COMMITTEE of the UNION for the year 1806, to either of whom Subscriptions and Contributions for the general fund may be paid:—*

Rev. JOHN BALL	(Jewry Street).
ROWLAND HILL	(Surrey Chapel).
THOS. JACKSON	(Stockwell).
E. J. JONES	{ (Silver Street and Islington Chapel).
J. A. KNIGHT	{ (Tabernacle and Tottenham Ct. Rd.)
THOS. LEWIS	(Islington, Union Chapel).
J. S. NICHOLSON	(Mulberry Gardens).
W. F. PLATT	(Holywell Mount).
JAS. SABINE	? ?
MATT. WILKS	{ Tabernacle, and Tottenham Ct. Rd.)
GRIFFITH WILLIAMS	(Gale Street).
JOHN DYER	{ Managers of Greenwich New Chapel.
WM. ROUT	{

The first meeting of the "Associate Congregations" was held in Silver Street Chapel on 10th February, 1806, when Rev. John Ball preached on Romans xiv., 5 and 19 verses. A meeting described as "First Annual" was held in Surrey Chapel on 20th May in the same year, when Rev. Rowland Hill spoke on "Qualities Indispensable in the Successful Itinerant." But we can find no further trace of the Union, either in the Evangelical Magazine or elsewhere. It is worth noting that in the same year 1806 the first attempt was made to constitute a "General Union of Independents," really an incipient Congregational Union. This maintained a struggling existence for a few years, and was ultimately merged in the more efficient and vigorous Home Missionary Society; which—strange to say—was at length absorbed by the *new* Congregational Union of 1831.

T. G. CRIPPEN.

## Letters of Dr. Philip and Mrs. Doddridge

[These two letters have been transcribed by the Rev. T. G. Crippen from a group of original letters, which has not previously been printed. Doddridge's letter contains one or two amusing touches ; " w<sup>ch</sup> cost me gd." is worthy of Pepys.]

### Letter of Mrs. Doddridge to Her Husband

[June 17th, 1745.]

MY DEAREST,

Every new proof of tenderness from a person so very dear to me must be agreeable ; such was your last, for which I most heartily thank you, and rejoice to hear you got so far well on y<sup>r</sup> journey. I hope and you may be asurd I sincerely pray y<sup>t</sup> every future stage of it may be equally safe and pleasant. I am sorry it was not in my power to comply with your request in writing to Lady Jane ; but Mr. Fergusson on his return, wh was not till . . . a clock found a letter from my Lord to inform him that . . . was waiting for him at Loffbourough which determined him . . . early yesterday morning ; beside this Mrs. Stoonhouse stayd with me till ten in the evening ; after which, to say nothing of my spirits, which my Dear seems to have taken along with him it was impossible for my stomach to perform such a task. I received last night a very sensible and obliging letter from Mr. John Wainman, in which he expresses his great surpriss at y<sup>e</sup> three letters you mention in your posscript, as he never wrote any of y<sup>m</sup>, nor knows at all what they contain. As to his brother he say notwithstanding what is past he should be glad to serve him, or to ingage any of his Friends to do it as far as he can consistent with Truth, honour & conscience ; he hears he has got a small charge, and if in his future behaviour he approve himself he shall be very thankful for your good offices, if ever it should be in your way to help him to something better. In the meantime he thought it is [*sic*] Duty to give you y<sup>s</sup> information, to clear himself, and to prevent your being impose [*sic*] upon in the affair : I am in some pain least y<sup>r</sup> interview with dear Miss Scott should to [*sic*] much oppress your spirits. I want extremely to know how she does ; and hope at least by Friday post to have ye pleasure of hearing of your safe arival at Norrich and allso of her better health. I beg you will asure her of my best wishes, & present both her & y<sup>e</sup> good old gentleman with my most affectionate complymnts. Pray

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take care of your dear self & of me [?] a Little in not exceeding y<sup>e</sup> Limm<sup>t</sup> of y<sup>e</sup> time you have fixd for your return; for really I find your absence peculiarly grievous to me in this state of confinement, tho I bless God I have been rather better y<sup>s</sup> afternoon, than I . . . been since you Left me; & with that I shall conclude. I believe . . . ad nothing that will be more agreeable to you I shall content myself with wishing you a good-night and assuring you I am, My Dearest, most intirely and affectionately yours.  
M. DODDRIDGE.

Monday, June y<sup>e</sup> 17, 1745.

P.S.—I hope my good Dear will write as often as he can. Y<sup>e</sup> dear children are well & send duty. Many services attend you. My [*sic*] to all friends. I am sorry to hear you dont Take your horse.

### Letter of Dr. Doddridge to His Wife.

Cannon Street, July 25. 1747.

Sat Morning.

MY DEAREST LOVE,

On my return from Walthamstow yesterday in the afternoon in the Company of Dr. Grosvenor in a good Ladies Coach, I had the joy to receive you [r] two most affectionate and obliging Letters for each of which I return you a thousand Thanks. I am glad if any of mine can in any Degree entertain you, & I look upon it as a great proof of your Love to y<sup>e</sup> Writer when I consider how very little there is in them; but truly I write in such Hast at odd Times & amidst so many Interruptions that it is the less to be wondered at that they are often so empty and some times so short, tho as our good Friend says I could wish to write a Volume to you. I am much Comforted my Dear to find you are well & your Spirits a little revived: if my being perfectly well & you being however absent in Body hourly present with me in Thought can contribute to keep them up I see no Sign of their Sinking. But indeed my two last Days have been so peaceful & sweet a Recess at Walthamstow in the midst of such kind amiable Friends, who have thought themselves so much obliged to me for receiving obligations from them that I had almost every Advantage for being well that you could your Dear Self have wished me: & had I been in any Danger of forgetting you, their Affectionate Friendship wh. engaged them at almost every Meal to drink your Health, and often to say the most respectful Things of you, would have prevented my being able to do it. Tis a pleasure to me to hear you are so agreeably entertained w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Company of your Friends in my Absence; and especially that you take so much care of your Health, on which under God so much of the Happiness of my Life

depends. Accept therefore my best Thanks for that Care. I have not yet had an opportunity of seeing Mr. and Mrs. Roome, but hope for it on Monday on my Way to Mr. Lyttelton with whom I am to dine by an appointment made by a Letter w<sup>ch</sup> I exchanged w<sup>th</sup> him last Night on receiving his inclosed in yours w<sup>ch</sup> cost me 9d. The Portmanteau is come safe, good Mr. Jackson was so kind that he fetched it himself. He and the Family send you their best Services. I am just going to open it and shall take immediate care of its Contents. I am always glad to hear y<sup>e</sup> Dear Children are well. Mr. Johnston whom I met yesterday at Mr. Parker's brought me news that you were well on Monday, and that he met Philly on his way to Harborough, where he was very sorry that he could not stay to receive him. I hope you will this Day receive the Sugar about which I know that immediate and repeated Orders were given. As for Shoes and Gloves, they are to be met w<sup>th</sup> in London, and as I have recd Mr. Graham's Bill I am in no immediate need of that which answereth all Things. As I would willingly have my Cane in Town, where I shall want it in every Journey, & would not buy More gloves than are necessary you may if you please send it, unless it w<sup>d</sup> occasion y<sup>e</sup> additional Expence of a Case, of w<sup>h</sup> I think there is already one. You understand my Dear I w<sup>d</sup> not have my best w<sup>ch</sup> is in y<sup>e</sup> Trunk but y<sup>e</sup> lighter cane w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Pinchbeck head which is in the Parlour or at least used to be there. I heartily wish your apprehension of Disturbance from Mr. K. may not appear too well grounded, but he really behaved very well at St. Albans. It will be a great Concern to our Friends there as well as to me that you cannot meet me there according to our proposal, & so much the rather as it will disconcert my whole Scheme. However, I am ready to think that on the whole it will be y<sup>e</sup> Cheapest way for Matthew to bring my Horse thither on Wednesday Fortnight, that I may return on Thursday if the Weather be good and you hear Nothing to y<sup>e</sup> Contrary. If Mr. Hoghton, to whom I desire my particular Services, stay at Northampton during Mr. Robertson's Absence, I beg he would have an Eye on poor Mr. Kennedy. I have little news to send you but what y<sup>e</sup> papers contain, on the goodness of which as to y<sup>e</sup> Victory in Italy I congratulate you. Of poor Mr. Raymond nothing is heard, w<sup>h</sup> suggests the most terrifying Fears. I am astonished to observe and hear with how much serenity & Christian Fortitude the Calamity is born [*sic*] by his Lady and our Walthamstow Friend, while it is felt w<sup>th</sup> the utmost Tenderness. How thankful am I to God that you My Dearest Creature are not in y<sup>e</sup> like anxiety & Distress, tho perhaps few in y<sup>e</sup> world would bear such a circumstance in a more exemplary Manner. I heartily recommend you to continued Divine Protection and support, and am, my Dearest. Yours w<sup>th</sup> all possible Tenderness. P.D.

[*Postscript*]

I have now stripd the Portmanteau of its Covering, and impute it entirely to the Greatness of your Love or mine either that you, my Dear, have not sent the Key or that I, unenlightened with the Lustre of your Eyes, am not able to find it. I am the more concerned as I must break it open, not being able to stay for the Contents till Mr. Robertson comes to Town. It is very agreeable to me to hear that good Dr. Stonhouse is like to buy a House at Northampton. My Compliments attend him and his Lady. I shall remember the Memorandum I made in my last, tho I have not yet had an opportunity of despatching any of that Business having been only a few Hours in Town.

Having now broke open the Lock, to our great amusement we found the Key withinside. This threw us into great Astonishment, till at length I conjectured that possible [*sic*] the Lock might shoot in the passage, for that it was really fast Locked is most certain.

Since I wrote this I made a Visit to Newington, where I found Dr. Watts much better than I expected, and Lady Abney, Miss [*sic*], Mrs. Richiere, and Miss Ashurst, as also Mr. and Mrs. Cooke, Miss Cooke and Miss Dolings all very well. This last good Lady brought me part of y<sup>e</sup> way Home in her Chariot. I called on Dr. Guyse. Many Services attend you. I bless God I continue very well, eat light Suppers, & rise rather earlier than at Home, to which you, my Dear, owe your long Letters.

We hear nothing of poor Mr. Raymond, wh suggests the most terrible Fears. May God support our good Friends. I am very apprehensive that the Severest part of their Trial is behind. [?]

Assure my Dear Friends at Northampton that I often think of them and am daily praying for them.

[Address]

To Mrs. Doddridge  
in Northampton.