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EDITORIAL.

THE Autumnal Meeting of the Society will be of an unusual kind, for we shall leave the well-beaten paths of Congregational history and go back to the time of the Roman occupation of Britain. We have been exceptionally fortunate in securing Mr. G. H. Hunter Blair, M.A., F.S.A., to lecture on "The Roman Frontier between Tyne and Solway," with lantern illustrations. Mr. Hunter Blair knows as much as anybody about the Roman Wall, and this, coupled with the fact that the local Committee is arranging an excursion to the Wall, should produce a record attendance at our Meeting. Will all members please note the date and place : *Tuesday, October 11th, Trinity Presbyterian Minor Hall, Newcastle, at* 4.30 ? Please spread the news far and wide to delegates, hosts, and friends that all are welcome.

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The Annual Meeting of the Society saw an enthusiastic body of members gather together in the Council Room, Memorial Hall on May 10th. The Rev. Wm. Pierce presided, and cordial greetings were sent to the President, Dr. Nightingale, and to Mr. Crippen, for so long the Editor of *Transactions*. The Balance Sheet, showing a balance in hand of £53 2s. 0d., was adopted, and the Treasurer was cordially thanked for his services. Officers were re-elected as follows :

President : Dr. Nightingale.
Treasurer : Mr. H. A. Muddiman.
Editor : Dr. Peel.

On the motion of Dr. Peel, the Rev. R. G. Martin, M.A., of Clapton Park, was appointed Secretary.

The Rev. A. G. Matthews, M.A., read a most interesting paper on the Wharton Correspondence in the Bodleian. This paper is printed in the current issue of the *Transactions*. After discussion on the paper, in which the Society was glad to hear of the progress Mr. Matthews was making with his new edition of Calamy, there was general conversation about the work of the Society.

The most important matter raised was that of a possible census of old Communion plate, documents, and other objects of historical value in the possession of Congregational Churches. Several examples were given of cases where plate, sometimes of intrinsic as well as historical value, had either been sold or fallen into private hands, while it is notorious that research students often find that Church Minute Books are either missing or in private possession. It was resolved that the Churches be circularised with a view to accumulating information. Members of the Society interested in this compilation should communicate with the Secretary.

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We are glad that our President is still able to employ his learned leisure in works of research. His booklet, *The Romance of Cuthbert Harrison* (10d.), is a stirring story, while he has also published *Quiet Musings on Many Themes* (1s. 3d.) and *Our Spiritual Heritage* (2d.), a Centenary Sermon at Cannon Street Congregational Church, Preston.

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Congregationalists have had a fair share of the output of books during recent months, though there have been few dealing with Congregational history strictly so-called. Dr. W. B. Selbie's *Congregationalism* in Methuen's "The Faiths" series worthily represents the denomination, and gives to outsiders a clear and lucid account of our tenets and our history. It is especially valuable in the chapters dealing with Congregational theology and with possible developments in the denomination.

Dr. Powicke, our veteran scholar, by *The Cambridge Platonists* (Dent, 7s. 6d.) and *The Reverend Richard Baxter under the Cross* (Cape, 15s.), has placed all students still further in his debt. It is safe to say that the two volumes on Baxter, together with the Baxter studies which have appeared as Ryland's Library Lectures, will be the chief authority on their subject for many a long day.

Another excellent piece of work which ought not to be overlooked is the Rev. E. Hampden Cooke's *Register of Mill Hill School*, 1807-1926 (Privately printed. Copies from the School, 10s. 9d.). An incredible amount of spade work must have gone to the preparation of these 5,500 concise

biographies, and many besides old Mill Hillians will find the volume of interest and service. We congratulate Mr. Hampden Cooke on the result of his strenuous labours.

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The Young People's Department of the Congregational Union has been wise in its choice of subject and fortunate in the selection of authors for the 1927 text books. The Rev. A. D. Martin's *The Principle of Congregationalism*, which is to be issued in a fuller edition as well as in the one written specially for the examination, and the Rev. McEwan Lawson's *In Great Company*, both serve their purpose admirably. It would be a great thing for the denomination if all its children and young people would study these two books. And to follow them with the Bunyan studies next year would give the youth of to-day a knowledge of denominational history that many of their fathers do not possess.

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Some books not by Congregationalists which members of the Society ought not to fail to read are Dr. Wheeler Robinson's *The Baptists*, in the same series as Dr. Selbie's volume; Miss Brailsford's *A Quaker in Cromwell's Army* (Allen & Unwin, 6s. 6d.), a biography of James Nayler; and Miss L. V. Hodgkin's (Mrs. Holdsworth's) *A Quaker Saint of Cornwall* (Longmans, 10s. 6d.), an account of the life and witness of Loveday Hambly.

The Wharton Correspondence.

PHILIP, fourth Baron Wharton, bears a name known and honoured. Nor is his presence unfamiliar to us. There is Van Dyck's portrait of him in the dew of his youth, arresting enough in mere reproductions, and in the original still more so, we may suppose, if it has not by this time been arrested and despatched to destruction. Leningrad is not so safe a home as St. Petersburg for such treasures, but there we may hope it yet is, though it may be the little Bolsheviks are paraded before it to spit at so striking a representative of the *bourgeoisie*.

Certainly Wharton had a presence and was careful to make the most of it. At the Restoration he was in mourning for his second wife, but " to give his black a look of joy his buttons were so many diamonds." In the ballroom his legs were the cynosure of all eyes. As an old man (he died in 1696 at the age of 83), when the admired limbs had gone the way of all flesh and become the most shrunken of shrunk shanks, their noble owner is reported to have uttered the pathetic observation, " Here are those handsome legs which I was so proud of in my youth ! See what is the beauty of man that he should take pride in it ! "

But, of course, Wharton was very much more than the possessor of a splendid pair of legs. Despite such a possession, which we might expect would have carried him into the other camp, he was a good Puritan, a good Parliamentarian, commander of a regiment at Edgehill, prominent in the councils of the Parliament, in matters ecclesiastical an Independent, and a friend of Cromwell's, though never a Cromwellian. All this Wharton had been before Charles returned from his travels. He welcomed that return in his diamond buttons, but behind the brave show there were doubtless some flutterings of trepidation. It was soon mooted in certain quarters that the noble lord had no right to a place in the Bill of Indemnity. The proposal to exclude him from the royal clemency does not appear to have been at all vigorously pressed, but one of whom such a suggestion had been even breathed must have felt it needful to walk warily.

It is to this period that the correspondence of which I am to speak belongs. The fortunes of family papers are always uncertain; in Wharton's case posterity has been favoured. A number of the letters written to him have been preserved, and some sixteen volumes of them may be found at the Bodleian among the Rawlinson and Carte papers,[1] their date of receipt carefully endorsed upon their backs and their margins sometimes adorned with his lordship's illegible notes. To us as Nonconformists the correspondence has the special interest that a large portion of it came from ministers who had been silenced by the Act of Uniformity. With some of these Wharton was on terms of personal friendship; he invited them to Wooburn, his Buckinghamshire seat, on one occasion at least offered the use of his coach for the journey, nor must we overlook their occasional notes of thanks for presents of venison from the baronial park. Others looked to him as a standard-bearer in the good cause or as their patron and employer. They flattered him, preached at him, quoted Scripture at him, sometimes begged from him, and performed a variety of services on his behalf. One of them, John Gunter, held the responsible position of steward of his lordship's Yorkshire estates; several others acted as tutors to his sons; another appears in the temporary occupation of a timber merchant negotiating the purchase of wood from an Oxford college; and at least four acted as matrimonial inquiry agents in the endeavour to discover an eligible bride for the son and heir of the house.

The most extended series of letters is that written by one who had been for a year or two before his ejection, if not settled minister, at any rate preacher at Wharton's living of Winchenden[2]. This was Thomas Gilbert, sometime minister of St. Laurence's, Reading, then prominent as a vigorous Independent among the clerics of Shropshire, where he was rector of Edgmond, and finally after his ejection resident for many years in Oxford. In that city he must have been a well-known character and a representative figure in the Nonconformist world, and as such the butt of popular wit. "The loyal hearts and sound heads" of the parish of Holywell at the Whitsun-ale of 1681 set up a picture

[1] The letters quoted below are to be found in *Rawl. Letters*, 49-54.

[2] The transcripts of the parish register (Bodleian, Archd. Oxon., Bucks., C.) state that there was no settled minister in 1660 and some years following, but Gilbert writes to Wharton about payments made to him as minister at Winchenden.

of him preaching in a tub. "'Twas very like,"[1] Wood comments maliciously, though in view of Gilbert's having supplied him with some additions to his collection of jests as well as biographical information for his *Athenæ* anyone else than Wood would have spoken more kindly about "old Gilbert."

His correspondence with Wharton as preserved to us extends from 1660 to 1684 and numbers 54 letters. In April, 1663, he excuses himself from travelling as far as Winchenden as being "somewhat (though I blesse God not much) out of temper upon the weaning of myselfe from tobacco."[2] Some months later something arose to strain the relations of the two men, and Gilbert writes: "I ever look'd upon y^{r} Hon^{or} as no lesse eminently Good than Great; And therefore thought I might deal plainly with the good Man without provoking the Great Man." There is a neatness of expression about this that recalls the writer's skill and fame as a maker of epitaphs—"the common epitaph-maker of the Dissenters," so Wood styles him. Like others of his fraternity Gilbert took a hand in the solution of the family matrimonial problems. In one of his suggestions he points out to his lordship that he has four daughters to dispose of, but no marriage portions to bestow with them, and goes on to propose that "sweet and hopeful Mr. Wharton," the eldest son, aged about fifteen, should marry an orphan, sole heiress to £1,200 a year and aged about thirteen. She has £20,000 which might be much improved by the time she is eighteen, and there would thus be money in hand for the required dowries. Happily for the orphan heiress this ingenious piece of iniquity did not materialise.

Gilbert was not a man of means, and at times his financial stringency became acute. This was particularly the case in the year 1673. "Barley bread is the best we can afford our selfes,"[3] he writes. As a way of relieving his necessities Wharton offered to present him to the Westmoreland living of Ravenstonedale, an attractive proposition, since, for some reason or another, conformity was not required. But though that was so Gilbert foresaw that as a good Independent he would inevitably be involved in dispute with his parishioners

[1] *Life and Times*, ed. Clark, II. 541.
[2] 53, 8.
[3] 51, 30.

over the terms on which the Sacraments were to be administered: "I could administer ym. to no more of them, than should be judged fitt, and found willing to join together in a Church-way." But he proposed an escape from that difficulty. The neighbouring living of Kirby Stephen was vacant, and to this Gilbert suggested Wharton should present "so moderate a Conformist, as with whom I might comfortably maintain both a Scholarlike, and Christian Converse and Friendship. So far that he might be upon all Occasions ready to doe the work foremention'd, w^ch^ my Conscience will not allow me to do myselfe."[1] His lordship, however, did not countenance this interesting plan and no more was heard of it. Gilbert was still in dire straits, and some months later he wrote reminding his patron that, in a conversation which he had with him at his London house some twelve months before, Wharton had promised that as long as he lived the writer should never want. To this he had afterwards added the promise of either a sum of money or an annuity for life according to the recipient's choice. Gilbert had chosen the latter alternative, and in October, 1673, he wrote asking for the first payment "not as wages to a mercenarie Man, but as Charitie to a poor man."[2] What happened after this we are not told, but Gilbert continued to live in Oxford, and there Calamy met with him in 1691, "very purblind," but still revelling in the crabbed productions of the schoolmen, and still "very facetious and pleasant in conversation," and in the evening to be found supping on a dish of buttered onions, "on which he fed as savourily, as if he had been feasting the greatest dainties." It was not till 1694 that the mortal remains of "old Gilbert" were laid to rest in the church of St. Aldate's.

Another large section of the correspondence is taken up with the letters of the successive tutors of the Wharton family. Readers of Macaulay will remember his characteristic description of what "sweet and hopeful Mr. Wharton" had become on attaining to manhood; how the boy whose first years were spent "amidst Geneva bands, heads of lank hair, upturned eyes, nasal psalmody, and sermons three hours long," broke loose and acquired the reputation of being "the greatest rake" in England, a byword for sexual licence, ribaldry, mendacity; a consummate duellist; owner of the finest stud

[1] 50, 132.
[2] 51, 10.

in the country ; true only in his devoted loyalty to the Whig party, in whose behalf he wrote that most influential of political ditties, *Lillibullero*. This "universal villain" had at the time of which we are speaking reached the age of fourteen. He had two brothers, Henry and Goodwin, and four sisters. Their father decided in 1662 that it was time steps were taken for the further advance of his children's education under a tutor of higher qualifications than any they had yet had. He consulted Gilbert, who replied that the man for the post was Theophilus Gale, lately ejected from his fellowship at Magdalen, an excellent scholar, well versed in philosophy, and one of whom Dr. Owen had said there was none in England better fitted to be the tutor of the noble youths. When the matter was broached to him Gale felt himself obliged to inform Wharton that he had an "inward sense and feeling apprehension touching mine own disablement and unfitness for the undertaking such a weighty charge," a confession of which he subsequently had reason to remind his patron. But, as he said,[1] "any opportunity of service in this universal vacation is not a little desirable," and he therefore accepted the post at a salary of £40 yearly, an amount which he thought should have been £10 higher.

The new tutor made the acquaintance of his charges at Wooburn. To their absent father he wrote a favourable account of his first impression. He thought them a little unduly intent on their sports. Mr. Goodwin's "natural volubility" he hopes time will wear out. But he finds the boys very tractable. From another letter written soon after we gather that the talkative young gentleman had received a silencer in the form of an illness.[2] For this the housekeeper had given him "a gentle glister, which mov'd him both upwards as well as downwards, three or four times ; which disturbing the sick-humour made his fitt somewhat more violent for the present."

Wooburn was not long to remain the scene of Gale's activities. When he engaged his services Wharton had in view a journey on the continent, and the enlarging of his children's minds by acquaintance with foreign lands and languages. At first he intended that his daughters should share the advantages of foreign travel with their brothers, but at such a suggestion

[1] 49, 11, 13.
[2] 49, 15, 18.

Gale held up his hands in mild horror; such things were not done, and he deprecated having responsibility for girls thrust upon him. Wharton appears to have yielded the point, for though Henry, Philadelphia and Mary are named on the permit for the party to leave England, in the letters we hear only of Thomas and Goodwin, accompanied by their tutor and also by Mr. Lefevre, a French writing master, and Mr. Perkins, a family retainer, who acted as a sort of male nursery governess.[1]

Gale crossed before the others in order to reconnoitre the ground. From Rye he sailed to Dieppe and thence went on to Caen. In January, 1663, he wrote to his lordship a favourable report of the Norman town as a place of residence. Its air was good and "agreeable to English bodies by reason of its moderate coldness." True it had the disadvantage of being "too remote from the heart of France, and therefore the more uncapable of learning us the French humor and spirit." That could be rectified later by a visit to Paris where "the greatest advantages are." He enumerates the charges made by various instructors, the masters for the great horse, for mathematics, for dancing, and for the virginals. Among Caen's other advantages are to be reckoned "the variety of gentry, learned men, with the eminency of the Protestant ministers and the benefit of the University." Accommodation also is good and cheap, and he anticipates that the young gentlemen will live within £100 per annum each.[2]

Accordingly at Caen they settled, and Gale early announced to his charges that he should now expect more work from them than they had been doing at home. Their father had drawn up a set of rules and a time-table to govern their conduct, and this their tutor not infrequently read out to them with due emphasis upon the necessity of respecting parental authority. According to programme the boys were to be up well before 7 every morning, for by that hour they were expected to have performed the "private duties of Religion," to have joined in public prayers, and also to have given some attention to the study of grammar. From 7 to 8 there was to be dancing or fencing, as best suited the season of the year. Then followed breakfast, and after it music or French till 9,

[1] Bryan Dale, *Good Lord Wharton* (ed. 1906), p. 104.
[2] 54, 1.

humanity studies at the University for the elder boy from 9 till 11.30, a little recreation enlivened with some French dialogues, and then dinner. Between 1.30 and 6 they were to have music, mathematics or singing, humanity, writing, geography and arithmetic.[1] As we might anticipate the time-table received much modification in practice. Gale at first attempted to secure a seven hours' working-day, but he was soon convinced "by their physitian and his own experience that it was too severe a discipline for them."[2] The elder boy was reported as frequently not getting down till 8, to the neglect of prayers. Complaint is also made of his taking violent exercise after dinner and at other times when he should be studying. At the University classes, where he had distinguished himself in rhetoric, he had also, sad to relate, picked up undesirable acquaintances, with the result that on Sundays, a day which the time-table marked exclusively for religious observances and studies of a theological character, the boys were apt to "take French leave and recreate themselves with musick" and other inappropriate pleasures. Then Lefevre, the French master, took it into his head to get married, and of all days chose the Sabbath for the wedding ceremony. There was dancing, and though Gale did his best to prevent the day from being profaned his efforts were quite ineffectual.[3] Something of a climax was reached when the boys, in spite of Gale's prohibition, went off to see a masque performed in the streets of Caen, asserting that their father had given them orders to see all that was to be seen "of such a kinde," and did not return till 9.30. To his report of this piece of rebellion the tutor appends the remark, "I have once or twice upon some occasions threatened Mr. Goodwin with the rod (w^{ch} is an ordonance of God), but I thinke not meete to make use of it without farther order. I judge force only then useful when necessary."[4]

That things at Caen were not progressing as he would like his lordship was well aware. The boys had made complaints and their father wrote to Gale not to be too severe with his pupils. He followed this by sending out an emissary in the person of another ejected minister, Robert Bennet, sometime

[1] 49, 20.
[2] 49, 55.
[3] 49, 65.
[4] 49, 48.

Vicar of Waddesdon, Buckinghamshire, with orders to do what he could to straighten out the difficulties which had arisen in France, and to bring back a report of how the situation stood.

Among Quaker epitaphs there is one, chosen by the deceased, to the effect that he was a "poor creature and by the divine favour he was enabled to know it." It was in a like spirit of chastened humility that Gale met the strictures that were put upon him. He declared himself well pleased that Bennet should look into his doings. "I am exceeding willing and ready to have the whole of my conduct and discipline towards your sons ript open. . . . I must confesse it is some satisfaction unto me (though mine own conscience doth condemne me of many defects) y^{t} such things as are objected against me relate only to my unsufficiency; which I blesse the Lord he has made me sensible of; and, if y^{r} Ldshp remember it was y^{t} which I myself objected and insisted upon in the first motions of this charge." He goes on to say that he is sensible of his "own defect in point of gracefull presence and such personal accomplishments as might gain respect. I know there are some prejudices against me by some in the towne as well as in this familly touching my unsufficiency for this relation; namely that I am of a morose and melancholly humor, unfit for conversation as to my defect both in the Latin and French tongue and those modes and civil behaviour which is necessary for a person of my place." He had been accused of tying up his pupils too closely. "The ground of all has arisen from a desire to observe y^{r} Ldshp's orders against collations, vain and unsafe company, touching keeping good orders in the familly as to studies, houres for eating, and keeping the gentlemen's chamber free from the children in the familly; for my endeavoures wherein peradventure I have gained some prejudice from my landlady." With all this in view the writer asks Wharton seriously to consider if he would not be well advised to find another tutor more "capable of this relation and charge" than himself.[1]

The correspondence enables us to see Mr. Gale through another pair of eyes beside his own, those of the family retainer, Mr. Perkins. He, writing to one of their sisters, gives it as his opinion that her brothers had never liked their tutor from the first. "As for there present studies I thinke he was

[1] 49, 54.

altogther unfitt especially as to my master Gooding nay never cared to meddell with him to teach him in the least. I beleve he may be a good teacher for the universitie logike and Philosophy but unfit for grammer which my masters being wise children they soon perceived. . . . Indeede not only to children but even the antients doe talk and jest at and of him which the good man doth perceive and indeed is not well done. He (I see) is a man exceedingly bent upon his own studies that he hath little time to spend for others he rises early before 4 o'clocke and continues writing the whole day hee eates little or nothing to supper but goes to bed betweene 8 and 9 o'clocke will stay for no persons scarce to heare my masters read a chapter at night and even seldom in the morning but askes an account of what they reade."[1]

In a letter to his master Perkins supplements these observations with some further remarks upon Mr. Gale. After mentioning that the elder boy has begun to study philosophy he goes on: "I believe the principall abilities of Mr Gales abilitie lyes in those studies he tells me he hath redd over Plato and much of Aristotle and made great observations from them he doth not goe the ordinary way but leaves Aristotle and follows Plato most which hee highly commends and makes as if scarce anie have gone that way before himselfe he condemns their way heare as crabbed obscure cloudie and impertinent." Perkins is pleased with what he knows of Gale's philosophy, which puts him "in mind of manie good passages that I have often heard in sermons as to acts of the soule in the exercise of faith and other graces and how that other Philosophy came from Adam Abram Solomon and the Jews I did once put this question to him whether he thought that Philosophy was fitt for my Master being he was not to studie for a divine but as one that was to helpe counsell for a Kingdome he sayes that the gentry doe studie much upon it a thing which I was not able to contradict but I beleeve the man hath excellent things in him but no good expression of himselfe and without that disgust and prejudice were removed that is in the children against him which doth not decrease (for ought I see) but rather increase every day he will doe but little good for what he doth it doth but serve to talke of every day and laff at it but I beleve

[1] 49, 82.

it may be good for as yet he is but in the porch when he comes to the body of it it will be delitefull and profitable as he tells me." A French pastor who had called on the landlord had said that Gale's philosophy was not "practised" in France, Holland or England. The French opinion of the learned Platonist was indeed a poor one: "they all say heare that if we have no better preachers nor philosophers than Mr. Gale we have but sorry ones in England." So much for the reports of Mr. Perkins.[1]

In July, 1664, Gale received the inevitable letter from Wharton. His respects for him were, he said, "reall and greate," but after what he had heard he had resolved to provide some other in his place, "if ye lord bring such a one to hand."[2] Gale lingered a little longer at Caen, his employer telling him not to hurry away. Certain portions of that time he spent writing to ask the payment of his salary, of which only £20 had reached him since his coming to France. The punctual payment of his debts does not appear to have been among the virtues which gained his lordship the title of "good." At length Gale reached England. In 1669 there appeared the first edition of that notable work, *The Court of the Gentiles*. Therein the theme of which Mr. Perkins had given some hint to his master was developed to further extremes, for not only was all philosophy traced to a Hebrew origin, but also words, languages, and letters. Had not Plato, that master of knowledge, said that the Greeks received language from certain barbarians more ancient than themselves? The reference to the Jews was obvious. It is interesting to notice that the first edition of this astounding work was published at Oxford by Thomas Gilbert, son of the aforementioned "old Gilbert."

The new tutor, whom, in Wharton's phrase, "the Lord brought to hand" was a Cambridge man, Abraham Clifford, ejected from a fellowship at Pembroke. His welcome appears to have been a cordial one. Gale wrote, with self-effacing generosity, "his wisdome authority and sweetnesse of disposition (according to the judgment he could yet make)" rendered him much fitter for the post than himself. Master Thomas Wharton addressed to his father a letter couched in that strange language in which it was then customary for boys to

[1] 53, 59.
[2] 49, 8.

approach their parents. In the choice of Mr. Clifford, he wrote, " you have made to appear not only an extraordinarie wisdome, but also the great care and love that you have for us your poor children, for I believe that it is a man who will be fit for us in all points, and I hope that under his tuition we shall live with all sorte of Satisfaction, and that we shall goe on such a pace in all our Studies and Exercises, that we may be shortly in condition to see you and all the rest of our friends wth Comfort." On the whole these expectations were tolerably fulfilled. Less of a scholar but much more a man of the world than his predecessor—the late Head of his College had objected to him on the ground of his going too fine and spruce—Clifford carried out as well as might be the duties of a position none too easy. For a time the party remained in Caen, and then after much discussion of pros and cons made a move to Paris. In May, 1665, Wharton wrote that he wished them to travel in Flanders. To this Clifford was averse; the main business of his pupils was study, he urged, and this could not be carried on if they were continually moving from place to place, nor were they sufficiently instructed to make the best of such a tour, nor again had they sufficient knowledge of their own country to answer the queries which foreigners were likely to put to them.[1] In a letter of eighteen paragraphs each beginning with the word " whether—" his lordship had previously intimated that he desired the free use of the paragraph in letters—Clifford expressed the doubt " whether it be possible for the most skilfull pilat to prescribe how the Mariner at some hundreds of miles distance should particularly bend his courses or stear his ship in the Ocean without attendance to wind or tydes."[2] Despite such intimations that he had better let well alone, Wharton remained obdurate, so to Flanders they went. The journey was on the whole successful, though not without its difficulties. There were fears of the plague, troubles about horses, and also there was friction between Mr. Clifford and Mr. Perkins. The latter would not take charge of the horses. " Must it be my task ? " Clifford asks. " It is true he tells me so. But did your Lordship intend me for a groom to the horses or a governor to the Gentlemen ? " " The affections of the Gentlemen through his great imprudence, both in words and blows are alienated from him. Nor

[1] 54, 13.
[2] 54, 17.

will he be instructed, no not so much as how to wear his sword aright. He has no address. If it be to see a church or chapel, or Nunnery he will not come neer 'em. Nor willingly walke in the streets, for fear of meeting the masse; Nor can he forbeare discoursing against the superstition of the papists, which if to a private person in Italy (whither they might go later) is certainly inquisition."[1] In another letter Clifford intimates that if Perkins is not summoned home he shall throw up his post. However, in spite of these frictions, the party held on their way, and reached Brussels in August. Thence they returned to Paris, stopping at various towns in the Netherlands and northern France, among them Douai, where they were handsomely entertained by the Prior of the Benedictines and the President of the English seminary, a Yorkshireman who claimed to be related to the Wharton family.[2] They had not been long in Paris before the elder boy developed smallpox—the younger one had already had it while at Cæn. The report which Clifford sent to his parents was not calculated to reassure them. "He is," the tutor writes, "so hideous a spectacle, as tis to be feard, you would scarcely have an affection for him, should you see him, as now he is. At present he is almost out of love with himselfe. If you would now have a picture of him, you must imagine to yourselfe either Naaman the Leper, or Job sitting upon the dunghill and scratching of his soares, or Lazarus lying at the rich man's gates." None the less there was probability that this unfortunate object would recover his complexion.[3] In the end the return of the party was hastened by the outbreak of war between England and France in 1666. The last we hear of Clifford is in a letter of June, 1668, when he is attempting that difficult task of getting Wharton to pay his salary. There is, he claims, two years' payment due to him, and he has been back from France two years. His frequent requests have met either "a frown, or a tart reply, or a dilatory answer." He is not asking for a favour, "for nothing but what might be expected from a moral Heathen, or Enimy to Christianity." Such begging is wholly distasteful to the writer: rather than repeat the years past, "I should choose to turn Eremite, and feed upon Locusts, and wild Hony in the Wildernesse."

[1] 54, 24.
[2] 54, 28.
[3] 54, 31

He further enforces his case with a fusillade of Scriptural quotations.[1]

In conclusion, let us take a brief glance at what happened in the case of Wharton's second son, Henry. Though his name appeared on the permit to leave the country, he, like his sisters, remained in England. At Shilton, in Oxfordshire, Samuel Birch, the silenced minister of the neighbouring parish of Bampton, kept a school for young gentlemen. Among these was Henry Wharton. Possibly the other boys—or at any rate the younger lad—were also there after they returned from France. In a letter[2] of December, 1668, Birch asks Wharton if he wishes to have his *children* home, but gives no indication of whom the plurality consisted. Henry was still at Shilton in 1673 and his behaviour was far from satisfactory,[3] but what else should we expect from a Wharton? It was therefore decided that he should see if an East Anglian atmosphere were better calculated to promote good conduct. At least we may suppose that he is the son in question, though it may have been his younger brother—the "voluble" Goodwin. In the letter which I am about to quote we may note the reference to Mr. Cole, which suggests that one of the young gentlemen had been at Nettlebed, under the care of Thomas Cole, formerly a Fellow of Magdalen Hall, and after his ejection master of an academy at the aforesaid village on the Chilterns. The boy was now to be transplanted to Wickhambrook, there to be placed under the charge of Samuel Cradock, once rector of North Cadbury, Somerset, and thence ejected. Cradock writes to the intermediary through whom the proposal comes that he hears Wharton is sending him one of his boys, and adds that he is not in love with the prospect, but evidently he did not feel a free agent in the matter. As to fees, he usually has £20 a year for himself and £2 for the nephew who assists him. . . . "but what my Lord gave Mr. Cole shall satisfy me." The boy must bring with him one pair of sheets, two pillows, a dozen of napkins, half a dozen towels, and a silver spoon. For a bed he must pay 3s. 4d. per quarter for the hire of his part to the upholsterer, as is the way of other parents who do not send beds for their sons.[4] At the end of May, 1674, Cradock writes to Wharton that his son

[1] 50, 5.
[2] 50, 17.
[3] 50, 138.
[4] 51, 34.

has safely arrived. Two months later he writes again giving a good report of his conduct. But alas ! by December of the same year the young gentleman had proved himself incorrigible, despite all Mr. Cradock s efforts, and his lordship receives an urgent request to remove his son as early as possible that same week, lest his continued presence should upset the rest of the academy.[1]

The melancholy necessity of calling their father " the good Lord Wharton " so abundantly proved later, was becoming apparent at this earlier date ; it was the readiest way of distinguishing him from his sons.

A. G. MATTHEWS.

[1] 51, 45.

Why Sir Andrew Aguecheek 'had as lief be a Brownist as a Politician.'

A NOTE ON SHAKESPEARE'S *TWELFTH NIGHT*, Act. III, Sc. 2.

ONE cannot but think that multitudes of Shakespeare's Congregational readers have been puzzled and intrigued by finding their ancestors (spiritually and denominationally speaking) classed together with politicians as objects of loathing.

Not that it surprises them to find that Puritans in general and Brownists in particular found little favour with that great "eater of beef"—Sir Toby Belch's brainless and ridiculous *ja heer* and gull—Sir Andrew Aguecheek, suspected even by himself, at times, to "have no more wit than a Christian or an ordinary man."

But what, in his eyes, was the matter with the politician? And how came the mention of policy to bring at once the thought of Brownism into the mind of the thick-witted knight? And what was his reason for bracketting politician and Brownist together in an equality of odiousness? For although he may not have had any "exquisite reason," as Sir Toby would call it, he must have had what seemed to him, at least, "reason good enough."

Prof. Henry Morley, commenting on Sir Andrew's earlier outburst when told by Maria, Olivia's maid, that the steward Malvolio is "sometimes a kind of Puritan,"[1] happily observes:

"It may be worth noting that it is into the mouth of the witless Sir Andrew Aguecheek that Shakespeare put an expression of unreasoning ill-will to the name."

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[1] *Maria:* Marry, Sir, sometimes he is a kind of Puritan.
Sir And.: O, if I thought that I'd beat him like a dog!
Sir Toby: What, for being a Puritan? Thy exquisite reason, Sir Knight?
Sir And.: I have no exquisite reason for't, but I have reason good enough.
Twelfth Night, Act II, Sc. 3.

And, after quoting the scene in which Fabian and Sir Toby urge Sir Andrew to redeem his lost favour with Olivia by some laudable attempt either of valour or policy, and are answered: "An't be any way, it must be with valour; for policy I hate: I had as lief be a Brownist as a politician," Professor Morley asks:

"Was not this meant for good-natured satire upon that unreasoning clamour against earnest men which comes often from poverty of wit?"

Doubtless it was. But that does not answer our questions, except very partially. The "politician" was not an "earnest man" in the sense in which the Brownist was, and it was not as an earnest man that he was linked or contrasted with him in the mind of the foppish and cowardly knight, and was equally obnoxious to his wrath.

The suggestion I venture to make on the subject is that Sir Andrew Aguecheek, in his now somewhat cryptic exclamation, expressed himself, and would be understood by his Elizabethan audience to express himself, as a member of the ultra-Protestant party in the Church of England as by law established. This explains his horror of Brownists on the one hand and of politicians on the other, because it suggests the limited and particular sense—the almost cant sense—in which the latter of these terms must be understood, as here employed.

Everyone who reads this article will, I take it, know well who and what were the Brownists—whom Blount, in his *Glossographia*, as late as 1670, was still describing as

"A dangerous sect first broached in England by Robert Brown of Rutlandshire about the year 1583, and is in effect pure Donatism, vamped with some new Editions."

What we want to know specifically is what English folk of Shakespeare's day, and, among them, that inimitable creation of Shakespeare's own wit—Sir Andrew Aguecheek—thought about the Brownists. We have no lack of reputable witnesses on this point, but the one I wish to summon especially is the Rev. William Burton, Fellow of New College, Oxon, a passionately Protestant clergyman of the Church of England, who ministered successively in Norwich, Bristol, Reading

(where he was Vicar of St. Giles'), and London, and died in the same year with the Poet Paramount. He was a vigorous writer and a voluminous author, among his works being *The Rowsing of the Sluggard,* and *The Anatomie of Belial.*[1] His collected works were published in small quarto in 1602, the year after the first representation of *Twelfth Night.*

What this good and able man felt and thought on the subject of Brownism may be confidently gathered from the following specimens of his pulpit style. In "God Wooing His Church" (the second sermon) he cries :

"The Brownists crie out that because that there are some defects and wantes in the Church, and every thing is not in everie respect so purely reformed as it ought to be by the word, therefore (say they) wee have no Church, no sacraments, no ministers, nor any thing that is good, but that all our ministers are dum dogs, Baal's priests, and I know not what: playing the frantike man's part, who because some thing lieth in his way, or there is something in the house that is not to his minde, therefore laieth about him at every one that commeth in his way; the poore innocent children are beaten, the servaunts driven out of doores, the meate on the table is cast downe to the dogges, the fire flung about the house, the windowes are broken in pieces: and not content with this, runneth out and gathereth uppe all the filth and dirt in the streete to cast in his mother's face that bare him, and wipeth his hands upon his father's face who begate him, and all to make them odious to all that shall beholde them. And having set the house on a fire, runneth away by the light thereof, crying out to all that they have infected with the like rage Come out from among them, come out from among them, there is no dwelling, there is no house, there is no meate, there is nobody to dresse anything, they are al polluted and defiled, al is naught amongst them. And having made their Proclamation, away they fling into another countrey, till they have done as great an exploite there, untill at the last falling out amongst themselves and excommunicating one another many of them returne home again and, as men awaked out of their dreame, they lay downe weapons, and goe quietly to bed againe."

The following is from "David's Evidence," a series of discourses preached in the City of Bristol and dedicated to Lord and Lady Wentworth. ("In these," he says, "my

[1] Somewhat strangely he seems to have been no connexion of his famous contemporary, Robert Burton (Democritus Junior), Chas Lamb's "fantastic old great man," the author of the *Anatomie of Melancholy.*

care hath been to be sound and plaine for the benefit especially of the Simpler sort.")

"What shall we say of our English Donatists, our Schismaticall Brownists, and followers of Barrow and his Crue? They hold our Church for no visible Church, neither that wee have so much as a face of a Church amongst us; they condemne all our assemblies at their pleasure, terming us and our Churches to bee but dunghills and synagogues of Sathan, our Ministers no Ministers, our Sacraments no Sacraments, our teachers they doe terme Baal's Priests, the taile of the red Dragon: the whole Church of England they call Babylon, Sodome, Egypt, and all that naught is; thus they cast mire in the face of their mother in whose bowels they were first begotten (if ever they were begotten) to the Lord, separating themselves from all the holie things of God, because everie thing is not just as they would have it. But in the meane time to get more credit unto their pretended cause of separation, they seeme to bee very devout in prayer, and as though the spirit of prayer were proper to them they condemne al other men's prayers, their mouthes alwaies thundering out the judgements of God. . . . But what pleasure the Lord hath in such schismaticall prayers and praises I feare to speake: the Lord open their eyes to see their sinne, that so many as belong to him may be converted and be saved."

Of the genuineness and whole-heartedness of Mr. Burton's hostility to the Brownists no one reading these fulminations —which might easily be added to—can doubt. He bitterly resented their plain-spoken criticism, and still more their separation of themselves from Communion with the Church of England in their desire for a purer and more Scriptural system of Christian worship and belief. They came next, in his dislike and dread, to the Papists themselves, of whom, as we might well expect, with his memory of the Spanish Armada so recent and so vivid, he has many hot and trenchant things to say.

But there was still another foe of the Church whose existence troubled the peace and roused the wrath of this good man. This was the *politician*—as dangerous from his side as the Brownist or the declared Papist from his. Now what precisely was POLICY, as thought of by this Puritan parson and the general English public of Shakespeare's day? The term, as we know, belongs to a class of words in our language which —like "Miss" and "Queen," for instance—have run an

upward course, growing more respectable and dignified with time.

In his comment on the words of Sir Andrew Aguecheek, Prof. W. A. Wright observes, "Shakespeare generally uses this word (politician) in an unfavourable sense, as denoting a political intriguer or conspirator," and gives instances from *I. Hen. IV.*[1] *Hamlet*,[2] and *King Lear*.[3]

The eminent Shakespearean authority, the late Sir Sidney Lee, says, with reference to "Brownist" and "politician," "Both terms are usually employed by the dramatists in a contemptuous sense. A politician meant, in Shakespeare's vocabulary, a venal political intriguer." My object is to show that in the instance before us it meant a venal intriguer with reference specifically to the Church of England.

Among the folk for whom Shakespeare wrote, policy was regarded as unscrupulous, irreligious, atheistic, even devilish. It was popularly associated with Machiavelli, who was looked on as, in a sense, its inventor. Men were spoken of indifferently as Politiques and Machiavells. So, in his Essay of Unity in Religion, Francis Bacon speaks of "Worldlings and Depraved Politickes, who are apt to contemne Holy Things." And Ben Jonson declares, in his *Discoveries*, that the Prince who follows "the great Doctor of State, Machiavell, puts off man and goes into a beast that is cruel"; and again, quotes "the said Saint Nicholas" as affirming that "he that is cruel to halves loseth no less the opportunity of his cruelty than of his benefits." When Abp. Parker, distressed at the way in which sectaries and Papists were being treated, wrote secretly to Cecil, "This Machiavel Government is strange to me, for it has brought forth strange fruits," he was alluding not to the Queen's foreign or general domestic policy, but to her way of dealing with those whom Parker, as ecclesiastical head of the English Church, regarded as menaces not only to the peace but to the very existence of that institution—Papists, Neuters, Brownists, Anabaptists. "I have marked," he laments, "the state of this neutral government. I have framed myself to be carried away with the floods when they shall arise. As soon is the Papist favoured as is the true Protestant. And yet, forsooth! *my*

[1] "this vile politician, Bolingbroke."
[2] "a politician . . . one that would circumvent God."
[3] "like a scurvy politician."

levity doth mar all! When the faithful subject and officer hath spent his wit to search, to find, to indict, to arraign, and to condemn,[1] yet must they be kept still for a fair day to cut our own throats. Why is Barker, &c spared? Is this the way to rule English people? But it deserveth to be counted clemency. O cruelty! to spare the professed enemy, and to drive to the slaughter herself and her best friends! O subtle dissimulation of the enemy!" It was Elizabeth's policy toward the Church of England, in so many respects her own creation, that struck the good Archbishop as so exasperatingly crooked, so truly Machiavellian.

But the Queen was not by any means alone, as the Reading Vicar, already quoted, emphatically testifies. From the numerous passages in his *Anatomie of Belial* bearing on the subject of POLICY, and denouncing Machiavels and Atheistes, I select the following:

"Machiavels and Atheistes thinke that all the Bible and all preaching and all religion, is but matter of Pollicy, to keep men in awe."

"This is also to be thought upon of our politicke Protestants, who say they defie Popery: but yet are not (many of them) very sound at the heart. They are too well read and practiced in Machiavell to be good Christians; they will not sticke to promise, to protest, to say and unsay, to do anything for profite and gaine. These civill honest men can outwardly behave themselves in print, with kind kissings and courteous embracings, with courting and saluting, but in their heart God seeth much crueltie, and covetousnesse, deceipt, prophanenesse and treacherie: like a legion of Divels in a common Inne for all that come from hell, so they bring no Godliness but gold with them. Many of our gilded Politicians and varnished Protestants at large are no whit behind their tutour Machiavel, nor his brother the Pope in shrowding a leud heart under civill pollicie or politicke civility, to no small endamaging of the Church of Christ. . . . A man may descant upon Machiavel's name as Abigail did upon Nabal's. *Nabal is his name* (saith she) *and folly is with him.* So Machiavel,[2] is his name and he matcheth all in evill, and an evil match also hath he made, for he hath matched a Princesse and a pesant together, Christian religion and Carnall

[1] (It was in this very year (1572) that he had Robert Browne summoned before the Queen's Commissioners.)

[2] The early Protestants were great at giving opprobrious twists to proper names as, *e.g.*, Carnal Fool for Cardinal Pole. Evidently the detested Florentine was humorously known in Protestant circles as Match-Evil.

pollicie together, or divellish pollicie rather who agree like the bondwoman and the freewoman that were in Abraham's house. . . . And this rude companion Carnall pollicie (who never had any other bringing up or schooling than in the flesh which is altogether for selfe) is fallen grievously at debate with Pietie; and with his cruell long nailes hath almost scratched out Religion's eyes: and yet saith he loveth Religion well, and protesteth that he maketh much of her too. And verily I do believe him: but I beleeve withall that it is as Judas made much of Christ who (being purse-bearer) stole what he could from his master and at the last sold him right out for what he could get. So this same Heliogabalus (Carnall pollicie I mean) by purloyning and stealing from Religion and her friends the Church all that he can get, doth make much of Religion and of the Church, etc., etc."

Quite certainly this fervent and orthodox preacher could say, with Sir Andrew Aguecheek, "policy I hate!"

And in his case there is no room left for doubt as to what he meant by the term nor yet as to why in his mind the thought of the Brownist should follow straight upon that of the politician.

The "politician" was not just the Italianated Englishman in general; he was the Englishman who had adopted the principles and methods of the wicked Niccolo in his attitude and conduct toward the English Church and was therefore to be looked on as her exploiter and foe, with not a pin to choose between him and that other, if in many ways so different, enemy, "the Schismaticall Brownist." This explanation, I take it, is needed to put us, in regard to this matter, where Shakespeare's audiences already stood. As his aim was to please, it is to be presumed that the sentiment expressed by the lank-haired knight was not unpopular. One would hardly venture to suggest that it was Shapespeare's own, being, as it so largely was, the outcome of ignorance and unjust judgment in regard to both Machiavelli on the one side and the Brownists on the other.

HY. H. OAKLEY.

Some Forgotten London Benefactors[1].

I. Arthur Shallet.

IN the early decades of the eighteenth century a Sermon was preached on every first day of January by an eminent Divine for the Charity School in Gravel Lane, Southwark.[2]

These Sermons when published were always accompanied by what is evidently an official statement, often as follows :—"The foundation of [this School] was in the year 1687 in the reign of King James II., when a school was set up by one Pulteney, a Jesuit, and public notice given that he would instruct the children of the poor *gratis;* upon which Mr. Arthur Shallet and other hearty Protestant gentlemen laid the foundation of this School . . . for the poorest sort of watermen and fishermen."

Matthew Clarke's sermon (1724) speaks of the "zeal of one," and adds "the foundation of this School was laid long since by an eminent and worthy citizen, Mr. Arthur Shallet."

Sometimes the appendix statement, instead of "Mr. Arthur Shallet and other hearty Protestant gentlemen," reads: "Mr. Arthur Shallet, Mr. Sam Warburton and Mr. Ferdinando Holland, members of Mr. Nathaniel Vincent's church, founded Gravel Lane Charity School."

In his *History and Antiquities of Dissenting Churches* (London, 1808) Wilson says (IV., 192) that Gravel Lane "always rank'd with orthodox Protestant Dissenters, latterly with Independents." Wilson (I., 40) also speaks of "Mr. Shallet, one of Mr. Gouge's people, being then a Member of Parliament."

Dr. Grosvenor (born in 1675) heard a sermon at what was then called Mr. Shallet's meeting-place in Gravel Lane, Southwark.[3]

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[1] These brief biographies are inserted in the hope that they will stimulate research. W.J.P.W.

[2] To be distinguished from Gravel Lane, Houndsditch, and Gravel Lane, Wapping. There was a Meeting House in each.

[3] *Sermons by Benjamin Grosvenor, D.D.* With preface by Rev. David Bogue, A.M., and Sketch of Life of Benjamin Grosvenor, D.D. (Isle of Wight 1808).

Wilson (IV., 188) speaks of "Shallet's meeting-place."

Returning to one Pulteney, a Jesuit, his name seems to have been Poulton. Under that surname, an account of him is given in the *D.N.B.*. He was one of those "subtile and projecting Jesuits," as an Anglican divine styled them, who flocked to the court of James II.

James II. published his Declaration of Indulgence in April, 1687, thereby suspending the penal laws against Papists and Protestant Dissenters.

Evidently Poulton, or Pulteney, took advantage of the Declaration and at once founded his Charity School.

Tenison, then Rector of St. Martin's in the Fields and afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, straightway founded his Charity School, and involved himself in a controversy with Poulton.

Mr. Arthur Shallet and his friends also founded their Charity School in Southwark.

All this was in the year before the Revolution of 1688.

An elusive William Blake founded a Free School at Highgate in 1650. Under the Commonwealth it is hardly likely that he would be demonstratively Anglican. We do not know whether he was an Independent.

The Schools founded by Poulton, Tenison and Shallet were, to all intents and purposes, the first of those Charity Schools that spread with such rapidity throughout England.

They were attacked by Mandeville (the author of *The Fable of the Bees*) and ably defended by Isaac Watts, who was as keen on "babes" and "lads of bright genius" as on everything else human and divine.

Clearly Mr. Arthur Shallet was a pioneer in education, prompt to act the moment James II. loosed him from the leash.

Of Mr. Sam Warburton and Mr. Ferdinando Holland the Rev. John Hodge, preaching for Gravel Lane School (1751), said that they and Mr. Shallet were "members of this Church."

Mr. Arthur Shallet represented Weymouth and Melcombe Regis in the House of Commons elected in 1698. He was not a member of the new Parliament that met on the sixth of February, 1700–1.

Among the Names of the Lords and other Commissioners of Greenwich Hospital, founded in 1705, are the names the Prince of Denmark (Consort of Princess, afterwards Queen,

Anne), of many very exalted persons and of Mr. Arthur Shallet.

In Watt's *Horæ Lyricæ* is an elegy on Mr. Thomas Gouge (died January 8, 1699–1700), addressed "to Mr. Arthur Shaller, Mercht. Worthy Sir."

According to the Journals of the House of Commons, a petition was, on the seventh of April, 1701, presented by Arthur Shalles (*sic*) and others concerning a debt of £300,000 or the interest thereon due to them from the Crown for services rendered during the war.

In the Catalogue of the British Musuem is an entry: "Shallet, case of Mr. Arthur." This case is undated. It must have been submitted after the New Parliament of 1701; as it refers to "His Majesty" it must have been submitted before the death of William III. on the eighth of March, 1702.

In his "case" Mr. Arthur Shallet stated that he traded much in coals and other merchandise; that he was an owner of ships; that his ships, entirely his own, were seized by the King for service in the war; that five of them and their cargoes had been burnt by the French fleet in the Mediterranean, near Alicant; that others had been wrecked by a great storm; that during the last four years he had paid to the Crown £60,000 in customs and duties; that he owes £26,605; that his Creditors had taken his body and carried it to the Marshalsea prison; that some friends had given security and procured his release; and that, if only the Crown would pay its debt to him he would be solvent.

A Consul, Edmund Shallet, of Clapham, was, in 1733, a Governor of St. Thomas's Hospital.

"The Reverend Mr. Arthur Shallet of Clapham" was a subscriber for the posthumous works (published 1741) of Mr. Henry Grove, for whom see the *D.N.B.*

Unfortunately the City of London Reference Library at the Guildhall does not contain Directories of London for the years between 1677 and 1740. The name of Shallet does not appear in 1677 or 1740 or in the Post Office of London Directories for 1927.

The *Gentleman's Magazine* for May, 1733, records the death on April 28th of "The only daughter of —— Shallet, Esq., in York Buildings." The *Gentleman's Magazine* (p. 190) and the *London Magazine* for 1770 (p. 276) record the death on April 7th or 5th of Edmund Shallet, Esq., Westminster,

and the same volume of the latter journal (p. 435) records the death on August 19th of Mrs. Anne Shallet.

As the name Shallet was uncommon, the above may have been akin to Mr. Arthur Shallet, M.P.

We have not found Mr. Arthur Shallet's Funeral Sermon.[1]

Evidently Arthur Shallet was a great merchant, a great Congregationalist, a pioneer in education and eventually a great sufferer through war. He was worthy of lasting remembrance.

II. Thomas Cranfield.

Zealous educationists are sometimes unfortunate. The elusive William Blake, who founded the first Charity School in London in 1650, got into prison for debt. So did the once leading London merchant, Mr. Arthur Shallet. Lancaster, the founder of British Schools, became a bankrupt, and betook himself to America. Thomas Cranfield, the "Father of the Ragged Schools of London," saw the inside of a debtor's gaol.

The life of Thomas Cranfield, written by his son, was published with a preface by J. Sherman dated "Surrey Chapel, 29th November, 1839." The Rev. James Sherman was the successor of Rowland Hill and predecessor of Newman Hall.

Cranfield was born on the twelfth of March, 1758, in Smith's Rents, Bankside, Southwark, London. His father was an unlettered plasterer. His mother was able to read fluently —not then a common accomplishment for a woman of her standing.

Cranfield was a boy of fiery temper, and a truant. His father and schoolmaster chained a heavy log to his leg for weeks together. He was last in his class, foremost in fights, headed his gang on old London Bridge while they fought another gang, thereby holding up the traffic and wounding staid citizens.

He was apprenticed to a tailor, ran away, wandered through the Midlands, slept under market-stalls in Birmingham, fell in with a recruiting party of the 39th, enlisted, served with great gallantry through the Siege of Gibraltar, and so

[1] The funeral sermons in the Library of New College, London, are indexed under "Subjects" as well as "Preachers"—an immense help.

won the approval of his commanding officers that when on October 20th, 1783, he married Sarah Connolley, "a most amiable person, just entered on her sixteenth year," Lieutenant-General Boyd gave away the bride. Cranfield had intended suicide if he failed to win her.

Returning to London, he found that his father was a converted man. The son and his wife were converted also. In his boyhood Thomas Cranfield had heard Whitefield preaching in Moorfields. Crossing Moorfields, he heard a voice "Go thou and do likewise." He and an old playfellow, Mr. G. Taylor, began to preach in City Road. He faced mud, rotten eggs, and dead cats as gallantly as he had faced shot and bombs at Gibraltar. At this time he was in great distress; his children were crying for bread and he was glad when someone in his debt paid him the shilling that was owing. He was arrested for debt. His furniture was taken. He was penniless and homeless.

He made a fresh start at Kingsland, and began work among brickmakers. He and his fellow workers became known as "devil dodgers." At this time, he attended the Tabernacle [? Moorfields] and "Blackfriars Church."

In 1791 he opened a Sunday School in his own house. His wife taught the girls. The numbers rose to sixty. They removed to a factory, and Cranfield preached on the green in front of his house.

He opened Schools at Stoke Newington and Hornsey. At Hornsey he must have preached in the open air. The village was in uproar: the inhabitants, headed by a rich merchant, with kettles, drums, rattles, and bells, and armed with clubs and stones, drove the little party out of the village. Eventually a chapel was built there and "a great reformation" was effected "in the benighted neighbourhood."

In 1797 he removed to Hoxton and to the little chapel adjoining the Academy. At the Academy were George Clayton and the afterwards famous Dr. Morrison of China. They helped him in his aggressive work.

He and Mr. Burchett printed and distributed a tract—the first printed for gratuitous circulation. This was before the founding of the R.T.S.

He gave or sold his tracts or pamphlets at the doors of the Tabernacle (? Old Street), Tottenham Court Road, and Surrey Chapel. Evidently he cleaved to Whitefields and the Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion.

Struck by the awful depravity of Rotherhithe he opened a School there. At the same time he opened a School at Tottenham, in spite of the opposition of a large employer and the parochial authorities.

He also attacked that stronghold of the enemy, Kent Street, Southwark—familiar to him in his boyhood. Kent Street was in evil repute in the days of Henry II, in the days of Charles Dickens, and in the centuries between. It was the den of the White Slave traffickers, and doubtless for that reason the Lock Hospital was first placed there. Perhaps no other street in any great city ever had so evil a name for six hundred years.

How Cranfield won Kent Street is told by his son.

Cranfield began his work there on the first Sunday in August, 1798. He took the children to Collyer's Rents Chapel. "So rude and uncultivated were they that when they got out they gave three cheers for the minister."

He applied for help to the Itinerant Society. According to his biographer, the Society answered that if they listened to his application they would have as many Sunday Schools to attend to as there were chandlers' shops in London.

Rowland Hill, unable to find gratuitous teachers for his own School, was unable to supply recruits. A noble lord once asked Rowland Hill what pay these Ragged School teachers got. Hill replied: "Very little of this world's goods; now and then a flea or another insect not quite so nimble."

He opened other Schools and was indefatigable in his care of them. He visited gaols and procured reprieves for the condemned, and arranged for week evening lectures.

In 1813 he joined Surrey Chapel.

The Mint was as bad as Kent Street. He opened a School there, his heroic wife being his chief helper. At the age of 71 he removed to the Mint and won the name of "Bishop of the Mint."

In 1837, he found the gift of a pair of blankets acceptable —he had given his bedding to a poor woman. He died on Tuesday, November 28th, 1837, and his body was followed to its last resting-place in Collyer's Rents Burial Ground by a concourse of Ragged School teachers and others.

Cranfield was tall, manly and strongly built; in anger terrific; of extraordinary strength; and of great courage and intrepidity.

He was the precursor of Lord Shaftesbury and of the Ragged School Union and the Shaftesbury Society.

Some memorial is due to such benefactors of London as Arthur Shallet and Thomas and Sarah Cranfield.

W. J. Payling Wright.

James Nayler and Christopher Marshall.

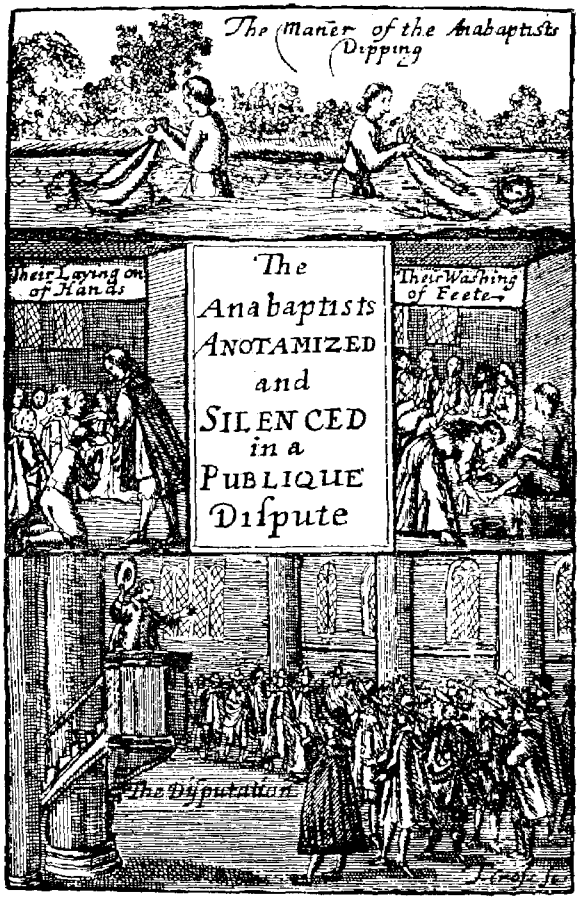
"In 1651 Lambert's Quartermaster (James Nayler) returned to his family. He left the Army in broken health, the victim, it was thought, of consumption, and settled on a little farm at Woodchurch, near his former home.

"Here, as his Major-General remembered—and it is typical of the times that such a detail should have lingered in his memory—'he was a member of a very sweet society of an Independent Church.' . . .

"It may be interesting to glean what information we can about the Pastor who was his spiritual guide at this turning-point of his career. Christopher Marshall was one of a party of religious emigrants who left Lincolnshire for Boston in New England, following in the steps of the Pilgrim Fathers. There he received the finest ministerial training then available, under the celebrated John Cotton. On his return to England he was presented with the parish living of Woodchurch, which carried with it a salary of £30 a year, allowed by Lord Savile. His preaching proved attractive to the old Parliamentary soldiers, and he numbered many, besides James Nayler, amongst his congregation.

Nayler thus found himself in a spiritual home which promised to be congenial, and he returned with joy to his work on the farm. There could be no life more welcome to the old soldier, weary of the campaign and worn with sickness, than that which now opened before him. After nine years of separation he was restored to his wife and little girls, whose well-being was henceforth to be his charge— a strange contrast to the rough family of troopers for whom he had so long catered. But what he perhaps appreciated as keenly was the opportunity for thought and meditation which came as he went about his duties as a husbandman. He did not live in an age which appreciated nature, as we understand such appreciation, and one may search in vain through his letters, pamphlets, or sermons for one image or analogy drawn from the countryside. Yet we cannot doubt that these months of retirement gave him that time for preparation which seems to be sought by all great souls on the eve of their mission—forty days in the wilderness, and two years in Arabia, or, in the case of Fox, four years of solitary quest and gradual enlightenment. A meeting with the young Founder of Quakerism in the winter of 1651 put an end for ever to Nayler's dream of a farmer's life."

Brailsford, *A Quaker in Cromwell's Army.*



Frontispiece to copy of *The Anabaptist Washt and Washt*, by Richard Carpenter at the British Museum (G 19545).

John Gibbs.

NEWPORT PAGNELL, although not a place where much actual fighting took place, was nevertheless during the Civil War quite a town of note. Its importance as a strategic point was early recognised, and the Royalists under Sir Lewis Dives occupied the town in the autumn of 1643 and began to fortify it. The Parliamentarians on learning this advanced in force under Major General Skippon, and after a slight skirmish drove out the Royalists on the 28th October, 1643, and went on with the fortifications apace. Embankments were thrown up where the Rivers Ouse and Lovat did not form a natural obstacle; moats were dug, and at one time over 3,000 men were at work.

In January, 1643, Sir Samuel Luke was appointed Governor in the place of Skippon, and a strict routine was observed not only in military but other matters. In October, 1644, Sir Samuel writes that there were seven able divines in the town, two sermons every Sabbath, and a chapter read and prayers every morning before placing of the guards. No one was allowed out after nine o'clock at night. A little later in another letter he hopes that a Mr. Ford, whom he considers an able man, will not be removed from a congregation of 1,500, where he is extraordinarily approved of. He adds that he has put down private assemblies in Newport but that they have them not far off twice or thrice a week.[1]

In June, 1645, two Captains of Fairfax's Army, named Hobson and Beaumont, while on their way to London, happened to be in Newport, and on Sunday morning, instead of attending Church, delivered a treatise to some friends in a quiet and peaceable manner in Newport Pagnell and Lathbury; for so doing they were imprisoned by the Governor and sent to Fairfax as stragglers from the Army.

In 1644 and 1647 Bunyan's name occurs as one of the Parliamentary garrison, so that it was during all the stress

[1] Luke. (Stowe MS. B.M.)

and strain of war that he became acquainted with Newport and with the religious discussions which were then rife there.

It was soon after this that John Gibbs came first into touch with the town in which he was to play an important part.

References to the Gibbs family have been found at Bedford as early as the middle of the sixteenth century. For some generations they followed the trade of coopers, and on the 9th February, 1558-9, there is in the Parish Registers of St. Mary of Bedford an entry of the baptism of one Margaret Gybbis, daughter of Thomas Gybbis, cooper. This Thomas Gibbs was apparently the great-grandfather of John Gibbs, and was buried 28th November, 1601. In his will he is described as Thomas Gibbs the Elder and his occupation is given as a cooper. He had several children, among them a son Thomas, whom he appointed executor. This Thomas was baptised 25th March, 1563, and died in July, 1614. He too was a cooper, and in his will, dated 7th July, 1614, he is described as of the Parish of Saint Marie in the Town and County of Bedford. He thus begins his will: —" I commend and bequeath into the hands of Almighty God my Creator my soule and spirit of whom I have received the same, being redeemed by the alone and sufficient sacrifice of the death and passion of Jesus Christ His deare sonne our Lorde and only Saviour and whensoever it shall please Him to call for it." After directions for his burial in the Church or Churchyard of Saint Marie, he makes various gifts to his wife Alice, his second son, Samuel, and other children. The son Samuel was baptised in 1596 and died in 1661. He was twice married, and in his will made in that year bequeaths to his then Wife Anne, 10s., and to his two sons, Thomas and John, and his daughter, Alice Poynter, 12d. apiece. The residue of his estate he gives to his daughter Faith.

Thomas Gibbs, the brother of John, was buried on 8th January, 1662-3, and in his will refers to his wife Alice, to his niece Alice Gibbs, to William Leeds, Samuel Leeds, and John Leeds, his nephews, and to his sister Poynter's children. He also gives property at Bedford to his loving brother John Gibbs, refers to Thomas Gibbs his nephew, and to his sister Faith.

The references in these wills clearly shew in conjunction with other facts that John Gibbs was the son of Samuel Gibbs, of Bedford, who was by trade a cooper. He was baptised at St. Mary's on 15th June, 1627. On 26th June, 1645, he was

admitted sizar at Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, at the age of 17, after having received instruction at a School at Bedford, of which Mr. William Varney was master. He matriculated in 1645 and took his B.A. in 1647-8.[1]

Though there is no record of the induction of Gibbs to the Vicarage, it has generally been supposed that he became, possibly through Bedford influences, Vicar of Newport Pagnell, in 1646, in the place of one Samuel Austin, who is said to have been thrust out in that year. It has further been supposed that about 1647 and before he really held the living, Gibbs had a disputation with Richard Carpenter[2] in the Parish Church. Carpenter[2] styled himself an Independent, but was of too versatile a disposition to have any fixed principle. Indeed he was alternately a Papist and a Protestant three times and died in the Communion of the Church of Rome.

Carpenter's record of the disputation, unfortunately undated, is entitled "The Anabaptist washt and washt and shrunk in the Washing; or a Scholasticall Discussion of the much agitated Controversie concerning Infant Baptism; occasioned by a Publick Disputation before a great Assembly of Ministers and other Persons of Worth in the Church of Newport Pagnell, betwixt Mr. Gibs, Minister there, and the Author Ricd. Carpenter, Independent. Wherein also the Author occasionally declares his Judgment concerning the Papists and afterwards concerning Espiscopacy. London: printed by William Hunt."

Now William Hunt was a bookseller and printer at Pye Corner in London from 1647 to 1660. His name[3] is first met with on a petition of the Clothiers and Weavers presented to the House of Commons in 1647. In 1651 Hunt added printing to his bookselling business. If this be correct, and no doubt it is, *The Anabaptist*, if really printed by Hunt, cannot have been printed before 1651 and possibly not till 1653, the date of another publication which is bound up with a copy of *The Anabaptist* in the British Museum. The only thing which points to an earlier publication is the fact that bound up with the work is a letter which is stated to have been written in 1648.

The account of the disputation is quaint. Referring to his antagonist, Carpenter says: "This Heady Enthuiast, being

[1] *Alumni Cantabrigiensis.*

[2] His father was William Carpenter, who once lived at Deanshanger but subsequently at Newport Pagnell, where he died in 1624 and was buried on 1st November.

[3] H. R. Plomer, *Dictionary of Printers and Booksellers.*

now in his own Head, the Head of the Universe, was insooth sometime a Member of the University, (for the which he did evaporate his griefe and cry out in the pangs of his inward remorsement before the Country) and had been somewhat vexatious to the Protestant Ministers in the Circle about him. His Friends and Allies fixed all their eyes with all their lies upon him as the Carry Castle or Behemoth of the Country: (the word is Hebrew born and fetched from Behema a Beast) I was born there and born thither by a charitable desire of associating and comforting my Friends. He gave the first onset in a mad mood being a Figure of his after carriage."

In the dedication "To all sealous Defenders and Abettors of Infant Baptism," the author says he was "called inwardly and outwardly recalled, agreeably to the mixture and even composition of his first and fundamental calling, to preach in the Church of Newport Pagnell before a very numerous auditory, congealed and consisting of the more solid and sapid part of town and country"; that after the sermon he baptized a child, "in the performance of which mysterious work the Minister unsettled in place and it seems in person, professing for Anabaptism, and suddenly rapted with a vertiginious motion," interrupted him. The consequence was the disputation.

At this time apparently Gibbs was a Catabaptist, holding that the ordinance of baptism was to be administered only to converted Jews and pagans. He is thus designated in the Church Book belonging to the old Meeting at Bedford. Later, however, he was an advocate of Infant Baptism.

The first distinct reference to Gibbs after the uncertain date of the disputation, which, in view of Gibbs' age, can hardly have been held so soon as 1647, is in a document which was sent up to Cromwell in 1653, the signatories being "servants of Jesus Christ and inhabitants of the County of Bedford" who judged it their duty humbly to present two men, Nathaniel Taylor and John Croke, as qualified to manage a trust in the ensuing Government. In other words, they recommended the two men to serve them in the Little Parliament. This document or letter was signed by thirty-six men of position and includes the signatures of John Gibbs and of Thomas Gibbs, probably the brother already referred to.[1]

Then, in the "Memorial of the Sufferings of the People of

[1] MS. Society of Antiquaries, No. 138.

God called Quakers," under date 1655, it is recorded that Mary Fisher, for speaking to John Gibbs, priest of Newport Pagnell, in the time of his exercises, was committed to prison and brought forth at two several Sessions to tryal and sent to prison again, and there kept till the Assize following and then sent out of the town with a pass."

In 1655 too for the first time the name of Gibbs, who as Vicar was also Master of Queen Ann's Hospital at Newport, occurs in a lease of the Hospital property. In January, 1656-7, an order was made in Council to settle upon John Gibbs, Minister of Newport Pagnell, an augmentation of £40 *per annum* for his better maintenance.[1] In a note which he himself wrote in the Parish Registers on the 14th August, 1659, as to a fire at Soulbay, Gibbs signs his name as Vicar.

It was at this time that some stir was occasioned by the dispersal of the Presbyterian Royalists in Cheshire and the arrest of their leader, Sir George Booth. He was apprehended at Newport, whither he came with four servants, riding behind one of them disguised as a woman. He was sent up to London, and it is recorded that on 24th August, 1659, an account of his apprehension was given to the House of Commons by Mr. Gibbs, Minister of Newport Pagnell in Bucks.[2]

This is probably one of his last acts as Vicar, as soon after he was deprived of the Vicarage in consequence of his refusal to admit the whole parish to the Lord's Table.

The Rev. Robert Marshall was presented to the Vicarage by Charles II on 16th January, 1660, and, Gibbs's ministrations as Vicar having ceased, he resided at a house which he owned in the High Street and preached there and at a barn at its rear. But it was not till the Revolution that he confined his stated service to Newport, at which time his congregation was large and his success visible. Bunyan's work, *Sighs from Hell*, was published in 1658 and the preface, signed J.G., was in all probability written by Gibbs.

In 1672, in view of his connexion with Bedford, and of Bunyan's interest in Newport, it is not surprising to find that the latter, when applying for his own licence to preach, applied also for a licence for John Gibbs to preach in his own house and in William Smythe's Barn at the rear.

In 1669 in a Return of Conventicles to be seen at Lambeth Palace, it is stated that there were at Newport two Anabaptist

[1] *State Papers Dom.*, 1656–7.
[2] Whitelock's *Memorials of English Affairs.*

Conventicles, the numbers attending being uncertain and composed of "inferior tradesmen and mechanick people," while the Heads and Teachers were John Child, William Breedon and John Gibbs, "ejected hence." In the same Return Gibbs is also given as one of the Teachers of the Anabaptists at Olney.

Gibbs was not allowed to minister unmolested, and in a quaint Elegy published after his death it is stated that "in persecution he hath often stood" and that "by wicked ones he often was misused." It is of interest in this connexion to note that many years ago, when Mr. Gibbs's house, then the Independent Manse, was being altered, a small room or closet was found which had evidently been a hiding place, the only entrance being from a trap door beneath, which was concealed from view by the old-fashioned chimney place. In it were some coat buttons, two tobacco pipes, and some silver coins.

The views which Mr. Gibbs held subsequent to his ejection are rather a matter of controversy. Because he took an interest in a Baptist cause at Olney, and possibly by reason of his association with John Bunyan, he is claimed as a Baptist. But on the other hand it must be remembered that there was a Baptist cause at Newport in the time of Gibbs, and in the Trust Deed of the Independent Meeting at Olney which he founded he is spoken of as an Independent.

It is probable that the original Independent Meeting House at Newport was erected about 1690, and Gibbs at any rate continued to labour there with acceptance and success till his death on 16th June, 1699. As to his style of preaching it is to be noted that in the preface to Hartley's Sermon mentioned later Gibbs observes that he did not make use of Notes in preaching and that though he might have preached it in a loftier strain he "did think it best to use the plainest language."

He made his will on 19th April, 1698, and after commending his spirit into the hands of God, his Creator, wholly relying and trusting in the all sufficient merits of Jesus Christ his Lord and Redeemer for eternal life and salvation he disposes of the things of this world. After giving legacies to his nephew, William Leeds, his brother, John Leeds, his nephew, Thomas Pointer, and his brother, Thomas Pointer, and others, he gave the rest of his estate to his loving wife, Martha, she having many children and grandchildren. The will was proved on 5th December, 1699.

Gibbs was buried on the South side of the chancel of the Church at Newport, and the stone shewing the spot is still visible. It originally bore a Latin inscription referring to Gibbs as a man of well cultivated mind, wonderful memory, acute judgement, and great learning, as well as of eminent piety and great integrity, and a fervent preacher both to saints and sinners.

The will of Martha Gibbs was made on 6th July, 1702, and she thereby gives one-third of her estate equally between her sons-in-law, John Barnes, William Maxwell, and Robert Brittan, and the residue to her daughter, Elizabeth Cole, in trust for her children, Martha and Elizabeth Cole. The will was proved on 10th January, 1704 (English style), by William Maxwell.

Gibbs published a funeral sermon which he preached on the occasion of the death of William Maxwell, his "relation," who, while a student at Harvard College, Cambridge, New England, died there on 11th April, 1697. It was printed in London in 1697, for H. Nelme, at the Leg and Star over against the Royal Exchange. He also preached a sermon on 13th March, 1697-8, on the death of William Hartley, of Newport Pagnell, Apothecary. It was printed for Mark Conyers, Bookseller at Newport Pagnell, and sold by A. Roper in Fleet Street and C. Cowper in Little Britain, 1698.

In 1704 there was published a book entitled *Several Divine Treatises by the late Reverend Divine Mr. John Gibbs.* The third edition was printed in London by W. Onley for J. Blake at the Looking Glass on London Bridge, and is dated 1704.

FREDK. WM. BULL.

The Chatteris Family and Dr. Isaac Watts.

QUITE recently I came across this account among some old papers, addressed to "Mr. Thomas Chatteris, Bishopsgate Street":

—Chatteris, Esq.

To Thomas Waller,
110 Shoreditch.

1809.				
May 31.	To taking off Black Marb Ledger from the Tomb of Dr. Isaac Watts & refacing do.	1	15	0
	To No. 735 letters (Deep cut) on Do.	9	3	9
	To Refixing Do. in Bunhill Fds Bury. Ground ..		9	0
1810.				
July 21.	To taking down Old, Clearing away & Erecting a new strong Portd. Tomb, Cramps, Lead, Etc.	30	0	0
	To working up Brickwork to do. 1500 Bricks (and[1] 33 hods Mortr & 3 Men 2 days	5	19	3
		47	7	0

RECEIPT STAMP 8d.

Recd. Febry 29th 1812 of ——— Chatteris, Esq the Sum of Forty Seven Pounds Seven Shillings for Stone Tomb and Brickwork to Do. in Bunhill fields Burial Yd. over Dr. Isaac Watts.

£47 7 0 for Thos Waller
Hy. Waller

Who was Thomas Chatteris, and why did he put himself to the considerable expense of providing Dr. Watts's grave with a new tombstone?

Thomas Chatteris was a member of the banking firm of Mainwaring, Son, & Chatteris, first in Lombard Street, and then at 80, Cornhill. He was born in or near 1758, his father being Thomas Chatteris, of Oundle. The family were French refugees, their real name being Chartres or Chatres: it is probable that they took the English form of the name during a residence at Chatteris in Cambridgeshire, which began in 1685. They kept their religious principles firmly through

[1] Illegible. Query, *sand*.

all the succeeding generations. Our Thomas Chatteris, who died in January, 1821, at the age of sixty-three (being buried at Bunhill Fields), was, like all his near kin, strong in his adherence to Nonconformity. He was fond of relating how, when attending the Bury Street Meeting House with his family when a boy, an old gentleman with a skull cap was pointed out to them, because he had "sat under Dr. Watts." This may have sown the seed of respect for the Doctor which later found its fruit in the restoration of his tomb.

I myself knew Thomas Chatteris's daughter. She has told me how she used when a girl to visit at Cheshunt and attend the chapel there. Here she saw Mr. Oliver Cromwell —the last male descendant of the Protector—and his sister, Miss Susanna Cromwell: she well remembered Mr. Cromwell's three-cornered hat hanging on its peg above him.

H. N. Dixon.

Letters.

THESE miscellaneous letters are copied from originals in the possession of Mr. H. N. Dixon, M.A., of Northampton.

I. John Newton (1725–1807), of Olney and St. Mary Woolnoth, London, to "Mr. Aaron Cass."[1]

Portswood Green,
19 Aug., 1800.

My good Friend Mr. Cass

Having this opportunity, I must send a love token to you and Mrs. Cass and the rather as I did not write tho' I intended it, when the Lord removed your child to a better World. I guess a little at a parents' feelings, but I hope the wound is now healed, and that you can both rejoice that you have one care less upon Earth and one Treasure more in Heaven.

You could not have done so well for your child had it lived. Like a ship that has gained her port by a very short passage—like a tender plant, removed into the Greenhouse before the Winter, your child has escaped the storms and frosts and trying changes, to which those are exposed who live long in such a turbulent world as this. The tears you shed for it are wiped away. Some people lose their children at 5 or 10 or 20 years of age, when they find it still more trying to part. And some have a still heavier Cross, when their children become wicked and rebellious and like the Sons of Eli, bring down their parents' grey hairs with sorrow to the grave. But why should I enlarge? I need not tell *you* that the Lord does all things well. I sympathized with you at the time, and meant to tell you so, but I was somehow prevented, till I thought my condolence would be out of date.

Since that time, we have all had innumerable mercies to acknowledge. Among the rest, I account the prospect of a plentiful Harvest. How little did we deserve this, nay, how little did we expect it some months ago. A wet Summer would probably have caused a Famine. The Lord is still Merciful and Long Suffering to this guilty Nation: may the number of those who plead for it, standing in the breach, and who mourn for the sins and misery which they cannot prevent, may [*sic*] greatly increase; and May You and I be found among them!

[1] So addressed. Of Mr. Cass I know nothing.

Miss Catlett joins me in her best wishes to you both. Remember me to the Baths [?] when you see them.

I pray the Lord to bless you in all things.

I am Your affectionate friend

JOHN NEWTON.

II. REV. MATTHEW WILKS (MOORFIELDS TABERNACLE) TO "REVD. MR. SHERMAN, READING." (JAMES SHERMAN, CASTLE ST., READING, AFTERWARDS OF SURREY CHAPEL.)

21 Tabernacle Row,

MY VERY DEAR SIR, Apr : 8 1826.

As the Missionary Society are to enjoy your services in the Month of May, I have been thinking that you would do me no small act of Charity by preaching for me the following Sunday at Tabernacle and Tottenham Court Chapel. I am become an invalid—never preach more than once a week and am frequently laid aside, as was the case last Sunday by an injury in My leg and may be to-morrow. You will add to that favr by making my house your home while in Town during the Missionary week.

Our Manager Isaac Smith Esqr 67 Upper Norton Street, always provides a dinner on the Thursday for as Many Ministers as I bring. He has hinted to me that he hopes I will not forget to engage you as one of the party. If you will by a note in the course of a few days assure me of your cheerful compliance, it will put gladness in to My heart, and I hope will be a season of refreshment to our people and yourself. With every feeling of affection, believe me to subscribe myself yours in our common Lord

M. WILKS.

III. CHARLES JAMES BLOMFIELD (1786–1857), BISHOP OF LONDON, TO MR. E. H. BARKER.[1]

The Bishops of London seem to have been in the habit of crying poverty. Illustrations may be adduced from Elizabethan times down to the present.

London House,

SIR, June 13, 1835.

Your letter did not reach me in time for an answer being sent last evening.

[1] No doubt Edward Henry Barker, a classical scholar "of greater industry than judgment," in the words of the *D.N.B.* Litigation ruined him; his library was sold, and for some years he was in Fleet St. prison. He reprinted Henry Stephens's *Thesaurus Graecae Linguæ* in 12 fol. volumes, which Blomfield severely criticised in the *Quarterly Review*. To this review Barker replied, and it is no doubt to this controversy that reference is made in this letter.

I beg to assure you, that I entertain no unkind feelings towards you on account of anything which you have written concerning me, and that I sincerely regret both the difficulties which have come upon you, and my inability to remove them— It is quite out of my power to advance any such sum as you require. It is only within the last few months, that I have been able to pay off my own debts, and I have at the present moment *no money* beyond what is absolutely wanted by me, for the payment of current expenses.

I should readily contribute to any subscription which may be privately raised by your friends to prevent the necessity of your selling your Library, but the calls upon me are too many to allow of my doing much.

I remain
Sir
Your obed. faithful Servt.

C. J. London.

E. H. Barker, Esq.

IV. Louis Kossuth, the Hungarian Patriot, to Mr. J. J. Colman, Norwich.

8, South Bank Regents Park
London, June 16, 1855.

My Dear Sir!

I was obliged to delay answering your friendly note of May 30th because, as it is on account of the sanitary condition of my children, that by medical advice I desire to take my family to the Seaside for six weeks, I had to take the advice of their physicians (my two boys being in Paris) as to the choise [*sic*] of the locality, which best would suit the exigency—I proposed the Isle of Wight, Hearn [*sic*] Bay, and Lowestoft for selection. They choose the last, as the most breezy, and as best suiting the case. I therefore am now pretty well determined to go to Lowestoft, provided I find the place to be not more expensive than either of the other places.

As you are so kind as to offer me your house there I shall be very glad to be your tenant for six weeks if the terms are such as I can afford to enter on.

You would therefore very much oblige me my dear Sir if You would favour me with a Statement of the terms you can agree to accept.

We are rather a numerous family: Mad. Kossuth & myself, my daughter, my two boys, their tutor;—and one of my aide de camps, Colonel Thasy—besides two female servants. I want

therefore 5 bedrooms, with 9 beds ;—a sitting room, and a dining room ; or two sitting rooms,—& kitchen.—The house of course furnished but modestly,—not elegantly ; I don't like to be responsible for costly furniture.—A good Piano is a necessary requirement ;—all my children playing the piano the(y) must be kept in exercise. If there is no piano in the house would you kindly inform me whether there is facility for hiring one, on reasonable terms.

Is living not excessively dear at Lowestoft ?

Is it a quiet place ? because though of course I shall be glad to exchange the pleasure of friendly social intercourse with yourself, and now and then with some few other gentlemen I may become acquainted with, and though Madame & Miss Kossuth will be glad of putting themselves on intimate friendly terms with Madame & Miss Colman, still for the rest the time that my avocations leave me I desire to spend in perfectly retired privacy with my family. I have now not seen my boys for ten months ; in a foreign land, foreign school surrounded by foreign habits, they of course have not seen much, if anything of our own. I want these six weeks, to keep up their national character. My boys when once God helps them home, must not feel themselves a stranger amongst their kindred. I desire these six weeks, with my family, to think Hungary, and feel Hungary and live in our own national way. Therefore I desire to have privacy, and a humble but retired place.

Do you think that Lowestoft, and the House you kindly offer me will answer my purpose ?

Be good enough to answer these my inquiries frankly and please to state your terms.

It is only with August that the vacation of my boys begins. So it is only about the 7th of August that I can leave London with them.

Requesting the favour of an early answer I have the honour to be with particular consideration

My dear Sir !

Your most obed. servant

Jerm. Jas. Colman, Esq. L. Kossuth.

Editor.

James Ward and Congregationalism.

IN the Memoir prefixed to the recently published *Essays in Philosophy* Mrs. Campbell gives an account of her father's Congregational days. In September, 1863, Ward delighted his parents by going to Spring Hill College, where "for the first term he was continually penniless, and would have to write to implore his father for a few shillings to pay for living or boot-mending. He had at first no carpet in his room, no table, and only one chair. He worked for part of the time at least with the top of a stepladder for a table. The life was a hard one in any case, the students having to clean their own rooms as a rule, and only having such firing as they could afford to pay for. Sunday was often spent walking miles across country from one village to another to take the different services."

"His sermons were not suited to an average congregation, and the enthusiastic praise of the few did not blind him to this fact. 'I have not warmth, nor imagination, nor sermonizing tact enough for a preacher,' he wrote once to his father; and again, after reading a sermon for criticism at College: 'I am very sad and unhappy about it. I shall never get on as a minister, for I shall never make popular sermons. Some here stigmatized my sermon as an "essay." One good fellow said he should like to read it three times before he gave an opinion.'"

His austere, evangelical views underwent a rapid change. A visit to Germany carried the development of his opinions farther away from orthodoxy, but in 1870 he accepted an invitation to preach for a month in Cambridge.

"He preached there a series of sermons on the text 'God is Love,' which so shocked one or two of the congregation, and so deeply moved a number, that they remembered them all the rest of their lives. One feels it was indeed a risky venture. He certainly did try the charity of several persons: his inconsistencies were many, his secret hankerings after the life of a student would not be quelled: as for *teaching*, rather than preaching what his flock dictated—the idea was excellent, but he had surely forgotten that a democratic control is one of the foundation-stones of Noncomformity. 'Now mind,' wrote a certain postmaster or gas-fitter, one of his prospective flock when he was finally called to Cambridge, 'you are invited on the distinct understanding that you believe that the Death of Christ was for the purpose of expiating the sins of men.'"

Overriding all obstacles, and inward misgivings, whether wise or foolish, Ward definitely accepted a warm invitation from the Cambridge congregation, and began his work there in January, 1871, though he was never ordained. "The leading spirit in his chapel was Mr. William Bond, 'a fine specimen of an earnest, honest,

manly Christian tradesman.... I could work with him splendidly.' The Bond family on their side took the greatest interest in their dangerous new minister and showed him every kindness. Unfortunately Mr. Bond, who had been the chief means of getting him to Cambridge, and to whose intellectual and high-minded religious conceptions the young pastor's sermons were bread and wine, was not the congregation. This was, as Ward wrote:

'A very peculiar one—many of the people are just those you meet with in any country-town, narrow, ignorant and old-fashioned . . . others have come into contact with the thinking of the time, know what is stirring in the minds of men and have brushed against University people . . . then we have all the Scotch in Cambridge with us, and there are a good many of them, travelling tailors for the most part.... Some poor people, a few disaffected Baptists and a sprinkling of students (undergraduates) completes the medley.... How am I to cement such a mixture?'

"Mr. Bond had hoped that a broad-minded and intellectual ministry would bring the chapel more into touch with the life of the University: he had reckoned without the more militant section of Nonconformists. Difficulties soon began—mostly at first in Ward himself. He was hypersensitive to the unfriendly element in his flock, he was indignant to find himself regarded by some, as he put it, 'as public property,' and he was only too much aware of the growing conflicts in his own mind. 'Our friend, Mr. Ward, has got wrong again,' wrote Mr. Bond to Wolstenholme in the middle of the year, 'if he *will* throw us up, why he must—he's an awful lot of trouble, and yet he's worth it.' Mr. Bond 'was determined not to let him go if he could possibly help it,' while Mrs. Bond, who had become a devoted and intimate friend of his, did all she could by wise and spirited appeals to reconcile him to himself and to his work."

Accusations of heresy, however, were soon made against him, and members of his flock showed their disapproval in various ways.

"Mr. Bond became very much worried, and wrote frequent letters, affectionate, admonishing, scolding, encouraging, irritated letters, to try and convince Ward that the greater part of his congregation clung to him and that the work he was doing was the best possible. He took him to task for being somewhat inhuman, and for being impatient of the narrow and commonplace elements in his congregation whom it was his special calling to teach. But Ward doubted it more and more, and his eye and his heart strayed ever oftener to the studious College courts and the vast possibilities of the University Library.

"But as he confessed often enough to Wolstenholme, 'The greatest evil, and the real source of my weakness is my heresy, which in certain directions is fast hardening into shape . . . the question is

whether I ought on this account to abandon a denomination whose watchword is Progress.'"

In early March, 1872, in spite of the many protests, he resigned, and began that career in moral science which was to be so fruitful.

AN APOSTLE IN AUSTRALIA

THE LIFE AND REMINISCENCES OF JOSEPH COLES KIRBY, CHRISTIAN PIONEER AND SOCIAL REFORMER.

By E. S. KIEK, M.A., B.D. Independent Press. 7s. 6d.

CONGREGATIONALISM has never been a great force in the Colonies, and we in England know far too little about those who have borne the heat and burden of the day in maintaining our witness in Canada, South Africa, and Australia. We have now no excuse in regard to one of the leaders of Congregationalism in Australia, for Principal Kiek has told in a most interesting way the life of J. C. Kirby, who lived a long, strenuous life in three Australian States. Kirby was born in England in 1837 ; he went to Sydney in 1854, and died three years ago. His ministerial training was brief, and his gifts practical rather than scholarly. From 1863 to 1871 he had pastorates in Queensland, then he moved to New South Wales, and, after a ministry at Woollahra, was for three years an agent of the New South Wales Congregational Union. Of that Union he was Chairman from 1879 to 1880, passing in the latter year to Port Adelaide, where during a ministry which lasted until 1908 he did his main work. He was twice Chairman of the South Australia Congregational Union; in 1891 he was an Australian representative at the first International Congregational Council and in 1910 was Chairman of the Australian Congregational Union.

Kirby was a vigorous personality, forceful and dogmatic, with no doubts about his theology, and no power of seeing the two sides to a question. Fearless and frank in the expression of his opinions, he was frequently in hot water : he was incessant with voice and pen in urging the claims of the Gospel. Narrow in some ways, he had a wide conception of the social duty of the Christian and the Christian Church—Mr. Kiek compares him with John Clifford and Silvester Horne—and in his own country his name will always be associated with the "six o'clock closing" of the public houses in South Australia, a reform for which he was a protagonist.

In some ways this biography is almost a history of Congregationalism in some of the Australian States. The work of the Colonial Missionary Societies there in the early days is outlined, and the struggle of Congregationalism to maintain itself suggested. There emerge from the narrative many public questions of importance—not merely those that affect Australia alone (like that of a "White Australia") but such as religious education in the public schools, prohibition and social hygiene—which concern every civilised community. EDITOR.