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EDITORIAL

OUR April number last year recorded the death of Dr. Nightingale, our President, and Mr. H. A. Muddiman, our Treasurer. This year we have the sorrowful duty of chronicling the death of the Rev. William Pierce, M.A., for many years Secretary of the Society and Dr. Nightingale's successor as President. The Congregational Historical Society has had no more devoted member and officer than Mr. Pierce, and it is difficult to imagine a meeting of the Society without him. He spent his life in the service of the Congregational churches and filled some noted pastorates, including those at New Court, Tollington Park, and Doddridge, Northampton, but he contrived to get through an immense amount of historical research—for many years he had a special table in the North Library of the British Museum. He has left three large volumes as evidence of his industry and his enthusiasm—*An Historical Introduction to the Marprelate Tracts*, *The Marprelate Tracts, and John Penry*. They are all valuable works, perhaps the reprint of the Tracts especially so, for it not only makes easy of access comparatively rare pamphlets, but it enables us to rebut at once and for always the extraordinary statements made time and again—by writers who obviously have never read the Tracts—to the effect that they are scurrilous, indecent, &c., &c.

In this volume Pierce had not much opportunity to show his prejudices, and therefore the volume is his nearest approach to scientific history. The faculty which made him so delightful a companion—the vigour with which he held his views and denounced those who disagreed with him—sometimes led him from the impartiality which should mark the ideal historian : if he could damn a bishop he was perfectly happy ! But his bias is always obvious : it never misleads, and it will not prevent his work from living on and proving of service to all students of Elizabethan religious history.

It would not be right to conclude this paragraph without a word of personal testimony. Over twenty years ago, when, as an undergraduate, I was just beginning the study of Elizabethan Puritanism, I was recommended to write to Pierce. From that time on I received from him continual kindness and help. He wrote me page after page of advice about books and libraries, and for years he was ever ready to answer every appeal I made

to him. No member of the Congregational History Society—and many members owe him a great deal—owes him more than the one whose duty it is to write this Editorial.

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Prof. E. J. Price served us admirably at our Autumnal Meeting, speaking with full knowledge and with his usual lucidity about "The Yorkshire Academies and the United College." It was peculiarly fitting that Dr. Grieve, at one time a Professor in the College, should occupy the Chair. There was a good attendance both of members and of the public, and keen interest was shown in the paper, which is printed within. We believe it is also to be published separately.

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The Annual Meeting will be held in the Council Room at the Memorial Hall, London, on Tuesday, May 7th, at 4.30 p.m. After the election of officers, Prof. F. M. Powicke, the recently appointed Regius Professor of Modern History in the University of Oxford, will speak on "The Use and Abuse of Historical Detail." Prof. Powicke had only had a short, if brilliant, career as Professor of History in the University of Manchester when he was called to Oxford: he has made a place for himself as a medievalist, the province of history which Manchester seems to share with Cambridge.

We welcome Prof. Powicke for his own sake, and also as the distinguished son of a distinguished father, for no member of our Society is more honoured for his work and more respected for his personality than is Dr. F. J. Powicke, whose articles on Baxter and Cromwell are just appearing in our pages, and of whose books on Barrow and Baxter Congregationalists are justly proud.

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The Centenary of the Congregational Union of England and Wales falls in 1931, and we have been asked to prepare a Centenary History. If any of our members have documents or information likely to be useful we should be grateful if they would forward them for our consideration.

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The Society is greatly indebted to the Rev. W. J. Payling Wright, who has spent a good deal of time in making a detailed card index of all the volumes of the *Transactions* so far issued. This index will be kept in the Congregational Library: it should save much time and labour for research students.

The Yorkshire Academies and the United College

IT is well-known to all students of Nonconformist history that the Academies founded by the ejected ministers and their successors played an exceedingly important part in the development of education in this country. The ejected ministers were for the most part learned and scholarly men; some of them were Fellows and Tutors at Oxford and Cambridge; others were headmasters in schools of one sortor another. The Act of Uniformity expelled both preachers and teachers, and closed the Universities to their sons, and to the sons of their adherents. Hence it was inevitable that some attempt should be made on the part of Dissenters to secure an education for their sons outside the Universities and the schools that were under ecclesiastical control, the more so as the most obvious way for the ejected ministers and teachers to secure a livelihood was by turning to the task of teaching the sons of Dissenters. Hence arose the Dissenting Academies, schools of learning of University type and standing which should make up to Dissenters for their exclusion from Oxford and Cambridge, and should make it unnecessary for them to incur the expense of sending their sons to the Universities of Scotland and Holland. These Academies were at the outset purely private institutions, the tutor receiving into his own house some three or four pupils to whom he acted as sole instructor, his own wide scholarship sufficing for the requirements of an all-round education. Though by no means restricted to the training of ministers, the enthusiasm of the tutors for the work of preaching from which they were legally inhibited, and their zeal for the provision of a learned and godly ministry for the Dissenting congregations which were rising up and down the country in defiance of oppressive laws, made their Academies the nurseries of ministers, and gave a theological emphasis to their work. They were intended to do the work of the Universities in training men efficiently both for the Church and for the liberal professions.

As a matter of fact they proposed to do this work even more efficiently than the Universities. Miss Irene Parker (Mrs. Parker Crane), in her excellent account of *The Dissenting*

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Academies in England, has shown that the Puritans were keenly interested in education as part of their general programme of reform in Church and State. They stood for wider and more progressive ideals of education than those which found expression in the Universities with their obsolete medieval standards. In the Academies they had for the first time a real opportunity to put their own ideals into practice, with the result that "they gave not merely an education to Dissenters, but a Dissenting education—an education, that is, which was different from that in the other schools—an education which became much broader than that in the Universities and in the schools established by law and controlled by the Church. . . . For the Dissenters kept alive in their Academies the spirit of Hartlib, and of those who had worked with him."[1] The result was that the Dissenting Academies stood immeasurably higher than the other educational institutions of their day. This fact was clearly recognised by many who were not themselves Dissenters, but nevertheless in order that their sons might have the advantage of a better education than the Universities could offer, and in an environment free from the moral corruption of Oxford and Cambridge, sent them to a Dissenting Academy. An impressive list could be drawn up of the distinguished men, both in Church and State, who, though not Dissenters, received their professional training in the Academies.

The early Academies were seldom large or numerous so far as pupils went. They were begun by ejected ministers in their own homes, for their own sons and the sons of neighbours. Their work was often interrupted by persecution, and they usually died with their founders. They were scattered and isolated, and rarely worked together. But they performed an inestimable service both to the nation at large and in particular to the Dissenting churches, for whom they furnished a constant supply of ministers of the highest character and attainments.

It is the pride of Yorkshire to have given birth to one of the most notable and influential of the Dissenting Academies of the earliest period. In the tiny hamlet of Rathmell, hard by Giggleswick in Craven, may still be seen the building, bearing the date 1686 and the initials $_{R}F_{E}$ (Richard and Elizabeth Frankland) in which Richard Frankland taught numerous pupils and from which he sent forth ministers who

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 44.

rendered memorable service in laying firm foundations for Congregationalism in Yorkshire and the adjacent counties. In the parish church at Giggleswick you may see the ornate mural tablet that records the virtues and the scholarship of one who in his life-time was hounded out of the parish as a fomenter of rebellion and schism. Here Richard Frankland founded "the oldest Nonconformist seat of learning in the North of England." Himself a native of the parish, born in 1630, he was educated at Giggleswick Grammar School and Christ's College, Cambridge, where he entered in 1647 and graduated B.A. in 1651 and M.A., 1655, and where he formed what was to prove a lifelong friendship with Oliver Heywood. Subsequently accepting a living at Bishop Auckland, he attracted the attention of Cromwell, who contemplated employing him as a tutor in the University which he proposed to found at Durham. The project did not materialize, and at the Restoration Frankland was ejected from Bishop Auckland. Being in possession of a moderate private income he returned to his home at Rathmell. He began his Academy by receiving into his house the son of his friend, Sir Thomas Liddell of Durham. In four years he received fifteen pupils, six of whom became Dissenting ministers. His activities soon exposed him to legal proceedings, and he was compelled to leave Rathmell for Natland, near Kendal, where he maintained his Academy for nine years, receiving no less than seventy-seven students. Expelled once more, he was driven to a wandering life for three years, and in 1686 settled at Attercliffe, near Sheffield, where he continued teaching until 1689, having in all some fifty-one students. Here he was in close touch with one of his former students, Timothy Jollie, who had become pastor of an Independent Church in Sheffield in 1681. Frankland, taking advantage of the Toleration Act, returned to Rathmell in 1689, and there he remained until his death, constantly harassed by his enemies, but protected by powerful friends, including, it is said, Archbishop Sharp. In the year 1695 he had eighty students, and one assistant in the work of tuition. Up to the time of his death in 1698 no fewer than 303 pupils had passed through his hands, 110 of them having become Congregational or Presbyterian ministers.

On the removal of Frankland from Attercliffe in 1689, Jollie, emulating the example of his master, began to receive pupils in his house, so that for a period of eight or nine years

there were two Academies in the West Riding of Yorkshire, one in the north and the other at the extreme south. In 1691 Jollie took a lease of Attercliffe Hall and turned it into an Academy under the name of Christ's College. By the year 1700 he had sent out forty-six students into the ministry, and altogether we know the names of about sixty of his students. Meanwhile, an Academy had been opened in Manchester by another of Frankland's pupils, John Chorlton, who became Henry Newcome's assistant in 1687, and was an intimate friend of Matthew Henry. Oliver Heywood says this Academy was opened soon after Frankland's death; it was in a sense the successor and heir of Rathmell. For when Frankland died no successor was forthcoming, and the Academy was broken up. Fourteen of the students continued their training under Chorlton at Manchester, while at least two went to Jollie at Attercliffe. Chorlton's Academy did not long survive his own death in 1705. It was continued with difficulty by his assistant, James Coningham, until he removed to London in 1712, when it ceased to exist. At Attercliffe, Jollie's Academy was carried on after his death in 1714 by J. Wadsworth, who lived until 1745, though it would appear that the Academy died before him at some date unknown.

With the breaking up of the Academies at Attercliffe and Manchester, the North of England was left without an educational centre for Dissenters. Various attempts were made to meet the need in a modest way by one of Chorlton's students, Thomas Dixon, at Whitehaven (1711) and Bolton (1723–29), and by one of Dixon's students, Caleb Rotherham, at Kendal (1733–1751). When Rotherham was compelled to retire through ill-health in 1751, there was no longer an Academy anywhere in the North of England. The work begun by Frankland nearly ninety years earlier had come to a dead stop.

We now come to the second series of Yorkshire Academies. These owe their origin to an entirely different set of circumstances from those we have been dealing with thus far. The earlier Academies had been intended to give a general education, with the training of ministers as a primary, but not sole object. Those of the second period were founded solely for the training of ministers, with a view to combating religious slackness and error. Again, the earlier Academies had been private ventures, individual founders being respon-

sible for their maintenance. The later ones were more public in the sense that they were promoted and sustained by groups of individuals acting as a Committee, either in their own name or as representatives of a body of subscribers. Between the years 1720 and 1750 Arianism and Socinianism had made great progress among the Dissenting congregations in Yorkshire as in the rest of the country. Large numbers of ministers and churches had abandoned the evangelical standpoint of Calvinism for rational liberalism, with the result that Church life and worship were everywhere declining. Congregations were diminishing and spiritual deadness was the dominant characteristic. At the same time, the evangelistic labours of the Wesleys and Whitefield were producing amazing results among the masses of the people. Methodist societies up and down the land were exhibiting anew the power of the Gospel and were inspiring earnest-minded preachers, both Anglicans and Dissenters, with a new vision of evangelical truth and a new zeal for its dissemination. Such was the situation when James Scott came from Tockholes in Lancashire to take charge of an Independent congregation at Heckmondwike in 1754. He was quickly impressed with the need for a revival of evangelical Christianity in the populous towns and villages of the West Riding; in many places there was a lamentable deficiency of the means of grace; almost everywhere the churches were cold and dead. Conversations on this subject with the Rev. E. Hitchin of London, who frequently had occasion to visit Heckmondwike, led to the project of founding an Academy in the North with the object of training young men of evangelical sentiments and personal piety, who, by furnishing the congregations with godly preachers, sound in the faith, should "dispel the cloud of Socinian darkness then spreading over the Northern counties." The matter was all the more urgent in view of the fact that in 1754 a scheme had been put forward for the establishment of an Academy at Warrington to further the interests of liberal thought by providing a full education for the ministry and the other learned professions. It was clear that the orthodox Calvinists must take a bold line in answer to this menace, if the North of England were not to be handed over entirely to the Socinian teachers and preachers. Hence, in the year 1756, the "Northern Education Society" was formed in London, with Dr. John Guyse as Chairman and the Rev. E. Hitchin as Secretary, and with the object of establishing a Theological Institution

in the North as the strategic centre for an attack upon the Socinian strongholds as well as upon the habitations of ignorance and sin. A similar institution for the West of England had already been founded at Ottery St. Mary in 1752.

At the suggestion of Hitchin it was resolved to invite James Scott to take charge of the proposed Academy. After some hesitation, he agreed, and for twenty-six years carried on the work single-handed—a work which has been continued under varying auspices right down to the present day, a period of 172 years. Scott was not a man of great learning, but he produced earnest preachers and zealous evangelists. Through him the Academy became a powerful instrument in reviving evangelical religion in the North. "Through the agency of his students," we are told, "many new congregations arose in places where evangelical religion had become extinct; in other cases a fresh air of Gospel truth was breathed over bodies which had become lifeless and corrupt." During these years the itinerant preaching of Henry Venn, who became Vicar of Huddersfield in 1759, was exercising a widespread influence in the district around Heckmondwike. Under Venn's influence many young men entered the ministry, and some of them became students under Scott.

Another great figure in the Yorkshire revival was that of Wm. Grimshaw, the unconventional curate of Haworth (1742-1763), whose itinerant preaching, like Venn's, contributed in no small degree to the establishment and revival of Independent churches in the district. These churches obtained both pulpit supplies and ministers from the Academy, which thus was able to consolidate the work of other evangelists. In all, up to the time of his death in 1783, Scott had some sixty-seven students, ten of whom had still to complete their training on his decease.

Upon Scott's death in 1783, these ten students were transferred to the care of the Rev. Samuel Walker, who was minister of the Chapel at Northowram made memorable by the ministry of Oliver Heywood. Walker was one of Scott's old students, but does not seem to have inherited his spirit. The influence and reputation of the Academy declined during the twelve years at Northowram. Many subscriptions were withdrawn, and by the year 1795, the Treasurer, Mr. Wm. Fuller of London, being faced with a deficiency of more than £500, felt called upon to take drastic action, which resulted in the dismissal of Walker, and the closing down of

the Academy. Nevertheless some twenty-five ministers were sent out from Northowram into the service of the churches. In passing, we might notice that when the Academy left Heckmondwike it left one permanent memorial behind it. In connexion with the Anniversary of the Academy, Scott instituted a "double Lecture" or preaching service after the fashion of the Puritans. According to tradition it was designed as an annual visitor's day, so that throughout the rest of the year the studies of the students might not be interfered with by the presence of solicitous relatives and others. This is the origin of the famous Heckmondwike Lecture, which continues to this day as an annual preaching festival, extended to the other Congregational Churches which have sprung up in the town meanwhile. The association with the Academy is recognized by the seats of honour accorded to the members of the staff of the United College, and by the toast of the College which is drunk at the Lecture dinner.

Northowram, however, was not to be the end of things, in spite of its untimely demise. Mr. Fuller, in announcing the closing down of the Academy, suggested that the work would be carried on much more efficiently if it were under the control of a Committee from the North who could exercise a more active oversight than a Committee in London, and could moreover secure local financial help. The matter was taken up by Mr. Joshua Walker of Rotherham, who had been a warm supporter of the Academy now defunct. He first brought it to the notice of a meeting of ministers, who, having consulted their churches, convened a series of meetings consisting of representative ministers and laymen of Yorkshire and Lancashire at Leeds, Halifax, and Huddersfield. At these meetings plans were laid for the establishment of a new Academy upon a larger scale and upon a more satisfactory footing. Unwillingness to shoulder the debt of Northowram, as well as desire to avoid the opprobrium attached to its name, led them to insist upon the fact that the institution in contemplation was an entirely new one. It was to have two Tutors instead of one, and was to be controlled by a representative Committee of the churches. It was felt desirable to remain in the neighbourhood of Halifax as the centre of a populous region which included parts of Lancashire, and Northowram seemed to be as good as anywhere else. Meanwhile, pending more definite arrangements, the Rev. William Vint of Idle, a former Northowram student, was asked to take

charge of the four students who still remained when Walker's Academy was closed.

The geographical position of the new Academy was settled largely by accident. An invitation to that notable Calvinist divine, Dr. Williams of Birmingham, to undertake the Theological Tutorship, led to a long correspondence, in the course of which it appeared that Dr. Williams had received an invitation to the pastorate of Masbro' Chapel, Rotherham, and would be willing to undertake the Tutorship provided the Academy should be established at Rotherham. This settled the matter, to the grievous disappointment of many who had loyally supported Northowram Academy to the end, especially Mr. David Asquith, who had gone so far as to offer the use of premises at Northowram, which, however, were deemed inadequate. Mr. Joshua Walker was commissioned to secure suitable premises at Rotherham; this he did, at a cost of over £600, which he paid out of his own pocket. He allowed the premises to be used for some years rent free, and ultimately handed over the property to the Academy as a gift. Dr. Williams entered upon his duties in November, 1795, and the two students who were under Mr. Vint's charge and had not yet completed their course of study were transferred to Rotherham, along with the Library from Northowram, which, by the friendly offices of Mr. Vint, was purchased for the new Academy.

Thus, under the happiest auspices, began the Rotherham Academy, which very shortly changed its name to the Rotherham Independent College, and which ran its honourable and fruitful course for ninety-one years before it finally became part of the Yorkshire United College. Meanwhile, however, the loss of an influentual institution from the more populous centre of the West Riding was a source of keen disappointment, and some of those who had supported the Northowram Academy conceived the idea of continuing it in the old neighbourhood under the charge of Mr. Vint at Idle. The leader in this movement was Mr. David Asquith, already mentioned, who approached Mr. Edward Hanson of London, a Yorkshireman by birth, and a liberal supporter of Northowram to the last. Mr. Hanson heartily concurred, and agreed to furnish means for the support of two students in a new Academy to be conducted by Mr. Vint. Mr. Asquith, along with his friend, Mr. Samuel Aydon, of the Shelf Iron Works, made himself responsible for a public appeal with the support of

some local ministers. And so began in a simple way the Idle Independent Academy which was soon to change its name to Airedale Independent College and was to run its course from 1800 to 1886 when its identity was merged with that of Rotherham in the Yorkshire United College.

Thus, from the year 1800 there were once more two Academies in the West Riding of Yorkshire, one in the North and one in the South. Under the circumstances of the time it was well that it should be so, for both maintained the character of Home Missionary institutions designed not merely for the training of ministers but also for providing student supplies for pastorless churches, which else could find no preachers to serve them. And the distances to be covered in Yorkshire itself, not to speak of the North of England, at a time when there were no railroads and few coach routes, made it well-nigh impossible for one centre to serve more than a comparatively small area. Whatever the distance, students for the most part travelled on foot, and in the case of the more remote stations would remain away for more than a week, taking two Sundays and using the time intervening for evangelistic excursions in the villages. In 1816 it is reported of the Idle students that during the preceding twelve months they had travelled on foot an aggregate of 17,400 miles; and they appear to have doubled that distance in the following year. Both Academies recognize that these distant journeys interfere harmfully with the studies of the students, and both seek in vain to limit preaching to the later years of the student's career—in vain, because the appeals for help from needy churches and unoccupied areas are so numerous and insistent that often enough twice the number of students in residence could easily be occupied in evangelistic labours. But both Rotherham and Idle find it necessary to limit the number of students, on account of the meagreness of their financial resources. In spite of difficulties, however, both could point with pride to new churches founded and older moribund causes brought to newness of life through the evangelistic labours of their students.[1]

[1] In 1819 Idle can claim ten entirely new causes like Ripon, Pateley Bridge, Grassington, Dogley Lane, and even so far afield as Chester-le-Street and Sunderland—causes which, if not entirely due to them in inception, have from the beginning depended upon their preaching—and four recovered from the very verge of extinction, like Keighley and Monkwearmouth. In 1821 Rotherham can point to the result of the students' labours in promising congregations at Bawtry and Ranskill and Ecclesfield, and in revived causes at Tickhill and Worksop.

Much of this work was carried out in co-operation with the Home Missionary Society founded in 1811, and it is beyond dispute that neither Rotherham nor Idle alone could have been equal to it. Nor could the two together suffice for the needs of the North, as clearly appears from the foundation of Blackburn Academy in 1815, now represented by the Lancashire Independent College at Manchester. As a matter of fact, the first twenty-five years of the nineteenth century present us with a thrilling story of Church extension among the rapidly increasing populations of the North of England in which the two Yorkshire Academies played the leading part—Idle no doubt performing the lion's share on account of its greater opportunities.

Both Academies claimed to be the real successor of Heckmondwike and Northowram. There was not a little jealousy between them on this account. Perhaps the claim was strictly true in neither case, and yet practically true in both, inasmuch as the collapse of Northowram called both into being. Each had a Treasurer in London, as well as the local Treasurer, to secure and transmit subscriptions from London sympathisers who had formerly supported the "Northern Education Society." They pursued their common task, each in its own way, and each with its own special difficulties. Rotherham was the better equipped both in buildings and in staff. It maintained two Tutors as against Idle's one, and was therefore able to offer a wider curriculum which included modern languages, science, and elocution. This very fact, however, crippled it financially. Its ideal was to maintain twenty-four students, and its buildings were extended in 1816, at a cost of £1,250, with that number in view. The number was actually reached in 1817, at a time when Idle was enlarging its Academy-House so as to accommodate fifteen. But the burden of incessant debt compelled Rotherham to reduce its number, which, like that of Idle, tended to stablise at about sixteen. In 1828 it sank as low as seven, while three years later apparently only two remained in the House. Idle had considerable advantage in the fact that its expenses were more moderate, and further, that it started off with Mr. Hanson's provision of £60 a year—afterwards increased to £150 a year in perpetuity. It had only one Tutor, and to him it paid a very meagre salary for years. During twenty years, moreover, the minister and trustees of Idle Chapel allowed the Academy to use the house and

premises belonging to the Chapel rent-free, and after 1821 received only £20 a year. Hence, although at Idle one hears again and again the cry of inadequate means, the situation never became so difficult as was regularly the case at Rotherham in consequence of the bolder educational policy pursued there.

Idle's opportunity, however, came in 1828, and it was bold enough to take it. For some time it had been felt that the tenure of the Chapel premises was too insecure for a public institution, and that it would be advantageous to remove the college to a site nearer Bradford. And now came Mrs. Bacon,[1] an old and generous friend of the College, with the offer of land at Undercliffe worth about £1,500, and an estate by way of maintenance estimated to produce about £50 a year, on condition that £1,500 was raised by subscription to meet the cost of building. The offer was gladly accepted and £2,000 was quickly raised. The new building was commenced in 1831 and completed in 1834. Mr. Vint was laid aside by sickness on the opening day and died before he could enter upon his duties in the new building. Twelve students entered in the first Session, and their Tutor, the successor to Vint, was the Rev. Walter Scott, who held office until 1856, being pastor also of College Chapel, Church Bank, which was built specially for him. The new College was intended to have two Tutors like Rotherham ; hence the Rev. T. R. Taylor was Classical Tutor 1834–5, and was succeeded in turn by the Rev. W. B. Clulow and the Rev. D. Fraser. In 1848 a third Tutor was appointed in the person of the Rev. H. B. Creak. On the death of Scott in 1856, Dr. Fraser succeeded as Principal. Seven years later W. C. Shearer became Classical Tutor, and after 1868 there were once more only two Tutors, Fraser and Shearer.

Returning now to Rotherham we must pass in brief review its history up to this point. The College was fortunate in its early Tutors. They were men of strength and character. Dr. Williams, the able defender of Calvinism, was succeeded in 1813 by Dr. James Bennett, known to all Nonconformist historians as joint author with David Bogue of the *History of Dissenters*. He resigned through ill-health in 1828, and accepted charge of the Silver St. Chapel, London. His successor was the Rev. C. Perrot of Guernsey, who after five

[1] It should be noted that Mrs. Bacon associated with herself in the gift her sister Miss Balme, recently deceased, but in her life-time a generous friend of Airedale College.

years of peculiar difficulty resigned. These five years, 1829–34, were the most trying years in the history of the College. The number of students fell very low indeed ; some resigned, and one, at least, was expelled. Subscriptions also declined and debt increased. Securities had to be realised in order to make ends meet. When, however, the Rev. W. H. Stowell was appointed as Theological Tutor in 1834 the situation began to improve, and by 1839 there were nineteen students, a larger number than for several years. The Classical Tutors during this period were the Rev. M. Phillips, succeeded in 1811 by the Rev. Joseph Gilbert, pastor of Nether Chapel, Sheffield, who was in turn succeeded, both as Tutor and as Pastor, by the Rev. Thos. Smith in 1817. Mr. Smith remained Classical Tutor for thirty-three years. In 1845 the Jubilee of the College was celebrated with considerable *éclat*. £1,000 was raised, to be spent, some of it, on an enlargement of the College premises. The next five years witnessed a period of depression and financial stress. By 1850 there was a debt of £900. Mr. Smith resigned the Classical Tutorship and Dr. Stowell continued for a few months without a colleague and with only seven students. Finally he himself resigned, in order to become head of Cheshunt College. In the following year, 1851, Dr. F. J. Falding became head of the College, without the pastorate of Masbro', and the situation began to improve once more. In the same year the Rev. T. Clark became Classical Tutor, and was succeeded in 1855 by the Rev. C. C. Tyte.

It is interesting to recall at this point that during this period there arose a third Theological College in Yorkshire, which carried on a fruitful work for some twenty-three years. This was "The Pickering Theological Institution and Home Missionary Academy," founded in the year 1827 by the Rev. Gabriel Croft, minister of the Independent Church at Pickering, with the generous assistance of Mr. Michael Trowsdale of Appleton Wicke, who bore a large share of the expense. Mr. Croft became minister of Pickering in 1814, and throughout his ministry of thirty-five years exercised a very wide influence throughout the North Riding of Yorkshire. As Secretary of the North Riding Congregational Association, he found great difficulty in securing suitable ministers for the smaller churches in the Riding, and therefore resolved, with the help of Mr. Trowsdale, to undertake himself the training of suitable young men for these churches. His services as Tutor were

entirely gratuitous, and the whole expense of the Academy, including the board and lodging of the students, worked out at less than £15 a year per man. During the period of the Academy's existence no fewer than twenty-one ministers were trained at Pickering, three of whom were still surviving in 1889. They played a very important part in that revival of religious life in the villages of the North Riding to which not a few of our Congregational churches of to-day owe their origin. The Academy was discontinued after a period of twenty-three years, in 1850, as the result of a break-down in health on the part of its devoted founder.

During these difficult years about the middle of the century, the question of the union of the two Yorkshire Colleges began to be canvassed. Many people, some with the keenest regret, saw that it was bound to come sooner or later. Conditions had completely changed since the beginning of the century. The railways were making travel comparatively easy, and the ends of the county were drawing nearer together. Moreover, the foundation of colleges at Manchester, Nottingham, and Spring Hill, Birmingham, had materially limited the area of Rotherham's influence. Nevertheless, many obstinate difficulties presented themselves on both sides. Apart from local sentiment, which counted for a good deal, there were practical obstacles to be surmounted. It was clear that the amalgamated College must be further North than Rotherham, but the supporters of Rotherham were not prepared to see their College simply absorbed into Airedale, nor were they convinced that Bradford was the best centre for an Institution to serve the whole of Yorkshire. In their judgment Leeds was better than Bradford. The supporters of Airedale, on the contrary, not simply from local sentiment, but also out of regard to the fact that "valuable endowments very recently conveyed"[1] seemed to fix the locality of their College in or near Bradford, were not very willing to consider any suggestion to remove to another town. The discussion began in 1850, when the affairs of Rotherham were at a very low ebb. There was a heavy debt, the classical Tutor had resigned, and there were but seven students. The Rotherham Committee opened up negotiations with Airedale, and it was practically agreed that Rotherham should be closed and the property handed over to Airedale. The Rotherham constituents, however, refused to authorise this drastic procedure,

[1] Airedale Report, 1868-9.

and it was resolved to carry on as before. Dr. Falding was appointed as Classical Tutor, and in 1852 became Principal. From that time on the affairs of Rotherham assumed a much more hopeful aspect. But the question, once raised, could not be easily closed, and negotiations between the two Colleges went on intermittently for twenty years, and it took sixteen years even after that to bring about the long foreseen result. An approach from the side of Airedale in 1856 upon the death of Dr. Scott came to nothing. Five years later (1861) the Rotherham Committee were confronted with a very heavy outlay for repairs and it seemed to some an opportune time for the erection of a new building in place of the one which had served its purpose for sixty-six years and was no longer worth patching up. As it was understood that Airedale also was contemplating re-building, approaches were made once more, a Joint Committee was set up, and a scheme for amalgamation was submitted to the Charity Commissioners. But inasmuch as a substantial minority of the Rotherham supporters offered opposition, the Charity Commissioners refused to authorize the scheme. The next step was taken four years later (1867) by the West Riding Congregational Union, whose Annual Assembly passed a resolution affirming the desirability of the amalgamation of the two Colleges, and recommending the Committee concerned to take steps to this end. Once more a Joint Committee was formed, and once more the erection of a new building at Leeds to serve the purposes of the united colleges was recommended. But this time Airedale turned it down.

So far, both Colleges had accepted the principle of amalgamation, but there did not seem to be any feasible method of applying it. Hence the Rotherham Committee set about the erection of their own new building. In 1870 a site was purchased and a building fund was commenced which soon reached £9,000. Meanwhile the Airedale Committee were discussing plans for a new building and had already received a generous offer of £2,500, provided the new site was *at* or *near* Bradford. It seemed a stupid thing for two Colleges which were agreed upon the principle of amalgamation to be setting about the erection of separate buildings. Once more an approach came from Airedale with the hard and fast condition that the site of the new United College must be *at or near* Bradford. Rotherham disliked the condition and sought to remove it, but would not go the length of refusing

investigation. A Joint Committee examined sites at Saltaire and Heaton and after interminable discussions fixed upon Saltaire. Then the whole project was turned down by Rotherham in a general Meeting held in October, 1872. Thus after twenty years discussion, and in spite of the pressure of public opinion, the two Colleges were as far off as ever.

The Rotherham Committee proceeded at once with its plans for a new building. The foundation stone was laid in April, 1873. In June, 1876, the Annual Meeting was held for the last time in the old building which had served the College for eighty-one years, and in September the new building was opened. Its total cost was £23,000. It contained residential provision for thirty-five students. The first session opened with nineteen, and the Committee were saddled with a debt of £5,000. Meanwhile the foundation stone of a new building at Bradford had been laid in October, 1874. It was opened in June, 1877, nine months after the opening of the Rotherham building. Its total cost was £26,000. It was non-residential, the Governors having changed the character of the College in this regard, as a matter of policy. There were nineteen students in the first Session, and the building debt was £7,500.

The departure of Airedale College from Undercliffe was coincident with the retirement of Dr. Fraser. He was succeeded by A. M. Fairbairn, who at the time of his appointment was a Congregational minister in Aberdeen. In the following year Dr. Archibald Duff was brought from Montreal to become Professor of Hebrew and Old Testament Exegesis. Prof. Shearer continued in the new College as Classical Tutor. Dr. Fairbairn imparted new life to the College. His brilliant gifts ensured a widespread reputation both for himself and the College. Under his *régime* a new principle was introduced, whereby the Arts teaching was completely separated from the Theological course. Henceforth students needing instruction in Arts were sent to a University where they might take a degree, and the College, so far as its teaching was concerned, became a purely Theological Institution. After nine years in Bradford Dr. Fairbairn was called in 1886 to become the first Principal of Mansfield College, Oxford.

Meanwhile Rotherham College had been carrying on fruitful work under Dr. Falding and Professors Tyte and Barker. In 1884 the two Professors resigned and the College secured the services of Prof. W. H. Bennett and the Rev.

Elkanah Armitage, then pastor of Doncaster Road Church, Rotherham. Henceforth the work of the Arts students was taken at Firth College, Sheffield, then recently established. Thus the two Colleges were moving along pretty much the same lines in becoming Theological institutions pure and simple.

On Dr. Fairbairn's removal to Mansfield in 1886, the old question of amalgamation, which had slumbered for fourteen years, came up again. The Airedale Governors approached the Rotherham Committee with the result that, after a great deal of consultation, a scheme was drawn up and sanctioned by the Charity Commissioners in February, 1888. By this scheme the two Colleges were to merge their individuality and their property in a new Institution to be called the Yorkshire United Independent College. The old vexed problem of locale was decided in the wisest way by leaving the selection of either of the existing buildings to three disinterested arbitrators, Principal Cave, Dr. R. W. Dale, and Mr. Henry Spicer. Their decision went in favour of Airedale; and although this was a matter of grievous disappointment to the friends of Rotherham, who had laboured with conspicuous devotion to maintain the College in South Yorkshire, and were to see the building they had raised with loving hands scarce a dozen years before pass into the hands of strangers for a mere fraction of its original cost, it was accepted with such complete loyalty that to-day the United College at Bradford includes residents in the vicinity of Rotherham among its best friends.

Dr. Falding came from Rotherham to be the first Principal of the United College. With him came Prof. Armitage, to join Prof. Shearer and Dr. Duff from Airedale. Dr. Falding died in 1892, and was succeeded first by Dr. D. W. Simon, and then by Dr. E. Griffith-Jones, the present greatly honoured principal. Prof. Shearer died in 1902 and was succeeded in turn by Prof. George Currie Martin, Prof. A. J. Grieve, now Principal of Lancashire College, and Prof. C. J. Cadoux. Prof. Armitage resigned in 1913 and is still happily with us. He was succeeded by the present writer. Dr. Duff, full of years and vitality, resigned in 1925 and still rejoices as a young man to run his race. He was succeeded by Prof. J. B. Allan, who is also Professor of Old Testament at Rawdon Baptist College close at hand. Thus the United College has always had four Professors, and also, for several years past, an Arts Tutor.

Thus arises the United College as it is to-day. After ninety years of separation the two streams which trace their common source to Northowram and Heckmondwike flow in one channel. The United College is the child of 1756, and therefore observed its 172nd Anniversary this year. During those 172 years 850 students have passed into the ministry through the Yorkshire Academies and Colleges now represented by "United." Thus the work of James Scott and his friends of the "Northern Education Society" lives on. Joshua Walker of Rotherham and Edward Hanson, the benefactor of Idle, are built as living stones into a structure that has proved itself worthy of their faith and courage. And may we not say too that Frankland and Jollie, the spiritual fathers of all Nonconformist learning in this great County of Yorkshire, surveying all this story that we have tried to tell, would see of the travail of their soul, and would be satisfied ?

E. J. Price.

HIGHGATE.

According to Mr. Philip Norman's *Cromwell House, Highgate* (Murray, 1917), Cromwell House or Ireton House, Highgate, was the residence of Sir John Ireton and not of his famous brother, Henry; and the military figures on the staircase are older than the Iretons' day. Lord Bacon died in a house that was next door. Nell Gwyn lived opposite, and so also did Andrew Marvell. Cromwell House or Ireton House is unaltered externally.

Thomas Harrison, the regicide, was living at Highgate in 1656.

Sir John Ireton's friend, Sir Richard Sprignell (also of Highgate) had married the daughter of a regicide. There was, says Mr. Norman, a strong connexion at Highgate with the Cromwellian party.

W. J. P. W.

The Rev. Richard Baxter's Relation to Oliver Cromwell

(*Continued from page* 182).

And in *Colchester* they endured a long and grievous Siege[62]; and, yielding at last, Sir *Charles Lucas*, and another or two were shot to Death; and thus all the Succors of the King were defeated."

§ 91. "Near to this time, when *Cromwell* had taught his Agitators to govern, and could not easily unteach them again, there arose a *Party* who adhered to the Principles of their *Agreement of the People*, which suited not with his Designs; and to make them odious he denominated them Levellers,[63] as if they intended to level Men of all *Qualities* and *States*.

While he discountenanced them, he discontented them; and being discontented, they endeavoured to discontent the Army; and, at last, appointed a Randezvouz at *Burford* to make Head against him. But *Cromwell* (whose Diligence and Dispatch was a great Cause of his Successes) had presently his Brother *Desborough* and some other Regiments ready to surprise them in their Quarters, before they could get their Numbers together; so that about 1500 being scattered and taken, and some slain, the Levellers War was crusht in the Egg, and *Thompson* (one of Captain *Pitchford's* Corporals aforementioned), who became their chief Leader, was pursued near *Wielingborough* in *Northamptonshire*, and there slain while he defended himself."

Passing over Cromwell's March into Scotland to help the Covenanters when Montrose was too strong for them[64]; and "his Trans-

[62] On June 1, 1648, Fairfax forced his way into Maidstone and broke up the insurgent army. Lord Warwick, with the escaped remnant and others, threw himself into Colchester, which fell to Fairfax on Aug. 28, after a terrible siege. For Sir Charles Lucas and Sir George Lisle (defenders of Colchester and shot in the castle-yard on the same day) see *D.N.B.*, articles by Firth.

[63] The name Leveller first appears in a letter of Nov. 1, 1647, although it was undoubtedly in existence as a nickname before that date (Gardiner, III., 216*n*.). There were political Levellers led by men like John Lilburne, whose demand was for Republicanism and universal suffrage, but not for social equality. They had no desire to take away "the proper right and title that every man hath to what is his own." It was risings on the part of these that Cromwell and Desborough put down at Banbury and Burford.

There were also social Levellers represented, *e.g.*, by the fifty men called Diggers who took possession of some unoccupied land on St. George's Hill, near Oaklands, in Surrey (April, 1649), in order to cultivate it as their own. At their trial before Fairfax, they repudiated Landowners, and for this, Cromwell denounced them in his speech to Parliament in Sep., 1654.

(Cf. *Memoirs of Col. Hutchinson*, pp. 256-7, *ed.* Firth.)

[64] Baxter's reference can only be to Cromwell's march into Scotland on Sep. 20, 1648; but by then Monmouth had ceased to count. After his defeat at Philip-

portation into Ireland, his speedy Conquest of the remaining Forces and Fortresses of that Kingdom" ; and " his taking the Isles of *Man*, of *Jersey*, *Garnsey* and *Scilly* and such other of his Successes,"[65] Baxter comes to " what he did to the change of the Government, and to the exalting of himself and of his Confidents."

§ 94. His opportunity arrived when " the House voted that the King's Concessions " (in the Isle of Wight Conference) " were a Sufficient Ground for a Personal Treaty[66] with him, and had suddenly sent a concluding Answer, and sent for him up." Cromwell decided that " at such a crisis it was time for the Army to bestir " itself. So " without any more ado *Cromwell* and his Confidents sent Collonel *Pride* with a Party of Soldiers to the House, and set a Guard upon the Door.[67] One part of the House (who were for them) they let in ; another part they turned away, and told them that they must not come there ; and the third part they imprisoned (the soberest worthy Members of the House) ; and all to prevent them from being true to their Oaths and Covenants, and loyal to their King. To so much Rebellion, Perfideousness, Perjury and Impudence, can *Error*, *Selfishness*, and Pride of great Successes transport Men of the highest Pretences to Religion."

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haugh on Sep. 13, 1645, he at length escaped to Bergen (31 Aug., 1646) ; and his next attempt for the King failed utterly at Invercarron on April 27, 1650. He was executed in the Grass Market, Edinborough, on May 21 following.

[65] Cromwell's campaign in Ireland extended from August 13, 1649, to the fall of Clonmel on May 10, 1650. The *Isle of Man* surrendered to Colonel Duckenfield on Oct. 31, 1651, *Jersey* to Col. Heane on Dec. 12, 1651, *Guernsey* on Dec. 17, 1651, and the *Scilly Isles* to Blake on May 23, 1651.

[66] " While the army had been fighting royalism, the House of Commons had been carrying on negotiations with the King. Presbyterian members, frightened away in the preceding autumn, had come back to their seats and a renewed Presbyterian majority was the result." On Aug. 1, Parliament agreed that there should be a personal treaty with Charles in the Isle of Wight. Its commissioners met the King at Newport on Sept. 18. He made a number of concessions, but " it is certain that the King was not sincere in making them." " To deal freely with you," wrote Charles to one of his friends, " the great concession I made this day—the Church, militia and Ireland—was made merely in order to my escape . . . my only hope is, that now they believe I dare deny them nothing, and so be less careful of their guards." (Firth, *id.*, p. 208.)

[67] On Dec. 1, 1648, officers sent by Fairfax seized Charles at Newport, and removed him to Hurst Castle in Hampshire. The next day Fairfax and his troops occupied London. Undeterred, the Commons resolved by 129 votes to 83 that the King's answers were a ground to proceed upon for the settlement of the Kingdom.

The same evening the commanders of the Army and the leaders of the Parliamentary minority held a conference to decide what was to be done, and resolved to expel the Presbyterian majority from the House, so leaving the Independents in possession of the name and authority of Parliament. On Dec. 6, accordingly, Colonel Pride and a body of musketeers beset the doors of the House of Commons, seized some members as they sought to enter, and turned them back by force. The same process continued on the 7th, till 45 members were under arrest, and some 96 others excluded. Cromwell did not arrive in London from the north till the night after " Pride's Purge " began. He said that he had not been acquainted with this design but " since it was done he was glad of it and would endeavour to

§ 95. "For the true understanding of all this, it must be remembered, that though in the beginning of the Parliament there was scarce a noted gross Sectary known—but the Lord *Brook* in the House of Peers, and young Sir *Henry Vane* in the House of Commons; yet by Degrees the Number of them increased in the Lower House. Major *Salloway* and some few more Sir *Henry Vane* had made his own Adherents. Many more were carried part of the way, to Independency, and Liberty of Religions; and many that minded not any side in Religion, did think that it was no Policie ever to trust a conquered King, and, therefore, were wholly for a Parliamentary Government. Of these some would have Lords and Commons as a mixture of Aristocracie and Democracie, and others would have Commons and Democracie alone; and some thought that they ought to Judge the King for all the Blood that had been shed. And thus when the two Parts of the House were ejected and imprisoned, this third part—composed of the *Vanists*, the Independents, and other Sects, with the Democratical Party—was left by *Cromwell* to do his Business under the Name of the Parliament of *England*; but by the People in Scorn commonly called the Rump of the Parliament. The excluded and imprisoned members published a Writing called their *Vindication*; and some of them would afterwards have thrust into the House, but the Guard of Soldiers kept them out, and the Rump were called the *Honest Men*. And these are the Men that henceforward we have to do with in the Progress of our History—as called the Parliament."

§ 96. "As the Lords were disaffected to these Proceedings, so were the Rump and Soldiers to the Lords; so that they passed a Vote[68] (supposing that the Army would stand by them) to establish the Government without a King and House of Lords; and so the Lords dissolved, and these Commons sat and did all alone. And being deluded by *Cromwell*, and verily thinking that he would be for Democracie, which they called a Commonwealth, they gratified him in his Designs, and themselves in their disloyal Distrusts and Fears; and they caused a High Court of Justice to be erected, and sent for the King from the Isle of *Wight*. Collonel *Hammond* delivered

maintain it." The Newport treaty seemed to him to be a complete surrender to Charles, and the King was hopeless. Not, however, till the very last did he make up his mind that the King must die. We get glimpses of Cromwell negotiating with lawyers and judges about the settlement of the nation, inspiring a great attempt to come to terms with Charles, and arguing that it would be safe to spare the King's life, if he would accept the conditions now offered him. All these attempted compromises failed. Then Cromwell concluded that the King's death was a "cruel necessity." Firth, *id.*, c. xi.; *cf.* Trevelyan *England under the Stuarts*, p. 289.

[68] On Feb. 6, 1649, the House of Commons voted that the House of Lords was useless and dangerous; on the 8th, that the office of King was unnecessary, burdensome and dangerous to the liberty, safety, and public interest of the nation. This, of course, was after the King's execution, though Baxter seems to make it precede.

him, and to the *Westminster Hall* he came, and refusing to own the Court and their Power to try him, *Cook* as attorney having pleaded against him, *Bradshaw* as President and Judge recited the Charge and condemned him. And before his own Gate at *Whitehall* they erected a Scaffold, and before a full Assembly of People beheaded him. Wherein appeared the Severity of God, the Mutability and Uncertainty of Worldly Things, and the Fruits of a sinful Nation's Provocations, and the infamous Effects of Error, Pride, and Selfishness, prepared by Satan to be charged hereafter upon Reformation and Godliness, to the unspeakable Injury of the Christian Name and Protestant Cause, the Rejoicing and Advantage of the Papists, the Hardning of Thousands against the Means of their own Salvation, and the Confusion of the Actors when the Day is come."[69]

§ 97. "The Lord General *Fairfax* all this while stood by, and, with high Resentment, saw his Lieutenant do all this by tumultuous Souldiers, tricked and overpowered by him; neither being sufficiently on his Guard to defeat the Intrigues of such an Actor, nor having Resolution enough (as yet) to lay down the Glory of all his Conquests, and forsake him. But at the King's Death he was in wonderful Perplexities, and when Mr. *Calamy* and some Ministers were sent for to resolve them, and would have farther persuaded him to rescue the King, his Troubles so confounded him, that they durst let no Man speak to him; and *Cromwell* kept him (as it was said) in praying and consulting till the Stroke was given, and it was too late to make Resistance. But not long after, when War was determined against *Scotland*, he laid down his Commission, and never had to do with the Army more, and *Cromwell* was General in his stead."[70]

§ 99. "The King being thus taken out of the way, *Cromwell* takes on him to be for a Commonwealth (but all in order to the

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[69] *Cf.* Trevelyan's judicious remarks (*England under the Stuarts*, pp. 290, 291).

[70] Baxter's view, at this point, agrees with Clarendon's (*Rebellion*, XI., 235). Fairfax "out of the stupidity of his soul was throughout outwitted by Cromwell, and made a property to bring that to pass which could very hardly have been otherwise effected." But the truth is, Fairfax and Cromwell alike were carried away by the Army, and he was their instrument, rather than Cromwell's. (*D.N.B.*, art. Fairfax, by Firth.) He went almost as far as Cromwell, but drew back just when Cromwell took the final step. He then fell into a state of painful indecision, while Cromwell became inexorable. But he did not break with Cromwell or the Commonwealth. Besides sitting in the Council of State, Fairfax also entered the House of Commons as member for Cirencester (Feb. 7, 1649), and accepted reappointment as Commander-in-Chief of all the forces in England and Ireland (March 30, 1649). His scruples against invading Scotland were due to the influence of his wife and the Presbyterian clergy; and were strong enough to make him give up his command. Certainly, he did not give it up as the result of Cromwell's scheming to be "General in his stead." *Cf. Memoirs of Colonel Hutchinson*, p. 278: "To speak the truth of Cromwell, whereas many said he undermined Fairfax, it is false; for in Colonel Hutchinson's presence, he most effectually importuned him to keep his commission," etc.

Security of the good People) till he had removed the other Impediments which were yet to be removed; so that the Rump presently drew up a form of *Engagement*, to be put upon all men—viz: *I do promise to be True and Faithful to the Commonwealth as it is now established without a King or House of Lords.* So we must take the Rump for an *established Commonwealth* and promise Fidelity to them. This the Sectarian Party swallowed easily, and so did the King's old Cavaliers, so far as I was acquainted with them, or could hear of them (not heartily, no doubt, but they were very few of them Sick of the Disease called tenderness of Conscience, or Scrupulosity). But the Presbyterians and the moderate Episcopal Men refused it, (and I believe so did the *Prelatical Divines* of the King's Party for the most part; though the *Gentlemen* had greater Necessities). . . . And because the Presbyterians still urged the Covenant against killing the King and pulling down the Parliament and setting up a Commonwealth and taking the Engagement, some of the Independent Brethren maintained that its Obligation ceased, because it was a *League*, and the Occasion of it ceased; and some of the Rump said it was like an Almanack out of date; and some of the Soldiers said they never took it; and others of them railed at it as a *Scottish* Snare, so that when their Interest would not suffer them to *keep* so solemn a Vow, their Wills would not suffer their Judgments to confess it to be Obligatory—at least as to the part which they must violate."

§ 100. "For my own part, though I kept the Town and Parish of *Kiderminster* from taking the Covenant (and seeing how it might become a Snare to their Consciences) yea, and most of *Worcestershire* besides, by keeping the Ministers from offering it in any of the Congregations to the People (except in *Worcester* where I had no great Interest and know not what they did); yet I could not Judge it seemly for him that believed there is a God, to play *fast* and *loose* with a dreadful Oath, as if the Bonds of National and Personal Vows were as easily shak'd off as *Sampson's* Cords. Therefore, I spake and preach'd against the Engagement and dissuaded Men from taking it. The first hour that I heard of it, being in Company with some Gentlemen of *Worcestershire* I presently wrote down above twenty Queries against it, intending as many more almost against the Obligation as those were against the Sense and Circumstances. . . . Some Episcopal Divines that were not so scrupulous it seems as we, did write for it (private Manuscripts which I have seen) and plead the irresistability of the Imposers, and they found starting Holes in the Terms . . . But I endeavoured to evince that this is meer jugling and jesting with Matters too great to be jested with; and that as they might easily know that the Imposers had another sense, so as easily might they know that the words in their own obvious usual sense among men, must be taken as the Promise or

Engagement of a Subject as such to a Form of Government now pretended to be established; and that the Subjects Allegiance or Fidelity to his Rulers can be acknowledged and given in no plainer words; and that by such Interpretations and Stretchings of Conscience, any Treasonable Oath or Promise may be taken, and no Bonds of Society can signify much with such Interpreters."

§ 101. "*England* and *Ireland* being thus Conquered by *Cromwell* (by deluding well meaning Men into his Service, and covering his Ambition with the Lord *Fairfax's* Generalship); the Parliament being imprisoned and cast out, the King cut off, and the Rump established as a new Commonwealth, (those great and solid Men, *Pim, Hampden*, &c., being long before dead and rid out of the way, who else had been like to have prevailed against the Plots of *Vane* in the Parliament) you would think there were nothing now standing in his way, to hinder him from laying hands upon the Crown. But four impediments yet stood before him:—1, the numerous Cavaliers (or Royalists) ready for new Enterprizes against him; 2, the *Scots* who resolved to stick to the Covenant and the King; 3, the *Army*, which must be untaught all the Principles which he is now permitting them to learn (for those Principles which must bring him to the Crown are the worst in the World for him when once he is there); 4, the Ministers of *England* and *Scotland*, and all the sober People who regarded them. The first of these he most easily (though not without strugling) overcame, making his advantage by all their Enterprizes. The second put him harder to it, but he overcame them at last. The third proved yet a greater difficulty, but he seemed absolutely to overcome it, yet leaving still some Life in the root. The fourth strove against him more calmly and prudently, with invincible Weapons, and, though they were quiet, were never overcome; but at last revived the spark of Life which was left in the third, and thereby gave a Resurrection to the first and second, and so recovered all at last; not to the state of their own Interest, or to that Condition of Church Affairs which they desired, but to that Civil State of Royal Government to which they were engaged, and from which the Nation seemed to have fallen."

§ 102. "The King being dead, his Son was by right immediately King (and from that time he dateth his Reign). The *Scots* send Messengers to him to come over to them and take the Crown; but they treat with him first for his taking of the Covenant, and renouncing the Wars, and the Blood that was shed in them by his Father's Party."[71]

[71] "As soon as the news of Charles I.'s execution arrived Charles II. was immediately proclaimed in Edinburgh as King of Great Britain, France and Ireland. The Scots sent an embassy to him moving him to return to his kingdom; but, at the same time, they sent all the documents which expressed their views, bound together in a single volume—the original Scottish Covenant, that between the

This he did; and the Scots thereupon made "Preparations" "for an Army to defend him." "As soon as they understood what the *Scots* had done, the Sectaries in *England* reproached them as *Fools* and *Hypocrites*, that by such a Pageantry mockt themselves, and would make the People believe that the King was turned Presbyterian, and was a Cordial Covenanter, when they had forced him to say and do that which they might well know he did abhor. And they presently resolved to invade the *Scots*, to keep them from invading *England*, and not to stay till they came in upon the Land, as heretofore. So that *Cromwell* is in *Scotland* with his Army before they were well settled in their Affairs. This much increased the Alienation of the Peoples hearts from the *Cromwellians*: for though they might suppose that the *Scots* intended to bring the King into *England*, yet few believed that he might begin with them by Invasion, it being too much to have resisted them at home."

§ 107. "The *Lord Fairfax* now laid down his Commission and would have no more of the Honour of being *Cromwell's* Instrument or Mask, when he saw that he must buy it at so dear a rate. And so *Cromwell* with applause received a Commission and entered upon his place. And into *Scotland* he hasteneth,[72] and there he maketh his way near *Edinburgh*, where the *Scots* Army lay. But after long skirmishing and expectations, when he could neither draw the *Scots* out of their Trenches to a fight, nor yet pass forward, his Soldiers contracted Sicknesses, and were impatient of the Poverty of the Country, and so with a weakned ragged Army he drew off to return to *England*, and had the *Scots* but let him go, or cautelously followed him, they had kept their Peace and broken his Honour. But they drew out and followed him, and overtaking him near

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Scots and the English, and the decrees of the Westminster Assembly as to doctrine and ritual. Charles II. was required to accept these beforehand. At first he demurred; but acting on the advice of the Irish Royalists, his mother, and William II. of Holland, he complied. Further, hard pressed on all sides, he subscribed a declaration, in which he condemned not merely his own delay in rendering the satisfaction due to the Kingdom and Church of Scotland, but also, with deep sorrow lamented his father's perverse resistance to the work of God, and the idolatry of his mother, &c. Nevertheless, a letter from him, written during this time, is extant in which he asserts his unalterable attachment to the Church of England." (Von Ranke, *History of England*, III., 42-47.)

[72] At the end of July, 1650, Cromwell entered Scotland with an Army of 10,500 foot and 5,500 horse. At Edinburgh he found the Scottish Army entrenched between Leith and Calton Hill. Unable to draw the Scots into the open, he fell back on Dunbar with "a poor, shattered, hungry, discouraged army." The Scots followed and hemmed him in. On Sept. 2, David Leslie, their commander, moved his army from the high ground of Doon Hill to the gentle slopes at its foot; and told his soldiers they would have the English army, alive or dead, by 7 o'clock next morning. But his movement gave Cromwell his chance, and led to a total defeat of the Scots in the dawn of Sept. 3. 3,000 men fell in the battle, and 10,000 prisoners were taken. As soon as possible, Cromwell occupied Edinburgh and Leith, and all the Eastern portion of the Scottish Lowlands. (Firth, *id.*, pp. 280-284.)

Dunbarr, did force him to a Fight, by engaging his Rere ; in which Fight being not of *equal Fortitude* they were totally rowted, their Foot taken, and their Horse pursued to *Edinburgh*."

§ 108. "Ten thousand Prisoners of the Foot were brought to *Newcastle* where the greatness of the number, and the baseness of the Country (with their Poverty), and the cruel Negligence of the Army, caused them to be almost all famished. For being shut up in a Cabbage-garden, and having no Food, they cast themselves into a Flux and other Diseases with eating the raw Cabbages ; so that few of them survived and those few were little better used. The Colours that were taken were hanged up as Trophies in *Westminster-Hall*, and never taken down till the King's Restoration."

§ 109. "Cromwell being thus called back to *Edinburgh* driveth the *Scots* to *Sterling* beyond the River,[73] where they fortifie themselves. He besiegeth the impregnable Castle of *Edinburgh* and winneth it ; the Governor, Coll. *William Dunglasse*, laying the blame on his Souldiers, who else would have delivered it and him. But his Superiors condemned him for the Cowardly Surrender.

After this, *Cromwell* passeth some of his Men over the River, and after them most of the rest. The King with the *Scots* being unable to give him Battle after such Discouragements, takes the Opportunity to haste away with what Force they had towards *England*, thinking that *Cromwell* being cast now some Days March behind them, by Reason of his passing the River, they might be before him in *England*, and there be abundantly increased, by the coming in both of the Cavaliers, and the rest of the People to him. And doubtless all the Land would suddenly have flockt to him but for these two causes[73a] :—

1. The Success of *Cromwell* at *Dunbarre* and afterwards, had put a Fear upon all Men, and the manner of the *Scots* coming away, persuaded all Men that Necessity forced them, and they were look'd upon rather as flying than as marching into *England* ; and few Men will put themselves into a flying Army which is pursued by the conquering Enemy.

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[73] Leslie posted his army on the hills south of Stirling. Here Cromwell found him in June, 1651. Unable to attack or lure Leslie from his position, Cromwell proceeded to turn it. By the end of July he had 14,000 men in Fife across the river, and on Aug. 2 captured Perth. This cut off Leslie from his supplies in the North, but the way of England was left open ; and, confident that the English Royalists would flock to his banner, Charles and his whole army marched for the border. Cromwell had foreseen the movement and felt no alarm. For "we have this experience from the Lord, that the enemy is heart-smitten by God ; and whenever the Lord shall bring us to them we believe the Lord will make the desperateness of this counsel of theirs to appear, and the folly of it also."

[73a] Baxter, it will be noted, here attributes the Royalists' failure to two causes :— (1) The terror inspired by Cromwell. (2) The implacable attitude of the Cavaliers and the Prelatical Divines. Presently, he adds a third cause— "Cromwell's exceeding swift pursuit of them." But he does not mention the deepest cause, viz., that the enemy was heart-smitten by God.

2. The implacable Cavaliers had made no Preparation of the People's Mind, by any Significations of Reconciliation, or of probable future Peace. And the Prelatical Divines, instead of drawing nearer those they differed from for Peace, had gone farther from them, by Dr. *Hammond's* new way,[74] than their Predecessors were before them; and the very Cause which they contended for, being not *Concord* and *Neighbourhood* but *Domination*, they had given the dissenting Clergy and People no hopes of finding favourable Lords, or any Abatement of their former Burdens, so little did their Task-masters relent. But, contrariwise, they saw Reason enough to expect that their little Fingers would be heavier than their Predecessor's Loyns. And it is hard to bring Men to venture their Lives to bring themselves into a Prison, or Beggary, or Banishment.

These were the true Causes that no more came in to the King; the first kept off the Royalists, and the *rest*, the second kept off the *rest* alone. Yet the Earl *of Darby*, the Lord *Talbott* and many Gentlemen did come in to him; and some that had been Souldiers for the Parliament (as Capt. *Benbow* from *Shrewsbury*, with Cornet *Kinnersly*, and a Party of Horse, and some few more). The King's Army of *Scots* was excellently well governed (in comparison of what his Father's was wont to be): not a Soldier durst wrong any Man of the worth of a Penny; which much drew the Affections of the People towards them.

The Presence of Collonel *Rich. Graves*, and Collonel *Massey* with them, was the great Inducement to the Parliamentarians[75] to come in. But another great Impediment kept them off, which was, *Cromwell's* exceeding speedy Pursuit of them; so that the People had not time to resolve themselves considerately; and most were willing to see what *Cromwell's* Assault would do, before they cast themselves into the Danger. Soldiers may most easily be had when there is least need of them. The King came by the way of *Lancashire*, and summoned *Shrewsbury* in vain as he passed by through *Shropshire*. And whem all the Country thought that he was hastening to *London* (where all Men supposed he would have attained his Ends, increased his Strength, and had no Resistance), he turned to *Worcester*,[76] and there stayed to refresh his Army, *Cromwell's* Forces being within a few days March of him."

[74] For Dr. Hammond (1605-1660) see *D.N.B.*, and for Baxter's relation to him see *R.B.*, Pt. II., p. 149. He was the leader of the high Anglicans whose "way" included the belief that "ordination without Bishops is invalid and that a ministry so ordained is null."

[75] Baxter's use of the term "*Parliamentarians*" here is notable. He has ceased to think of Cromwell and the Independents as Parliamentarian. Graves and Massey were reputedly great Presbyterians—almost a synonym for Parliamentarians by this time. Their influence was much counted on by Charles, but its "inducement" was much weakened by suspicion of himself. (See Gardiner's *History of the Commonwealth*, Vol. I., pp. 434-5. Library ed.)

[76] Charles reached Worcester on Aug. 22, Cromwell on the 28th.

§ 110. "The Army passed most by *Kiderminster* (a Field's Breadth's off) and the rest through it. Collonel *Graves*[77] sent two or three Messages to me, as from the King, to come to him; and after, when he was at *Worcester*, some others were sent. But I was, at that time, under so great an Affliction of sore Eyes, that I was not scarce able to see the Light, nor fit to stir out of Doors. And being not much doubtful of the Issue which followed, I thought if I had been able, it would have been no Service at all to the King—it being so little on such a sudden, that I could add to his Assistance. When the King had stayed a few Days at *Worcester*, *Cromwell* came with his Army to the East side of the City, and after that, made a Bridge of Boats over *Severn*, to hinder them from Forage on the other side[78]; but because so great an Army could not long endure to be pent up, the King resolved to charge *Cromwell's* Men; and, awhile, the *Scots* Foot did charge very gallantly, and some chief Persons among the Horse, The Marquess *Hamilton* (late Earl of *Lanerick*) being slain.

But, at last, the hope of Security so near their Backs, encouraged the King's Army to retreat into the City, and *Cromwell's* Souldiers followed them so close at the Heels, that Major *Swallow* of *Whalley's* Regiment first, and others after him, entered *Sidbury Gate* with them; and so the whole Army fled through the City quite away, many being trodden down and slain in the Streets; so that the King was faign to fly with them Northward, the Lord *Willmot*, the Earl of *Lauderdaile*, and many others of his Lords and Commanders with him. *Kiderminster* being but eleven Miles from *Worcester*, the flying Army past some of them through the Town and some by it. I was newly gone to Bed when the Noise of the flying Horse acquainted us of the Overthrow, and a piece of one of *Cromwell's* Troops that Guarded *Bewdley-Bridge*[79] having tidings of it, came into our Streets, and stood in the open Market-place before my Door to surprise those that past by. And so when many hundreds of the flying Army came together, when the 30 Troopers cryed *stand*, and fired at them, they either hasted away, or cryed Quarter, not knowing in the Dark what Number it was that charged them. And so, as many were taken there as so few Men could lay hold on; and till Midnight the Bullets flying towards my Door and Windows,

[77] For particulars about Graves, see *Clarke Papers* I., p. 434.

[78] Most of Charles's army had been sent across the Severn, and were lodged about 1½ miles from the city. Cromwell's object in making his bridge of boats was to pass a part of his army to the rear of the Scots, and so prevent them from retreating towards Wales, or Gloucester, &c. Another part of his army (11,000 strong) joined up from Upton by another bridge of boats, across the Teme.

[79] The Troops on Guard at Bewdley Bridge (2½ miles west of Kidderminster) were Worcestershire men, drawn from the local militia. The large number of local forces which joined Cromwell from various parts was significant of "popular support." (See on this and the whole battle Gardiner, *id.*, pp. 440 ff.)

and the sorrowful Fugitives hasting by for their Lives, did tell me the Calamitousness of War. The King parted at last from most of his Lords, and went to *Boscobell* by the White Ladies, where he was hid in an Oak, in manner sufficiently declared to the World, and thence to *Mosely*, and so, with Mrs. *Lane*, away as a Traveller, and escaped all the Searchers' Hands[80], till he came safe beyond Sea, as is published at large by divers.

The City of *Worcester* was much plundered by *Cromwell's* Souldiers, and a Party only sent out after the King's Fugitives (for an Army I will call them no more). The Earl of *Derby* was taken, and Capt(ain) *Benbow* of *Shrewsbury;* and were both put to death. The Sentence of Coll. *Mackworth* dispatched *Benbow*, because he had been a Souldier under him. The Earl of *Lauderdaile*, and the Earl of *Craford* were sent Prisoners to *Windsor-Castle*, where they were detained till the Restoration of the King. Coll. *Graves* at last being released by *Cromwell*, lived quietly at his House—which made him ill thought of, and kept from Preferment afterwards when the King came in. And thus *Cromwell's* next Impediment was over."

§ 111. "The *Scots* Army being utterly dispatched in *England* (and many of the Prisoners of Foot sent to the *Barbado's &c.*) part of *Cromwell's* Army was sent to prosecute the Victory in *Scotland*, where (briefly) all their Garrisons at last were taken,[81] and the Earl of *Glencarne* and that learned, religious, excellent Person, the Earl of *Balcarres*, who kept up the last Forces there for the King, were fain to fly to the King beyond Sea; and Major-General *Monk* was there left with some forces to keep the country in subjection."[82]

§ 112. "*Cromwell* having thus far seemed to be a Servant to the Parliament, and (to) work for his Masters the Rump or Commonwealth, doth next begin to shew whom he served, and take that Impediment also out of the way. To which End he first doth by them as he did by the Presbyterians, make them odious by hard Speeches of them throughout his Army; as if they intended to perpetuate themselves, and would not be accountable for the Money of the Commonwealth, &c. And he treateth privately with many of them, to appoint a time when they would dissolve themselves, that another free Parliament might be chosen. But

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[80] A clear and detailed sketch, with map of Charles's route from Worcester to "the fishing village of Brighthelmstone" (Brighton), whence he crossed to Fécamp on Oct. 15, is given by Gardiner.

[81] In May, 1652, Dunottar surrendered the last fortress to hold out. A Highland rising took place first under the Earl of Glencairn and then under General Middleton in 1653, but was crushed by Monck in May, 1654. For Baxter and the Earl of Balcarres, see *R. B.* Pt. I., pp. 120-1.

[82] Monck's government of Scotland is admirably described in Firth, *Last Years of the Protectorate*, II., pp. 84-124.

they perceived the danger; and were rather for the filling up of their Number by New Elections, which he was utterly against. His greatest Advantage to strengthen himself against them by the Sectaries, was their owning the publick ministry and their Maintenance: for though *Vane* and his party set themselves to make the Ministers odious by reproachful Titles, and to take them down, yet still the *greater part* of the House did carry it for a *sober Ministry* and *competent Maintenance*. And when the Quakers and others did openly reproach the Ministry and the Souldiers favour them, I drew up a Petition[83] for the Ministry, and got many thousand Hands to it in *Worcestershire*, and Mr. *Tho. Foley* and Coll. *John Bridges* presented it; and the House gave a kind and promising Answer to it, which increased the Sectaries' Displeasure against them. And when a certain Quaker wrote a reviling Censure of this Petition, I wrote a Defence of it; and caused one of them to be given each Parliament Man at the Door; and within one day after they were dissolved[84]. For *Cromwell*, impatient of any more delay, suddenly took *Harrison* and some Souldiers with him (as if God had impelled him), and as in a Rapture went into the House, and reproveth the Members for their Faults, and pointing to *Vane*, calls him a Jugler, and to *Henry Martin*, and calls him Whoremaster,[84a] and having two such to instance in, taketh it for granted that they were all unfit to continue in the Government of the Commonwealth; and out he turneth them. And so ended the Government of the Rump, and no sort of People expressed any great Offence that they were cast out, though all, save the Sectaries and the Army almost, did take him to be a Traitor[85] that did it."

§ 113. "The young Commonwealth being already Headless, you might think that nothing was left to stand between *Cromwell* and the Crown: For a Governor there must be, and who should be thought fitter? But yet there was another Pageant to be played, which had a double end:—1. To make the Necessity of his Governing undeniable. And 2. To make his own Souldiers at last out of love with Democracie; or at least to make them hateful that adhered to it. A Parliament must be called, but the ungodly People are not to be trusted with the choice; therefore, the Souldiers, as more religious, must be the Choosers. And two

[83] "The Humble Petition of the County of Worcester," presented Dec. 22, 1652.

[84] "The Worcestershire Petition defended . . . 1652-3." If a copy was presented to the M.P.s at the door of the House of Commons on the day before Cromwell dissolved it, this would be April 19.

[84a] Cf. Pt. I. § 119, p. 75. "When *Cromwell* had served himself by him as his surest Friend, as long as he could; and gone as far with him as their way lay together, (*Vane* being for Fanatick Democracie and *Cromwell* for Monarchy), at last there was no remedy but they must part; and when *Cromwell* cast out the Rump as disdainfully as men do excrements, he called *Vane* a Jugler, and *Martin* a Whoremonger, to excuse his usage of the rest as is aforesaid."

[85] See Gardiner, *id.*, pp. 197-210. "Traitor" was quite the wrong word.

out of a County are chosen by the Officers upon the Advice of their Sectarian Friends in the Country. This was called in Contempt, *The Little Parliament.*[86]

This Conventicle made an Act (as I remember) that Magistrates should marry People instead of Ministers[87] (yet not prohibiting the Ministers to do their part); and then they came in the Business of Tythes and Ministers; and before this, *Harrison,*[87] being authorized thereto, had at once put down all the Parish-Ministers of *Wales*, because that most of them were ignorant and scandalous, and had set up a few itinerant Preachers in their stead, who were for Number incompetent for so great a Charge, there being but one to many of those wide Parishes: so that the People, having but a Sermon once in many weeks, and nothing else in the meantime, were ready to turn Papists or anything. And this Plight would the Anabaptists, and other Sectaries, have brought *England* to. And all was—

1. That the People might not be tempted to take the Parish Churches to be true Churches.

2. Nor Infant Baptism to be true Baptism, and so themselves to be true Christians; but must be made Christians and Churches in the Anabaptists and Separatists way.

Hereupon *Harrison* became the Head of the Sectaries and *Cromwell* now began to design the heading of a Soberer Party, that were for Learning and Ministry; but yet to be the equal Protector of all.

Hereupon in the little Sectarian Parliament, it was put to the Vote, whether all the Parish Ministers of *England* should at once be put down or no?[87] And it was but accidentally carried in the negative by two Voices; and it was taken for granted, that the Tythes and Universities would at the next opportunity be voted

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[86] Or, Barebones Parliament, from the name of one Praise-God Barebones who sat in it. Most of its nominees were from Independent congregations, and so unfriendly to a State Church or a State-supported Ministry. It met on July 4, 1653, and abdicated on Dec. 12, following.

[87] On July 15 a proposal to sweep away tithe by simply enacting that no minister should receive his maintenance from Tithe after Nov. 3 was not even put to the vote, being referred to a Committee. This Committee reported on Dec. 2. A debate on it lasted from the 6th to the 10th, and its recommendation that the maintenance of all settled ministers should be guaranteed by Parliament was rejected by 56 to 54.

On Aug. 24 it passed an Act declaring that only marriages solemnized before a J.P., would be recognized by the State. Its purpose was to remedy defective registration and contained no word prohibiting the parties from having recourse to such religious ceremony as they thought fit.

The mention of Harrison (Thomas Harrison (1606-1660) see *D.N.B.*) here is out of place. What Baxter complains of was the result of the Act for the Propagation of the Gospel in Wales passed early in 1650. "By this Act power was given to commissioners, of whom Harrison was one, to deprive all malignant and scandalous clergy, and to establish a preaching ministry in their room upon the certificate of a certain number of Ministers whose names were recited in the Act." (Gardiner, *id.*, c. 25.)

down ; and now *Cromwell* must be their Saviour, or they must perish —when he had purposely cast them into the Pit, that they might be beholden to him to pull them out. (But his Game was so grossly play'd as made him the more loath'd by Men of Understanding and Sincerity.)

So Sir *C. W.* and some others of them take their time, and put it to the Vote whether the House—as uncapable of serving the Commonwealth—should go and deliver up their Power to *Cromwell* from whom they had received it ; and they carried it in the Affirmative, and away they go, and solemnly resign their Power to him ; and now who but *Cromwell* and his Army ? "

§ 114. "The intelligent Sort by this time, did fully see that *Cromwell's* design was, by causing and permitting destruction to hang over us, to necessitate the Nation, whether they would or not, to take him for their Governour, that he might be their Protector. Being resolved that we should be saved by him or perish, he made more use of the wild-headed Sectaries than barely to *fight* for him. They now serve him as much by their Heresies, their Emnity to Learning and Ministry, their pernicious Demands which tended to Confusion, as they had done before by their Valour in the Field. He can now conjure up at pleasure some terrible apparition of Agitators, Levellers, or such like, who, as they affrighted the King from *Hampton Court*, shall affright the People to fly to *him* for refuge ; that the hand that wounded them may heal them. For now he exclaimeth against the giddiness of these unruly Men, and earnestly pleadeth for Order and Government ; and will needs become the Patron of the Ministry, yet so as to secure all others of their Liberty. Some that saw his Design said, We will rather all perish, and see both Tythes and Universities overthrown, than we will any way submit to such deceitful Usurpations. Others said, It is the Providence of God, whoever be the Instruments, which hath brought us into this Necessity, which we were unable to prevent ; and, being in it, we are not bound to choose our own destruction. Therefore, Necessity requireth us to accept of any One to rule us that is like to deliver us. But the generality of the Ministers went the middle way ; and our Consciences thus apprehended the State of our present Duty :—

[We acknowledge that God Almighty hath overruled in all these great Mutations, and hath permitted the perfidiousness of Men, and their Success. And the Common good being the *end* of all Just *Government*, we may not do anything against the Common Good, much less to the *Destruction* of it, under pretence of resisting an Usurper, or of Restoring him who is our rightful Governour. If the Universities be overthrown, the Fabricks demolished, the Lands alienated, the Ministry put down, the Tithes sold, or given to the People, to engage them all to be against any means which

tend to a Recovery, whatever we contribute to this we do against the King and Kingdom, and do but cut his Throat in kindness. For we pull down the House that he may be Master of it, and destroy the Commonwealth that he may be the Head of it. We strengthen his Enemies by our imprudent Passions. But yet we must neither *do* nor *approve* of Evil for any good End, nor forbear in our Places seasonably to reprehend it. Therefore, it is unlawful for us to *consent* to any Governour but the King; or take any Engagement or Oath of Allegiance to any. But it is not unlawful for us to *submit* to them, by living quietly in our Places, and to make use of the Courts of Justice established by Law, yea, and to demand protection from the Usurper. For his stepping into the Ruler's place, and Usurping the Government, obligeth him to do all the parts of a Governour's Office, while he is there; and warranteth us to demand it, and accept it of him; but it doth not at all oblige us to obey him or *consent* to his Usurpation: Even as we may demand Justice of a General of Rebels, or a Captain of Thieves, or of Pyrates that shall surprize the Ship which we are in. But we are not bound to *consent* to his Government or formally obey him; but constantly to disown his Villany, and to do all that we can against his Tyranny which tendeth not to the hurt of the Society: So here, it is our Duty to keep the state of things as entire as we can, till God be pleased to restore the King that he may find it a *whole* and not a *ruin'd* irrepairable State.]

And thus for my part was my Practice. I did seasonably and moderately by Preaching and Printing condemn the Usurpation and the Deceit which was the means to bring it to pass. I did in open Conference declare *Cromwell* and his Advisers to be guilty of Treason and Rebellion, aggravated with Perfidiousness and Hypocrisie, to be abhorred of all good and sober Men. But yet I did not think it my Duty to rave against him in the Pulpit, nor to do this so unreasonably and imprudently as might irritate him to mischief. And the rather, because as he kept up his approbation of a godly Life in the general, and of all that was good, except that which the interest of his Sinful Cause engaged him to be against; so I perceived that it was his design to do good in the main, and to promote the Gospel and the Interest of Godliness, more than any had done before him, except in those particulars which his own Interest was against. And it was the principal means that henceforward he trusted to for his own Establishment, even by *doing good*: that the People might love him, or at least be willing to have his Government for *that Good*, who were against it, as it was *Usurpation*. And so I made no question at all, but that when the Rightful Governor was restored, the People that had adhered to him (being so extreamly irritated)

would cast out multitudes of the Ministers, and undo the Good which the Usurper had done, because he did it; and would bring abundance of calamity upon the Land. And some Men thought it a very Question, Whether they should rather wish the continuance of an Usurper that will do good, or the restitution of a Rightful Governour whose Followers will do hurt. But for my part I thought my Duty was clear, to disown the Usurper's Sin, what Good soever he would do; and to perform all my Engagements to a Rightful Governour, leaving the Issue of all to God, but yet to commend the *Good* which a Usurper doth, and to do any lawful thing which may provoke him to do more, and to approve of *no Evil* which is done by any, either a Usurper or a lawful Governour. And thus stood the Affections of the *Intelligent* sort to *Cromwell*. But the Simpler sort believed that he designed nothing of all that came to pass, but that God's Providence brought about all, without his Contrivance or Expectation."

Anno 1653. § 115. "The little Parliament having resigned their commission to *Cromwell*, that we might not be ungoverned, a *Juncto* of Officers, and I know not who (nor ever could learn, but that *Lambert* and *Berry* were two Chief Men in it) did draw up[87a] a Writing, called *The Instrument of the Government of the Commonwealth* of England, Scotland, and Ireland. This Instrument made *Oliver Cromwell* Lord Protector of the Commonwealth. The Lord Mayor and Aldermen, the Judges, and the Officers of the Army, were suddenly drawn together to *Westminster Hall;* and, upon the reading of this Instrument, installed *Cromwell* in the Office of Protector, and swore him accordingly [Dec. 16, 1653] And thus the Commonwealth seemed once more to have a Head."

[*To be Continued.*]

[87a] Dec. 16, 1653. "The Instrument of Government was the first of hundreds of written constitutions which have since spread over the world, of which the American is the most conspicuous example, in which a barrier is set up against the entire predominance of any one set of official persons, by attributing strictly limited functions to each." (Gardiner, *Puritan Revolution*, p. 169.)

It had been under discussion on and off since the ejection of the Rump. Cromwell favoured it but could not agree to one of its proposed clauses which offered him the title of King, nor to some other points. He accepted it finally, after modifications, on Dec. 15. For its articles and effects see Gardiner, *History of the Commonwealth*, II. pp. 283 ff.

The Dursley Sunday Schools Established in 1784

IT has always been difficult to say what was the exact condition of Sunday Schools during the period from 1780 —when Robert Raikes first saw their potential use—to 1783, the year he published his famous letter from which the organized movement may be dated.

The Rev. H. I. Frith's paper[1] on the early history of the Sunday School in Dursley recalls discussions which have taken place on many occasions. Recollections of old residents have their dangers, and the claim to the title "First Sunday School" has rested mainly on them. Therefore any documentary information in reference to the actual working of the early schools is of value.

While unable to contribute anything as to William King's work at Dursley, I can, from papers in my care,[2] present some facts about a Sunday School which was established there in 1784, approximately the date when King's name has been associated with the movement. These papers cover a period from 1784 to 1804, and comprise original drafts of notices of meetings, lists of scholars, receipts given by teachers for salaries, accounts, bills, and other memoranda. They were saved from destruction some few years ago and form a collection of no ordinary interest.

Mrs. Oldland, in the letter printed by Mr. Frith, refers to a book entitled *The Original of Sunday Schools*, and the question is asked whether such a book actually was written. In front of me is a copy of *The Origin of Sunday Schools ; detailed in a series of letters, addressed to the Editor of a Provincial Paper* . . . (Bristol ; London, 1841.)

It is a small octavo pamphlet of 48 pages containing reprints of letters addressed to the Editor of the *Midland Counties Herald*, in which the respective claims of Robert Raikes and Thomas Stock are contested, together with a good deal of information as to the establishment of Sunday Schools in various parts of the country. The main facts in Mrs. Oldland's statement are included in a long letter to the *Herald* from

[1] *Transactions*, Sept., 1928 (Vol. x, p. 183). [2] In the Gloucester Public Library.

Thomas Clark, jun., of Birmingham, with whom the correspondence practically began, and who republished the letters, dedicating them to Lord Brougham. Mrs. Oldland's letter was printed by J. H. Harris in his *Life of Robert Raikes* (1899), though the spelling and even much of the context has there been altered.

With regard to William King's efforts at Dursley I do not think they can have had much success. It is hardly likely that with such a vigorous school as the one with which I am now concerned there would have been room for another, unless indeed it was very small.

The story really begins with a meeting held at the Old Bell, Dursley, 3rd February, 1784," for the purpose of releiving [*sic*] the Distresses of the working people during the Inclemency of the present weather." The actual measures taken do not concern us, but it was from their initiation and the result that a Sunday School was established at Dursley in 1784. Reference to the *Gentleman's Magazine* shows that the winter was a cold one ; on only two days from 18th January to 20th February was the thermometer above 31 degrees.

A long list of subscribers is appended to the resolutions passed at the meeting ; among them is William King, who gave 10s. 6d. In all, £115 15s. 3d. was subscribed, and when the account was closed on 15th April, 1784, there remained a balance of £39 12s. 2d. in the hands of Mr. William Vizard, the most prominent lawyer in Dursley, and one who was associated for many years with every public movement in the town. He undertook to pay interest on the balance which was in hand.

Though I have not the minutes of a later meeting in October, 1784, it is evident from an account drawn up by William Vizard respecting the Sunday Schools for the years 1784 to 1788 that one was held then. It begins :—

1784.	April 15.	To a Balance left in William Vizards hands of Monies subscribed for the Poor, And which at a meeting in October following was agreed to be applied in teaching Children to read on Sundays and for Books	39	12	2

That the decision of the meeting was put into effect at once is seen from the first payments made :—

1784.	Nov. 6.	By Cash paid Mr. Raikes for Books ..	0	16	0
		By Do. paid making 9 Stools ..	0	4	0

Dec. 4.	By Do. paid the Cryer for giving Notice to Parents to Deliver in Childrens Names at the Workhouse	0	0	6
1785. April 15.	By Do. paid Masters and Mistresses for teaching Boys and Girls to read ..	3	2	0

The announcement for which the cryer received his sixpence was as follows :—

The Parents of such Children who are desirous of letting their Children be taught on Sundays to read will on or before Friday next deliver in the Names and Number of them being of the Age of 6 yrs. and upwards to the Master of the Workhouse.

Notice was then given that a meeting would be held at the Workhouse for the purpose of engaging " Masters and Mistresses to teach Children on Sundays to read," and inviting the attendance " of such Men and Women who will undertake to teach about 100 children in different Classes."

It will be seen that in these notices the purpose of the School was to teach children to read. Raikes in his letter of 1783 had this in his mind as the main object, and says that he had printed a little book, presumably a reading book. In the accounts of the Dursley School are several entries of payments made to Raikes for these books.

A further meeting of inhabitants was called to examine the children whose names had been given in ; the mothers, or fathers, where there was no mother, were asked to be present. The various classes were then to be allotted to the teachers. The children were to be brought clean or they would be rejected. This rule, about which Raikes was firm, is referred to in his letter.

In 1792 a meeting was held at the Old Bell to consult and direct about the admission of fresh children to Sunday Schools and about adding another School for Girls.

From the lists of scholars which are among these papers it appears that in 1794 Thomas Brown had 70 girls attending his school, and others had in their classes at various times 25, 32, 18, 25, and 46. It was customary to give all the scholars a dinner on Christmas Day, and 75 boys and 78 girls sat down in 1794.

The most interesting item of expenditure is the payment to teachers. The original receipts for these are before me ; one shilling for each Sunday was the rate of remuneration, as will be seen from the wording of the receipt.

Febr. 8, 1785.

Receed of Wm. Vizard Fourteen shillings for teaching Girls on Sundays to read up to the 6th Instant being 14 weeks from 7th Novr. last. MARY CORNOCK.

Incidentally this receipt, together with the payment made to Mr. Raikes for books, gives the exact date of opening the classes as 7th November, 1784.

The first teachers were William Vizard (from the signature this was not William Vizard the treasurer), William Watkins, Mary Cornock (for girls), Ann Wilkes (for girls). The last makes her mark as a receipt. The women continued until January and May, 1786, respectively, and then Thomas Brown's name occurs as teaching the girls. Whether his class was larger or the task considered more troublesome, he was paid (in 1792) at the rate of 1s. 6d. a week, and later this was paid to the others. No change was made until April, 1793, when Brown and Vizard appear to have given up. On 18th October, 1793, Nathaniel Young, sen., signs a receipt for £2 12s. 6d. as "half a years salary for the use of my room and for my attendances to teach Boys to read on Sundays."

Other teachers appointed later were Edith Ellis, William Elliott, William Nickolls, Ann Tratman and Jonathan Smith.

William Watkins, who was superintendent of the school, died in March, 1794, and it is interesting to find that Adrian Newth received 5 shillings "for my assistance at the Sunday Schools since the death of William Watkins": this is the only occasion his name occurs.

Notice was "given in church" on 23rd March, 1794, that "applications to Superintend the school in the room of our worthy neighbour Wm. Watkins" would be received, and one Henry Brown applied for the post, but the payments made to 1804 show that the school was held at Nathaniel Young's house, for in no other case do they include the use of a room.

For some years no effort seems to have been made to obtain subscriptions for the necessary expenses of the school, and the only addition made to the balance left from the Relief Fund of 1784 was the interest allowed by Mr. Vizard. By June, 1791, there was a balance due to him of £17 11s., and it evidently became necessary to raise funds. In 1792 annual subscribers were sought for and between then and 1804 they contributed some £290.

The chief expenditure was the payment to teachers, the rate

remaining at 1s. 6d. a week except in the case of the superintendent, who was paid 2s. Apart from that the Christmas dinner was the chief item. In 1793 it cost £5 7s. 4d., and in 1799 £3 13s. 4d., with an extra expenditure on beer of 7s. 6d.

In 1802 a meeting of subscribers was held at the Old Bell to pass the accounts and to consider whether the school should be continued. It is evident it was so decided, as in 1803 there were delivered to the Girls' Sunday School kept by Mrs. Smith eight Testaments and one and a half dozen of spelling books, also some prayer and hymn books.

It is quite clear from these papers that the school was organized on the lines which were laid down by Raikes. They form an interesting illustration of the actual working of a school which must be among the first to be established after the publication of the letter which gave such an impetus to the movement.

Some rules for the schools, printed as a broadside about 1815, by W. C. Ebsworth, printer, of Dursley, show how they were conducted.

Rules of the Dursley Sunday-Schools.

I. Every Child to be in the School-room, with clean hands and face and hair combed, exactly at half-past eight o'clock in the morning.

II. The Children's names to be called over exactly at a quarter before nine o'clock.

III. The duties of the Schools to commence at nine o'clock by the children singing the morning hymn, after which a short prayer to be read by the master, mistress, or one of the visitors.

IV. The collect of the day to be repeated—reading and spelling 'till ten o'clock, when the whole of the children standing round the room, the master, mistress, or one of the visitors shall hear them repeat with a loud and distinct voice the church catechism, 'till twenty-five minutes past ten o'clock.

V. The children to be taken by the masters and mistresses orderly and quietly into their respective seats in the church, and every one who can read to be supplied with a prayer book.

VI. The children to assemble in their respective school-rooms exactly at half-past one o'clock in the evening, and read and spell 'till ten minutes before three o'clock, and then proceed to the Church in the same order as they did in the morning, and after

service return orderly to the school-rooms to be dismissed, after singing the evening hymn.

VII. The books of the school to be placed under the immediate care of the master and mistress, who will be accountable for all that may be lost.

VIII. No prayer to be used, or book introduced into the schools, excepting such as are sanctioned by the society for promoting christian knowledge, and regularly entered on their catalogues.

IX. The children regularly attending the sunday-schools, to be instructed in writing every Wednesday evening.

X. Every child conforming to the first, fourth, and fifth rules, to be entitled to a weekly ticket, but should the visitors from their own observation, or from the complaints of the master or mistress, think proper to withold the ticket, they are to use a discretionary power.

ROLAND AUSTIN.

HAMPSTEAD.

In Barratt's *Annals of Hampstead* (I., 140) is a picturesque account of the arrest of Sir Henry Vane at Hampstead. His house, part of which is still standing in the main street, was afterwards the home of Bishop Butler.

A mile or so further North is Ken Wood, where the Fifth Monarchy Men made their last stand.

Among the pictures of the Iveagh Bequest at Ken Wood is a portrait by Gainsborough of Mary, Countess Howe, daughter of Chiverton Hartopp of Welby, Notts. Her husband was the famous Admiral. Was she related to the well-known Nonconformist family of Hartopps ?

W. J. P. W.

A Congregational Church's First Pastorate

CLAPTON PARK, LONDON, 1804–1849.

IN the last number of the *Transactions* (Vol. X., p. 160) we described the first Minute Book of the Clapton Park Congregational Church (which is in the handwriting of Dr. John Pye Smith, its first minister) and recounted the first year of the church's history. The Covenant of the church which was signed by all the members was printed, and also the concluding entry at the end of Dr. Pye Smith's ministry. We now proceed to give an account of other items of interest to be found in the Minutes during the forty-five years of his pastorate.

There is comparatively little about Church discipline. Of a member received on August 1st, 1805, whose name is solemnly blotted out from the list of members, we read :— 1807, Jan. 1. "After the deliberate considerations of this Church on three successive times of assembling, it has appeared on abundant evidence that A—— G—— has been for a long time carrying on a scheme of religious deception, under which she has been an accomplice in scenes of peculiarly awful wickedness in the family of Mr. Merriman, a member of Mr. Clayton's church, in which she was a domestic and confidential servant. It, therefore, has clearly been manifested to be our duty to put her away from us, as a wicked and impenitent person. We, accordingly, and in obedience to the laws of our Holy Lord, do unanimously declare her no longer a member of our Christian community, at the same time earnestly imploring the infinite mercy of the Divine Redeemer, that she may be snatched as a brand from the burning."

On November 2, 1843, occurs this entry :—"Sarah Adam (late Miss S. Olding) having been removed by her marriage to reside at Oakham, sent a very respectful and affectionate resignation of her membership with us, but to my extreme grief [says] that she does not seek to join herself with some Scriptural Church. She and her husband attend in a neighbouring parish Church, where the gospel is preached by a pious Clergyman."

In 1849 the entries on Sept. 24 and Dec. 27 read as follows :— Sept. 24. "At the monthly meeting of the Pastors and

Deacons, the case of Sarah Frances Duncan was considered anew. For many months she has desisted from observing the public duties of a Church Member, being we believe, under the coercive influence of a sister[1]. This *peculiarity* of the case led to the unanimous conclusion that leniency is our duty, and that we should inform her that we cannot but consider her as having withdrawn from our communion."

Dec. 27. "At the same Church Meeting evidence was brought of gross immorality committed and long persevered in by J—— B—— (admitted on Sept. 4, 1834) and by him admitted without any sign of penitence. The Church therefore felt itself in duty bound to perform the awful act of excluding him from its communion, as a man utterly unworthy of being acknowledged to be a disciple of the Lord Jesus Christ."

There are many references to students of the Homerton Academy, of which Dr. Pye Smith was Principal, who became members of the church. Many of them were transferred from churches in Scotland, and when they left for pastorates very often a letter of commendation was sent with them. Thus, on July 25, 1839, there is this letter in regard to George Jones who had accepted the pastorate of Lyme Regis :—

"The Church of Christ, assembled for the solemnizing of religious ordinations in the Old Gravel Pit Meeting House at Hackney, to the Sister-Church at Lyme Regis, wishes grace, mercy and peace from God our Father and Jesus Christ our Lord.

"Whereas our beloved brother, George Jones, has become the object of your election and invitation to the office of Pastor and Teacher, and to preside over you as your Overseer or Bishop, agreeably to the ecclesiastical order of the New Testament, we hereby declare our approbation of the proceeding, we bear testimony to his upright and exemplary character, we dismiss him from our community to yours, we commend him to your esteem and love, and we earnestly pray that the Spirit of Christ may render your union with him the means of eminent blessing to you and your families, to your town and its neighbourhood, and to the cause of true religion generally."

Dr. Pye Smith seems to have improved every possible occasion. Thus, on Jan. 5, 1807, we learn that "a little

[1] "From this cause we cannot obtain any interview with her. She is dependent upon this sister" (Dr. Pye Smith's note).

before ten in the evening, our dear and greatly valued brother, Mr. George Hall, junr., departed to his eternal rest. He was not quite nineteen years old. During the short course of his Christian life, he was a bright example of a truly Christ-like and heavenly temper and conduct. On Lord's day afternoon, Jan. 11, this solemn event was improved in a discourse on Isaiah lvii. 1."

The anniversary of the church was solemnly celebrated. On March 6, 1834, we have the entry :—" A Special Church Meeting was holden this evening, being, at the same hour, Thirty Years since the formation of this Church. Prayer by Mr. Parker, Mr. Masson, and J.P.S. A brief account of the Church was given from the records of this book ; and the Covenant was solemnly read.

" O how much reason we have, and I above all, for self-abasement, humiliation, and earnest prayer for greater blessings on my beloved people and on my own soul ! "

Ten years later we read :—" *The Church Meeting* was held this evening, instead of last Thursday, the 4th, in consequence of my having to preach the last Lord's day at Hope Chapel . . . . Clifton.

" Thus it coincided with the fortieth anniversary of my Ordination, and afforded opportunity for endeavouring to press some solemn, humiliating and encouraging reflexions.

" As a memento of the fortieth anniversary of the formation of this Church, some unknown friend or friends sent to me, on the precise day, March 6th, a most beautiful quarto Bible, for the use of the pulpit.

" Also *this* evening, my own beloved children sent an equally beautiful copy of Dr. Watts's Psalms and Hymns, and one of Mr. Russell's Appendix, with the same destination."

The entries in the Minute Book with regard to Dr. Pye Smith's own family are always very affectionate and tender. Thus we read (Feb. 9, 1828) that " Also, Ebenezer Smith, Sarah Edwards Smith[1], and Mary Ann Hale, children of this church, upon the evidence afforded of the work of divine grace in their souls, were unanimously advanced to the enjoyment of full communion."

On October 4, 1832, is the entry :—" Also Ebenezer Smith, being settled by Divine Providence in the City of London at a distance which renders it impracticable for him to fill

[1] " This, my dear youngest child, lived ardently devoted to the Saviour, and died in holy peace, April 13, 1832" (Dr. Pye Smith's note).

up his place as a Church-Member, or even to attend with us except very seldom, was dismissed to the Communion of the Church of Christ assembling at the King's Weigh-House, under the pastoral care of the Rev. Thomas Binney."

It is worthy of note that while transfers are usually granted to other churches, some of the transfers are granted in this form: Nov. 2, 1848. "Hugh Lawson, going to Canada as a Missionary, was accredited and dismissed to any Scriptural Church where he may sojourn."

There is not the slightest reference in the Minute Book to the work of Sunday Schools or of any effort for teaching the young. Dr. Pye Smith, however, seems to have had a warm place in his heart for young people, as the references to students testify; and we have special notes like that about Emma Walford who was received into church fellowship on May 30, 1828:—"This amiable young Christian was born Aug. 17, 1812, gave delightful evidence of piety from about her thirteenth year, and died on Oct. —— 1829."

One of the most striking features about the life of the church is the way in which baptism was regarded as the way into the church, the baptized children becoming full members later in life. Thus we have, July 2, 1807, "Elizabeth Whitwell, one of the children of this church, gave a satisfactory account of her hope towards God and her experience of personal religion, which was corroborated by pleasing testimonies to the Christian propriety of her habitual deportment. She was, therefore, unanimously advanced to the full enjoyment of all the privileges of church-communion."

The Minute Book traces the gradual growth of the church. Thus we read on Sept. 28, 1809, "it was the unanimous opinion that the appointment of suitable persons to the office of Deacon in this Christian Church would be greatly conducive to our edification, and to the general purposes of usefulness." On Nov. 2, two deacons were to be elected, each member bringing a paper on which were written two names. Those absent "through any pressing and irremediable necessity" were to be permitted to send their votes in sealed envelopes, but this was not to be taken as a precedent. On Nov. 30, Joseph Aldersey and Samuel Gould Underhill were elected "on the summation of the written votes of the church," and, "on the Lord's Day ensuing, were solemnly set apart to the office and work of Deacons by prayer and the laying on of hands." In the following year the "Meeting House

in Gravel Pit Field" was taken for three years, with the option of a further lease for fifty-eight years. The congregation began to worship there in March, 1811, the preachers the first Sunday being J. Clayton, senr., George Collison, and Dr. Robert Winter. The recommendations of a committee in regard to the building were duly accepted; "a certain number of pews in the body of the meeting" were "appropriated to the accommodation of the servants of the families belonging to the congregation and the whole of the gallery for the free accommodation of the poor."

It had previously been decided that "a collection of Religious Tracts be kept in a drawer or closet under the pulpit seat, for the purpose of being given to the poor and to casual hearers; and that a sum not exceeding two guineas be laid out for such purpose." It had also been resolved to take an annual collection "for some great public object" in the month of June. The first was for the British and Foreign Bible Society in 1809 and realized £34 3s. 4d. Most of the collections recorded seem to have been for the Congregational Fund, which is apparently the Congregational Fund Board. The church seems to have supported the abortive attempt made in the year 1806 to form a Congregational Union. Thus on Oct. 12, 1807, it was resolved:—

i. That this Church is sincerely desirous of promoting, so far as its limited influence can be in any way serviceable, brotherly love and beneficial intercourse among all the true followers of Christ, and especially with other *Congregational Churches* holding the doctrines usually called *Calvinistic*.

ii. That it is ready to unite with other Churches of the same faith and order, in *the Plan* of harmonious intercourse, friendship, and mutual good offices, which is recommended in an Address from the Committee of the Congregational Union.

iii. And that a notification of this concurrence be respectfully sent to the Rev. John Kells and the Rev. Thomas Hill, the Secretaries of the said Committee.

On May 3, 1810, occurs the entry:—"At the Church Meeting held this evening, it was unanimously resolved that £5. 5. 0. should be presented by this church to the Committee of the Congregational Union, in aid of the important objects of that institution."

Church Membership in those days stood for something clear and distinctive. Careful consideration was given to an application for membership by a Baptist deacon and his wife, in regard to which we have this long Minute :

1811, Jan. 3. Thomas Pilby Burford, late a member and deacon of the Antipædobaptist Church assembling in Shore Place, Hackney, and Elizabeth Burford, his wife, late a member of the same church, having proposed themselves to be united with us in full communion (the following resolutions were agreed to).

1. That, from the testimony of the Revd. Wm. Bradley, the pastor of the church in Shore Place, and from other credible evidence, we are satisfied that the piety, integrity, and general character of Mr. Burford are such as justly recommend him to any Christian community as a disciple and follower of the Lord Jesus.

2. That it appears, after careful enquiry, that the causes and grounds of Mr. Burford's separation from the church in Shore Place, were questions of opinion and doubtful disputation, which do not affect his Christian character, and which cannot scripturally be made, on any side, terms of church communion.

3. That, for this reason, it is no part of our duty, as a church, to investigate the details of that intricate business, or to make ourselves judges of its merits on either side.

4. That the testimonial of the pastor and church in Shore Place is satisfactory as to the Christian and unexceptionable character of Mrs. Burford.

5. That the difference of sentiment between us and Mr. and Mrs. Burford, as to the right of the infant seed of God's people to the ordinances of church-membership and baptism (though the affirmative of that question is considered by us as a scriptural doctrine and an important privilege), yet cannot, on solid and scriptural grounds, be made a bar to the communion of saints.

6. That, while, on our own part, we exercise this duty of christian forbearance, we confidently rely on a correspondent disposition in Mr. and Mrs. Burford, and that they will candidly avoid the introduction of discussions on the question of baptism as what, under these circumstances, could not contribute to godly edifying and holy love.

7. That, with this exposition of our mutual views, we cordially give the right hand of christian fellowship to Mr. and Mrs. Burford, and receive them as a brother and sister in the Lord, that they and we may walk together in the observance of the ordinances, duties, and privileges which belong to the churches of Jesus Christ.

8. That we, as a church of Christ, approve of Mr. Burford's

continuing the occasional exercise of his gifts by preaching the gospel where he may have a call.

9. Finally, that, if the sentiments of Mr. and Mrs. Burford on the subject of Baptism continue the same as they now are, and if, at any future period, they should have a comfortable prospect of union with an Antipædobaptist Church, and should be desirous of availing themselves of it, we now profess our cordial readiness to assist them in the attainment of that object by such dismission and recommendation as the circumstance of the case may require.

There is very little in regard to any political and social activity by the church, although we read on Jan. 3, 1839, of two members being "elected our Deputies, to represent us during the ensuing three years in the General Body of Deputies for the protection of Civil Rights."

In Jan., 1846, John Davies of Aldermanbury Postern was invited to be co-pastor, and having accepted the invitation was received into fellowship on March 19th, Dr. Pye Smith adding the pious request to the Minute, "O Lord, we beseech Thee, send now prosperity." The Recognition Service was held on April 23, the Rev. Algernon Wells read the Scriptures and Dr. H. F. Burder's enquiries were replied to by Stephen Olding for the church and by Mr. Davies, and he then addressed the minister on II. Timothy 2, 15. Dr. Pye Smith offered the "Designation Prayer," the Rev. Thomas Binney preached the sermon, and the Rev. Alfred Barrett offered the concluding Prayer.