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Congregational Historical Society

Transactions

EDITED BY
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Editorial.

THANKS to the skill and enthusiasm of Mr. Basil Cozens-Hardy and his helpers in Norwich, the Exhibition in October was a decided success. It was very well attended, while the list of exhibits, printed within, speaks for itself of the range and variety of the objects shown. As these lines are in the press the sad news comes of the sudden death of the Rev. R. E. F. Peill, M.A., Mr. Cozens-Hardy's co-secretary. To these two and to Mr. B. H. Barber and Miss H. M. Bullard the Society is greatly indebted for all work they did in connexion with the Exhibition.

The Annual Meeting of the Society will be held at the Memorial Hall, on Tuesday, May 31st, at 4.30, when the Rev. A. G. Matthews, M.A., will speak on "Mr. Pepys and Nonconformity." Mr. Matthews, whose *The Congregational Churches in Staffordshire* is an exemplary piece of work, is now devoting most of his time to the preparation of a new edition of Calamy, an enterprise for which all students of the period are profoundly grateful. We hope that there will be a good attendance of members. Visitors will be welcome. Please note that the meeting will be held in *the Council Chamber*.

* * * *

In the Rev. T. G. Crippen our Society has lost one who was alike its greatest benefactor and its most devoted servant. The President writes within of the Society's loss, and of its appreciation of its former Editor's life and work, while the article on Mr. Crippen's hymns will serve to remind readers of one aspect of his labours. Modest and unassuming, assiduous and learned, Mr. Crippen early dedicated himself to the twin causes of truth and righteousness. He sought neither wealth nor fame, but worked almost in secret. He has left a great pile of material, to much of which it will be a pleasure to give publicity in future pages of the *Transactions*. In order to include these hymns we have felt justified in increasing the size of this number by 16 pp.

* * * *

All members of the Society would receive an appeal on behalf of the Crippen Memorial Fund—to be used for Mr.

Crippen's family—signed by Sir James Carmichael and Mr. Edward Unwin for the Memorial Hall Trust, Dr. Berry and Dr. Jones for the Congregational Union, and Dr. Grieve and ourselves for the Congregational Historical Society. The Fund at present stands at £327 1s. 9d. A list of subscribers is printed on pp. 63, 64; further subscriptions may be handed in at the Annual Meeting, or sent by post.

* * * *

We have heard with pleasure that the Young People's Department of the Congregational Union is urging young people to celebrate the Centenary year of the Union by preparing local historical exhibitions. Young folk in a church or district, if wisely guided, would find the collection of documents and other exhibits illustrating the history of Nonconformity in their locality a fascinating pursuit. Members of the Society, we know, will be glad to lend their support to these local efforts.

* * * *

Still another Exhibition, this time on the Continent. Recently we had a welcome visit from Prof. Hermelink, of Marburg. The University of Marburg is establishing a permanent Museum of Church History, and two rooms are being set apart for the history of the British Free Churches. We have undertaken to assist Dr. Hermelink in gathering portraits, pictures, autographs, *etc.*, to illustrate the history of Congregationalism, and should be glad of the co-operation of members of the Society.

* * * *

We wish every town and parish could look forward to a history so thorough and so competent as Mr. Reginald L. Hine's *The History of Hitchin* (Allen and Unwin, 2 vols., 16*s.* each), two fine well-illustrated volumes, in which the history is completely surveyed. The work is a model for all local histories, and in its bibliographies and indexes for historians of every kind.

The second volume is of special interest to readers in that it contains chapters on the Baptists, the Friends, and the Congregationalists, all of them based on an intimate knowledge of the early books and documents. In these chapters Mr. Hine has had the assistance of Dr. Whitley (for the Baptists), Mr. Norman Penney and Mr. A. Neave Brayshaw (Quakers), and Mr. Halley Stewart and ourselves (Congregationalists).

In Memoriam

T. G. CRIPPEN, 1841–1929.

I FIRST made Mr. Crippen's acquaintance in the Autumn of 1904 after my return from India. Having some leisure time I made a transcript of John Penry's *Æquity* and offered it to the Society for publication. At every step of the work Mr. Crippen was my guide and friend; he himself contributed the Bibliography of Penry's writings, besides reading the proofs and in other ways amplifying and emending my maiden essay. I began to learn then something of his encyclopædic knowledge of our history and of his devotion to our sources; and subsequent association with him, though not nearly so constant or frequent as I wished, intensified my admiration of his range and thoroughness, his unwearying industry and his generous courtesy. It pleased him greatly when I was appointed to his old college, Airedale.

Mr. Crippen's name is not to be found in any *Who's Who* apart from the *Congregational Year Book*, but he was himself a *Who's Who* of our denomination, both men and churches, for the last 350 years. Of all the scores of enquirers who must have consulted him at the Library of which he seemed an inseparable constituent, I dare to say that none went away without enrichment and at least a measure of satisfaction. John Brown, Benjamin Nightingale, Wm. Pierce, Ives Cater, not to mention such of the living as F. J. Powicke, Champlin Burrage, and Albert Peel, were all debtors to him. He has no successor.

It is safe to say that our Society owes more to him than to any other single individual. He was its Secretary and its Editor for twenty-five years, and the *Transactions* are his monument. He always had on hand more material than he could use, and whether it were the reprinting of an early writing, or a transcript from a Church Minute Book, or something of his own, like the invaluable Bibliographies which appeared in the early issues, it was supremely worth making known.

Mr. Crippen was also an outstanding hymnologist. Dr. Barrett paid him a notable tribute in the preface to the *Hymnal*, and he served on the committee that prepared the *Hymnary*,

in which, as he once told me, he wished more of the old evangelical pieces had been included. He must have himself written other hymns than the familiar one, "For use before a Parliamentary Election," and if so I hope it may be possible to print some of them.

But perhaps his most sustained piece of work, now not often come across, but having real and, I think, abiding merit, was his *History of Christian Doctrine*, published by T. & T. Clark in 1883. He called it "A popular introduction," and though it is stiff going for the Sunday School teachers and village preachers for whom he meant it, it is very readable and very informing. His method is to deal with the great doctrines, God, the Trinity, Creation and Providence, Angels and Spirits, Man, Sin, the Person and Work of Christ, Grace, the Church, Eschatology, in a series of chapters each of which treats the particular theme historically. There are some useful appendices, especially one on "The Creeds of Ancient Christendom."

Mr. Crippen never sought great things for himself. He was "content to fill a little space" if he could glorify God by his loyal service. One thinks of him as going to and fro among his little flocks in Boston Spa, Fulbourn, Oldbury, Kirton, and Milverton for thirty years, and then for thirty more in the Library at the Memorial Hall, a man of God, with no desire for the limelight, but day by day doing what his hands found to do, "as poor yet making many rich, as having nothing and yet possessing all things."

A. J. Grieve.

The Hymns of the Rev. T. G. Crippen.

DR. GRIEVE'S reference to Mr. Crippen's hymns set one thinking and started a search, which very fortunately resulted in the discovery in the Congregational Library of a manuscript volume of hymns written by Mr. Crippen. He calls it "Hymns, Mostly for Special Occasions; Carols; And a few Translations." The preface, dated 29th June, 1908, reads :—

Few poets of the first or second rank have been successful hymn-writers; on the other hand many of our best and most popular hymns are the work of authors whom to call "poets" would be ridiculous. For most ordinary occasions, and as the expression of most ordinary phases of Christian thought and feeling, we have such an abundance of excellent hymns that to offer to the Church others of inferior quality is nothing less than a literary misdemeanour. But there are many special occasions for which hymns are very sparingly provided, and those which are available are of no great merit. This fact was forcibly impressed on the minds both of myself and my colleagues on the Advisory Committee which, in 1886, collaborated with Rev. Dr. Barrett in the production of the *Congregational Church Hymnal*. Some of the deficiencies which then became evident we did our best to supply; others were of necessity passed over. There is still ample room for good hymns for many special occasions, as well as Memorial and ethical hymns, from which selections may be made by future editors.

In the following pages will be found verses of varying quality which I have written from time to time during the last forty years. Many of them have never been printed—probably do not deserve perpetuation. A considerable number have appeared in the Evangelical Magazine, the Sunday School Chronicle, and divers local publications. A few have found their way into hymnbooks, and two or three have gained a measure of popularity for which I can only express humble gratitude. I have therefore thought it well to deposit the whole on the shelves of the Congregational Library, where they may be at the service of any compiler who may think them worthy of adoption. THOS. GEO. CRIPPEN.

The "Hymns for Special Occasions" provide for services of every conceivable kind, both for the congregation and for the individual. There is a hymn for the dedication of the various articles of church furniture such as the font and the lectern; there is a hymn of thanksgiving on recovery from sickness. We have the manuscript of the well-known hymn

for a Parliamentary Election referred to by Dr. Grieve, of which Mr. Crippen says :

" I feel constrained to leave on record an expression of gratitude for the wide acceptance which this hymn has met with. It has found a place in several hymnbooks—two of them of very wide circulation ; and has been printed on fly leaves innumerable. *Deo soli gloria.*"

After these hymns there is a selection headed with the note :

" There is a remarkable scarcity of good hymns on the following topics. I dare not flatter myself that I have supplied the deficiency, but venture to hope that my attempts are a little less bad than some that have preceded me."

Many of these are hymns about the Saints.

Then we have nineteen carols ; a selection headed " Experiments in Versification " ; and then a series of translations, mostly from Latin, but some from the German and the French.

Herewith we print a selection from the hymns in the first part of this manuscript book, not without the hope that there may be those who will feel that a book of this kind is worth printing *in extenso*. Mr. Crippen does not indicate which of the hymns have been previously printed, with the exception of the first three, to which he attaches a note :

" These three hymns are from the Cantata ' Plough and Sickle ' ; Music by G. F. Root, 1893."

The other notes, and the dates, are copied from the manuscript.

Special interest attaches to the Centennial Hymn, which we could not do better than use in our services of celebration for the Centenary of the National Union next year.

Perhaps it is true to say that one of the chief marks of all great hymns is that they can be sung from century to century without change—they are dateless. Mr. Crippen's hymns stand this test—it is amazing how many of them can be sung to-day without any alteration at all, though some of these were written as far back as the seventies of last century.

ALBERT PEEL.

HARVEST HOME.

1. Hark! the sound of "Harvest Home"
Rolls beneath the sacred dome;
Young and old in concert bring
Praise to nature's bounteous King.
Spring diffused her genial showers,
Summer decked the earth with flowers;
Autumn strews o'er hill and plain
Plenteous stores of golden grain.

2. Deign, good Lord, in us to sow
Seeds of goodness here below;
Make our hearts like fruitful ground—
There no rock nor thorn be found:
Shower upon us from above
All sweet influences of love;
Then with power and glory come,
Take us—take Thy Harvest-Home.

FOR A PASTOR'S ANNIVERSARY.

1. Another year together
We've passed in mutual aid,
In storm and pleasant weather,
In sunlight and in shade:
O Father, bless our union;
Bind fast in bands of love
Our hearts, to hold communion
With all Thy saints above.

2. Another year of telling
The story ever new,
Of joy all joys excelling
To us, who know 'tis true:
O Jesu, some have listened*
The whole year round in vain;
Unseal their eyes, long darkened,
Their captive souls unchain.

3. Another year of striving
With sins, and doubts, and fears;
Now fainting, now reviving,
And mingling prayers with tears:
O Holy Ghost, be near us
To banish all our grief,
With love and hope to cheer us,
And help our unbelief.

* (cor.) hearkened

4. Another year behind us!
   We watch, and work, and wait,
And each new year must find us
   Nearer the Golden Gate:
O Father, Son, and Spirit,
   On Church and Pastor smile,
Till we that Home inherit
   Which sin can ne'er defile.

1887 or 88.

FOR A COLLEGE REUNION.

(Tune—*Gaudeamus igitur.*)

1. Mother dear, with gladsome cheer
   Lo! thy children meet thee;
Gathering home from far and near,
   Thus with song to greet thee:
Showers of blessing daily fall
On the well-beloved hall,
   Father, we intreat Thee!

2. Here we learned, in olden days,
   Courage, faith, and duty;
Here pursued, in studious maze,
   Goodness, truth, and beauty:
Father, teach us still to prize
More than all in earth or skies
   Wisdom's priceless booty.

3. Here let streams of learning flow,
   Flushed with light serener;
Here the tree of knowledge grow
   Loftier yet, and greener.
Here, unvexed by bigot's rant,
Mystic's dream, or sophist's cant,
   Quest of truth grow keener.

4. Here in friendship's holy bond
   Youthful hearts grew braver:
Some, united, boldly stand;
   Some begin to waver;
Some have gained the victor's meed:
God! our feeble virtues need
   Thy sustaining favour.

(It might be better to transpose stanzas 3 and 4.)

5. Here a new and hopeful race,
Nerved for high endeavour,
Wait Thy promise, claim Thy grace:
Thou wilt fail them never!
O that they with us may share
Triumph won through toil and prayer—
Walk in white for ever!

12 Novr., 1894.

MEETING OF OLD SCHOLARS.

(Tune—"*The Gathering Song.*")

1. We gather, Lord Jesus, once more at Thy feet,
Old comrades and teachers with gladness to greet,
With whom we delighted in earlier days
To talk of Thy goodness and sing to Thy praise.
Hallelujah, Blessed Saviour!
Hosanna in the highest!
Hallelujah, Blessed Saviour!
'Tis good to sing Thy praise.

2. We gather, sweet memories of youth to renew,
The friendships of childhood, so tender and true;
And praise Thee, who dost with their sweetness entwine
Thy constant remembrance, Thy friendship divine.
Hallelujah, etc. Thy friendship is divine.

3. We praise Thee for those who directed our youth,
So thoughtless and wayward, to fountains of truth;
Who grieved o'er our faults, and unceasingly strove
To awaken our hearts to a sense of Thy love.
Hallelujah, etc. How precious is Thy love.

4. We praise Thee for labours in faithfulness wrought,
For lessons of wisdom so patiently taught;
For counsel and warning, for help by the way,
And fruits of the Spirit appearing to-day.
Hallelujah, etc. Abide with us to-day.

5. Anew every morning Thy love is displayed,
In safeguard and guidance, in comfort and aid;
O help us, by faithful obedience, to own
That love, till we gather once more at Thy throne.
Hallelujah, etc. We'll gather at Thy throne.

6. A new generation is taking our place;
Enrich them, dear Saviour, with plentiful grace:
Let none be misguided, or stray from Thy fold,
But follow Thee closer than we did of old.
Hallelujah, etc. Thy love can ne'er be told.

23 *May*, 1895.

CORPORATION SUNDAY.

(When a Mayor, etc., attends Church in State.)

1. O Christ our King, who didst not scorn
The Sceptre-reed and crown of thorn;
Glory and virtue come from Thee,
Who by the Truth hast made us free.

2. We therefore at Thy feet, to-day,
Our pride, our chartered freedom, lay;
And seek Thine aid to use aright
Our civic honour, wealth, and might.

3. Look from Thy heavenly dwelling down
On these, who rule our (ancient) town;
(rising)
(native)
Accept their homage; and impart
The grace to serve with upright heart:

4. To guard with care the public health,
And wisely use the public wealth;
To heed the poor with kindly aim,
And banish vice, and fraud, and shame.

5. Let Justice at the board preside,
And Prudence all the Council guide;
Nor selfish greed, nor factious hate
Intrude, to mar our prosperous state.

6. So shall our town, from year to year,
Grow purer, nobler, doubly dear:
Till we, with these our rulers, meet
And walk with Thee the Golden Street.

13 *Oct.*, 1886.

CENTENNIAL HYMN.

(Written for the Centenary of the Somerset Congregational Union, 1896; and revised for the Centenary of the Sunday School Union, 1903. It was sung at the Festival Service in Bloomsbury Chapel.)

1. With hearts and hands and voices
We praise our Saviour-King:
In Him all heaven rejoices,
Let earth with gladness ring.
*He left His throne in glory
To dwell with men below—

---

* As originally written, these four lines stood:
"With Him in high communion
Our fathers walked below;
For him they framed our Union
A hundred years ago."

Our fathers told the story
A hundred years ago.
Hearts and hands and voices
Combine His praise to show.
With whom our fathers walked in love
A hundred years ago.

2. They steadfastly contended
For truth, which sets men free;
And prayer with effort blended
That all this truth might see:
Dark corners of the nation
Then caught the morning glow,
The dayspring of salvation,
A hundred years ago.
Hearts and hands and voices
Combine His praise to show
Who owned the faith our fathers kept
A hundred years ago.

3. Their hope, then cherished weakly,
Bears glorious fruit to-day:
For truth, long witnessed meekly,
Still wins its widening way;
And freedom's tide is streaming
With broader, deeper flow,
Beyond their utmost dreaming
A hundred years ago.
Hearts and hands and voices
Combine His praise to show
On whom our fathers fixed their hope
A hundred years ago.

4. For light, still shining clearer
From God's most holy word;
For signs announcing nearer
The kingdom of our Lord;
For hearts that hold men dearer,
As more and more we know
The God whose face our fathers sought
A hundred years ago.
Hearts and hands and voices
Combine His praise to show
Who crowns the work our fathers wrought
A hundred years ago.

February, 1896.

RENOVATION OF A CHURCH.

1. Once more within these hallowed walls
   We meet, our festal song to raise;
   While many a thankful heart recalls
   Communion sweet in former (olden) days.

2. Our fathers built a house for Thee,
   O God, their Father and their Friend:
   Here did they bend the suppliant knee,
   And here didst Thou in love descend.

3. Here, listening to the joyful sound
   Of patient love, that would not cease,
   Full many a sinner pardon found,
   And many a troubled spirit peace.

4. Here, often, at the sacred board,
   They broke the Bread, and poured the Wine;
   And Thou didst many a pledge afford
   Of plenteous grace and love divine.

5. Now, Lord, behold Thy resting-place,
   By willing hands adorned for Thee;
   Here shed abroad Thy richer grace,
   And let us all Thy glory see.

6. Here be Thy true and lively word
   Set forth, as in the days of old;
   Here the Good Shepherd's voice be heard,
   Recalling wanderers to Thy fold.

7. Hence to Thy heavenly courts arise
   From lips and hearts of gathering throngs
   More grateful vows, more contrite sighs,
   More fervent prayers, more tuneful songs:

8. And here, in converse with Thine own,
   Give peace, till every stone decays,
   Or, seated on the Great White Throne,
   Thou call'st us hence to loftier praise.

(*If the church has been enlarged let v. 5 run:*

"Now, Lord, behold this wider space
By willing hands enclosed for Thee," etc.

1886.

DEDICATION OF A MEMORIAL WINDOW.

1. Light of the World, whose beams divine
Illume the Church with gladdening ray;
Accept our praise, Thine ear incline,
And hearken while we pray.

2. We bless Thee for the grace of old
In all Thy saints effectual seen;
Help us like precious faith to hold,
And keep their memory green.

3. We see not, throned above the sky,
Thyself; but view Thy likeness plain
In them, as sunbeams from on high
Flash through the storied pane.

4. As, lighted by the noontide blaze,
Each figure shines with varying hue;
So let us all, in various ways,
Present Thine image true.

5. Thus the memorials of the dead
May shadow forth our life in Thee,
The Lamb once slain—our living Head
To all eternity.

June, 1903

ELECTION OF DEACONS.

1. Lord Jesu Christ, by Whom alone
Is fitly placed each living stone—
Anointed with Thy Spirit free
For every task assigned by Thee,
Till the whole church fulfils its boast,
"A temple of the Holy Ghost":

2. Choose for us men to serve aright
In this Thy house, as in Thy sight;
Of conscience pure, and stedfast aim;
Of good report, and free from blame;
And "full"—'tis this we need the most—
"Of faith, and of the Holy Ghost."

3. Grant them in wisdom to excel,
To use the deacon's office well;
That each may "win a good degree,
And boldness in the faith" in Thee;
And praise, with all the Heavenly Host,
The Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.

(6 August, 1885. Written for the *Congregational Church Hymnal*, no tolerable hymn for the occasion being found.)

RECOGNITION OF SUNDAY SCHOOL TEACHERS.

1. Thou all-revealing Lord,
By Whom the power is given
To understand and teach Thy Word,
Which makes us wise for heaven:

2. Low at Thy feet we fall,
Rejoicing thus to see
Our comrades, at Thy gracious call,
Begin to speak for Thee.

3. Since every good desire
Proceeds from Thee alone,
With holy zeal their breasts inspire,
And all their labours own.

4. O make them truly wise,
And faithful to their trust;
Patient when provocations rise,
And diligent, and just;

5. Mighty by love to rule,
Well skilled in sacred lore,
And daily in the Saviour's school
Instructed more and more.

6. To Thine effectual grace
Our comrades we commend;
Keep them unwearied in the race,
And stedfast to the end.

(In vv. 2, 6, "brother" or "sister," or the corresponding plural, may be substituted for "comrade"; and the pronouns be varied as need may require.)

March, 1871.

IN A SEASON OF COMMERCIAL DEPRESSION.

1. Blighted through the serpent's guile,
Flowers of Eden ceased to smile;
Care and sorrow came by sin;
Man with toil his bread must win:
Yet, amid the toil and care,
Many a promise checks despair;
And the Saviour bids us pray
"Give us daily bread to-day."

2. Lord, the daily bread grows scant;
Caring, toiling, and in want;
Some have losses more than gains,
Few have profit more than pains;
Many labour, but the meed
Scarcely serves for daily need;
Some would labour, but they ask
Vainly for their daily task.

3. Lord, why dost Thou thus contend?
Why this grievous chastening send?
Give us wisdom to discern
Sins that make Thine anger burn;
Give repentance, that we may
Shun the paths that lead astray;
Give more grace, that henceforth we
Live acceptably to Thee.

4. Then shall praise toward heaven be sent
For Thy kindly chastisement;
Then wilt Thou again command
Prosperous times to bless the land;
Then shall truth and mutual aid,
Peaceful counsels, honest trade,
Purest pleasures, all combine,
And the glory shall be Thine.

14 *October*, 1886.

BATTLE SONG OF THE FREE CHURCHES.

1. The Lord of Sabaoth a standard uprears,
While armies of aliens His Kingdom assail,
We rise at the summons; away with our fears,
Though comrades may falter and hope seem to fail:
Our King reigns victorious, His liegemen are we;
"The Crown-rights of Jesus" our watchword shall be.

2. The armies of aliens are boastful and strong;
The Lord of Sabaoth will laugh them to scorn!
The march may be toilsome, the night-watches long,
The smoke of the battle may darken the morn;
But world, flesh, and devil must tremble and flee;
The Crown-rights of Jesus unsullied shall be.

3. The Lord of Sabaoth wrought wonders of old,
When armies of aliens His champions defied;
Then weaklings grew mighty, and cowards waxed bold,
And hell shook for fear as they conquering died.
Our fathers were faithful, their children are we,
"The Crown-rights of Jesus" our war-cry shall be.

4. The armies of aliens equipped them for war
With fetters and scourges, with gallows and stake;
The Lord of Sabaoth is mightier far!
The Sword of the Spirit—the Word that He spake—
Will cleave soul and spirit! Resist Him who may,
The Crown-rights of Jesus can never decay.

5. The Lord of Sabaoth in triumph shall ride
O'er warrior and traitor, o'er tyrant and priest—
Those armies of aliens—abasing their pride:
Then gird Him to serve, that His martyrs may feast;
While we, to the praise of our crucified King,
"The Crown-rights of Jesus" for ever will sing!

16 *July*, 1904.

("The Lord of Hosts!" was Cromwell's watchword at Dunbar. "The Crown-rights of Jesus" was the motto of the Scottish Disruption.)

FOR MINERS.

1. All ye deep places of the earth,
Sing praises to the Lord;
With glittering gems of secret birth,
And rugged ores of nobler worth,
By His rich bounty stored.

2. And ye,[1] who in the sunless mine
Your[2] dangerous toil pursue,
Lift up your[3] voice in songs divine
Till beams of heaven around you[4] shine,
And God appears in view!

3. Ah, Lord, the darkness and the light
Are both alike to Thee:
Watch o'er them,[5] labouring in the night;
Thy loving care, Thy sheltering might
Their[6] lamp and safeguard be.

4. When floods break in with awful plash,
Thy speedy rescue send;
From stifling damps, from deadly flash
Of fiery blast, from sudden crash
Of falling rocks, defend.

5. Teach them[5] to search those deeper mines
Where heavenly wisdom lies;
Read through the gloom, Thy covenant signs;
Then, when death's fire from dross refines,
With Christ, their[6] Life, to arise.

(If sung by a congregation of miners, make the following alterations: [1]we, [2]our, [3]the, [4]us, [5]us, [6]our.)

6 *February*, 1894

FOR THOSE WHO ARE PERSECUTED FOR RIGHTEOUSNESS SAKE.

1. Thou to Whom the spirits cried
From beneath the altar—
Champions of the faith, who died,
Daring not to falter:
Hear us for our brethren dear,
In the toils o'ertaken;
Plead their cause, dispel their fear,
For their help awaken.

2. Didst Thou not the foe subdue,
While on earth a Stranger?
Stand beside Thy soldiers true,
Girt with many a danger:
Let no powers of earth or hell
Force them to deny Thee;
Nor, though all the world rebel,
Cease to glorify Thee.

3. When the oppressor's hand grows strong,
Let their faith grow stronger;
If his wrath be fierce and long,
Be their patience longer:
Make them valiant in the strife,
Sure at last of winning,
Scorning ease, or gain, or life
At the price of sinning.

4. Should their conflict be to death,
Be their Life in dying,
While they yield their latest breath
On Thy Word relying—
Thine, whose title on the cross
Is their kingdom's charter.
Heavenly gold for earthly dross
Crowns Thy faithful martyr.

1886.

The Norwich Exhibits.

BIBLES AND MISSALS.

Latin MS. Bible (Vulgate). French work, 13th century.
Illuminated Missal. 14th century.
1st volume of MS. Bible (Latin). 1471.
Roman Missal (Book of Hours). Printed at Paris, 1520.
Myles Coverdale's Bible (Apocrypha and New Testament). 1550.
Geneva (" Breeches ") Bibles. 1583 and 1610.
Authorized Version. 1st edition. 1611.
Douai Bible. 1635. (Roman Catholic Version, translated into English by the " College of Doway " as a counterblast to the Genevan Bible.)

CIVIL WAR (1642–1649).

Collecting list of Ship money for the Hundred of Eynsford, Norfolk (1635).
Order to seize 1-20th part of real property of Sir Robert Kemp, a Royalist, of Gissing, Norfolk (October, 1643).
Order to tenants of Sir Robert Kemp to pay rent to the Sequestration Committee.
Order of Sequestration against Sir Robert Kemp.
The Solemn League and Covenant, signed in the parish of Toft Monks, Norfolk, 1643.
Oliver Cromwell's Letter to Mr. Hitch of Ely : " Least the souldiers should in any tumultary or disorderly way attempt the Reformation of the Cathedral Church I require you to forbear altogether your Quire Service so unedifying and offensive." (January 10th, 1643.)
An Apologeticall Narration, Humbly submitted to the Hon. Houses of Parliament. [By T. Goodwin, P. Nye, W. Bridge, S. Simpson, J. Burroughes.] 1643.

COMMONWEALTH (1649–1660).

Return from Holt Market, Norfolk, showing John Bond to be a " preaching minister " and advising against any union of benefices[1]. (1650).
Return from Letheringsett, Norfolk, showing the living to be sequestrated, the Lord of the Manor taking the profits and paying a " preaching minister " 10s. per Sunday. (1650.)
Order appointing William Manning to be Minister to the garrison of Languard Fort, near Harwich. (1654).

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[1]Enquiry was made in 1650 concerning every benefice.
1. Whether the incumbent was a " preaching minister."
2. What was the income of the benefice, and its sources.
3. Whether a union of benefices was desirable.

Original institution of Giles Say, clarke, to the vicarage of Catherington in Hampshire, dated at Whitehall, 20th March, 1655.

Certificate, signed by members of the Presbytery, of the ordination of Mr. Gyles Saye of Southampton to the work of the ministry by laying-on of hands of the Presbytery at Bishops Stoke in Hampshire. (8th May, 1660).

CHARLES II.

Order of the Commissioners reinstating Hamond Claxton in the benefice of Holt, Norfolk, and imposing on the outgoing minister, John Bond, a bond to give possession on 20th December, 1660. (The ejected Episcopalian is referred to as " an ejected minister.")

Parish Register of Sandon, Essex, showing the repudiation by a Restoration clergyman of a pew allocation made by his predecessor under the Commonwealth.

An original copy of the first *Declaration of Indulgence* (1672).

License, signed by Charles II and Arlington, for use of rooms by Congregationalists in Oswestry, 1672.

The like for rooms at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1672.

The like permitting Gyles Say of the Congregationalist persuasion to preach in room in his house in Southampton (1672).

JAMES II AND THE REVOLUTION OF 1688.

Original copies of the official *Gazette*, containing :—

James II's *Declaration of Indulgence*, 1687, allowing Catholics and Protestant Dissenters to perform their religious services openly.

Addresses of thanks from sundry ministers of the Gospel in New England.

Addresses of thanks from Dean and Chapter of Durham, Independents, Baptists and others of Gloucestershire.

Address from the Old Dissenting Officers and Soldiers in the County of Lincoln.

Addresses of thanks from Nonconforming and loyal subjects of Newcastle-upon-Tyne ; Anabaptists of Stafford, Derby, and Nottingham ; Anabaptists of Nantwich, Salop, and Audley.

Addresses of thanks from London Presbyterians, London Quakers, Citizens of Westminster, and London Congregationalists.

James II's *Second Declaration of Indulgence*, April, 1688, boasting of the appointment of Roman Catholics to public offices.

The address from the London Quakers, also containing the official account of the Committal to the Tower of the seven Bishops who petitioned the King against the reading of the Second Declaration of Indulgence.

Addresses of thanks from Grand Jury of Middlesex, and Congregationalists of Norwich.

Addresses of thanks from Anabaptists of Leicestershire.
Final Declaration of Protest by James II against the invasion of William of Orange.

DR. ISAAC WATTS (1674–1748).

Portrait carved in ivory. (Probably contemporary.)
Letter (1708) to Samuel Say, stating that his Booksellers are pressing him to reprint his hymns.
Letter (1709) to S. Say, indicating how he sought the help of his friends in the revision of his hymns.
Letter to S. Say, disclosing a division amongst the "Dissenting Deputies," caused by one party accusing the other of being too much under the influence of the Court.
Letter to S. Say, about the status of Evangelists.
Exercises in Geometry, worked out and written by Dr. Isaac Watts.
Marginal notes of Watts in a printed sermon by Dr. Samuel Chandler (Sept. 25th, 1738).

SAMUEL SAY.

Original Call in 1712 to become assistant pastor at Old Meeting, Norwich.
Ordination Certificate. (1726.)
Repeated Call to come to Ipswich as assistant to the Rev. Samuel Baxter (1726).
A letter from the Rev. Dr. John Evans, a famous London divine, to Samuel Say of Lowestoft, seeking his support for the Whig Candidates in the General Election of 1727.
Letter from Isaac Watts, telling Samuel Say that he had been approached by Westminster Chapel for a "character." (1734.)
The original call to the pastorate of Westminster Chapel (1734), signed by officers and members.
Joint letter from Dr. Isaac Watts and Dr. W. Harris, notifying Samuel Say that a deputation will wait upon him at Ipswich inviting him to the pastorate of Westminster.
Letter from the Rev. Dr. T. Steward, Presbyterian minister at Bury St. Edmunds, who, hearing of Samuel Say's call to Westminster Chapel, writes to warn him of the Calvinism of the chief members of the congregation.

PHILIP DODDRIDGE, D.D. (1702–1751).

White jacket worn by Dr. Doddridge on the day that he died (at Lisbon).
Pair of silk-embroidered shoes worn at Court by Mrs. Doddridge; heels nearly two inches high and covered with black silk.
Small brass lantern said to have been used by Mrs. Doddridge to light her to chapel after Dr. Doddridge's death.

Small Bible (1653) which belonged to Dr. Doddridge.

Copy of the 1st edition of Dr. Doddridge's Hymns presented by the transcriber, Job Orton (at one time co-pastor with Dr. Doddridge) to the Doctor's widow. Orton headed the 368 printed hymns with the dates upon which they were written, and in some cases the events for which they were composed.

Leaf of Church-Book written by Dr. Doddridge, 1729–30.

Letter from Dr. Doddridge to Dr. Isaac Watts, October 17th, 1745.

Sermon notes of Dr. Doddridge.

Vol. I. of Dr. Doddridge's *Lectures on Pneumatology*, in his own shorthand.

Lectures by Dr. Doddridge on Pneumatology, Ethics, *etc.*, in long-hand.

Collection of autograph letters of Dr. and Mrs. Doddridge. (1742–1751.)

JOHN WESLEY (1703–1791).

John Wesley's First Sermon (MS.).

John Wesley's List of Sermon Texts, indexed by reference to place. They total 7,142 for sixteen years (average nine per week).

John Wesley's Account Book, 1731–1733.

Letter from Samuel Wesley to his son, John Wesley, September 1st, 1725.

Copy of letter from John Wesley to William Wilberforce, M.P., January, 1791.

One volume of the Original MS. Diary of John Wesley, mostly in shorthand.

GEORGE WHITEFIELD (1714–1770).

Portion of Whitefield's Diary, 1734–1735, showing that his usual hours were from 4 a.m. to 10 p.m., and giving, apparently, a list, by reference to number, of temptations met and overcome.

Letter from Whitefield to John Wesley, April 3rd, 1739.

Letter from Whitefield in New York, reporting great awakenings in various places, 1764.

CHURCH MINUTE-BOOKS, ETC.

The Old Meeting, Norwich, 1642.

Great Yarmouth, 1642.

Northowram, 1645, with Oliver Heywood's entries and references to the Ejectment.

Bury St. Edmunds, 1646. Mentions the Rev. Thomas Taylor's dismission to London to sell tobacco.

Denton, Norfolk. Church Account Book containing references to Briefs to raise money for disasters, among those mentioned in 1724 being :—

Wetherby, Yorks.	Fire £7,533.
Campshall, Cambs.	Fire £1,067.
Abawaies, Staffs.	Fire £1,130.
Halifax, Yorks.	Inundation, £3,395.

Oswestry. Church Covenant by Rev. Edward Williams, D.D. (1750–1813), founder of Brecon Independent College, and at one time (1791–1795) minister of Carrs Lane, Birmingham.
Cockermouth. Church Book 1651.
Guestwick. Church Book 1693.
Quay Street, Woodbridge. Church Book, 1709.
Wattisfield. Church Book 1654.

COMMUNION AND OTHER PLATE.

Guestwick Congregational Church.
2 two-handled cups, embossed with acorns, 1658.
2 handled cups, chased, 1683.
2 handled cups, plain, 1689.
Pewter flagon and 2 pewter plates. Communion set.
Hapton Chapel.
2 silver Communion cups and 1 plate. 1670.
London Founders' Hall Congregation. (The oldest Scots Church in London.)
4 silver Communion cups, 1694.
Newport. Mill Street Congregational Church.
2 Communion plates and cup (pewter) dug up from outside vestry door during excavations 43 years ago.
Norwich. Old Meeting.
One of 6 Communion cups, "The gift of Mr. B. Balderston to ye Congregational Church, Norwich, 1757."
Silver Communion dish, engraved, "The property of the Congregational Church in Norwich, 1758."
Communion flagon, engraved, "Old-Meeting, Norwich, 1860." (One of a pair.)
Norwich. The Octagon.
Silver cups and plates.
Southwark. Pilgrim Congregational Church.
4 silver Communion cups, 1691.
Wattisfield Congregational Church.
Silver Communion set. The cups have been in constant use since 1678, the plates since 1747.
Britannia metal Communion set formerly in use in Botesdale Congregational Church until its close in 1923.
Woodbridge. Quay Street Congregational Church.
Communion Plate. The full set consists of 1 salver (1708), 3 plates (1709), 3 large cups (1709).

VARIOUS EXHIBITS.

Nail from Robert Browne's house near Oundle.
Piece of Panelling from Scrooby Manor House, where Cardinal Wolsey stayed just before his death, and which was the home of William Brewster and the meeting-place of the early Separatists.
Model of Bunyan's chair.
Copy of Bunyan's will and photograph of the original.
Key to Oliver Cromwell's cash box.
Snuffers used for the candles of The Old Meeting, built in 1707 to replace Bunyan's Barn.
Pulpit Chair from Guestwick Congregational Church, called Cromwell's Chair.
Cromwell's death mask, showing the wart.
Carved beam: "The world is bad and when 'twil mend God know 1654."
Pulpit chair of the Rev. John Cromwell, M.A., kinsman of the Protector and fourth minister of Old Meeting, Norwich.
Medal struck after the Battle of Dunbar.
Cromwellian Badge.
Original Cromwellian tokens and coins.
Great Seal of the Commonwealth, showing the Commons assembled.
Great Seal of the Commonwealth, showing Oliver mounted.
Appointment, signed by Richard Cromwell, of Erasmus Earle as a sergeant-at-law.
Original Royalist Badges.
Oliver Heywood's drinking cup.
Cap worn by Joseph Fream, son of Mrs. Fream, formerly Mrs. Joseph Gurney.
Doll spoons played with by Elizabeth Fry when a child.
Quaker bonnet.
Singing Master's stick, Old Meeting, Norwich.
Pitch Pipe used at Old Meeting, Norwich.
Pitch Pipe, Guestwick Congregational Church.
Pitch Pipe used at the Independent Chapel at Bishop's Stortford, in the Meeting House built by the Rev. John Angus in 1767.
Pen and ink sketch of the Presbyterian Meeting which preceded the Octagon, Norwich.
Stand to hold the Mayor's sword, Octagon Chapel, Norwich.
Medal struck at the Disruption of the Scots Kirk, 1843.
Presbyterian Communion tokens.
Copper candlesticks presented to Percy Congregational Church, Bath, after having been used for over 100 years at a Congregational Church at Donyatt, Ilminster, Somerset.
The club which killed John Williams, the missionary.
Rev. Isaac Sharp's snuff box (Ormskirk Street, St. Helens).
Dr. Joseph Parker's pulpit Bible.
Candelabra, Monks Chapel, Corsham, Wilts.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Books.

Mother Juliana of Norwich (1343–1443?): *Divine Love.* 1st edn. 1670.

John Bunyan:

The Holy War, 1682.

Grace Abounding, 1688.

Pilgrim's Progress (2 imperfect copies) c. 1689–1727.

Richard Baxter:

The Saint's Everlasting Rest, 1651, containing the lines on meeting Pym and Hampden in Heaven, which Baxter deleted in editions after 1659.

John Cosin[2]: *History of Popish Transubstantiation.*

Manuscripts.

Henry Barrow: *Four Causes of Separation* (16th century—the earliest definitely Puritan MS exhibited).

Diary of Rev. Thomas Thorowgood, S.T.P., of Grimston, Norfolk, a member of the Westminster Assembly and a moderate Puritan, 1595–1669.

Letter by J. Cosin, later Bishop of Durham[2], 1639. Author (translator) of "Come Holy Ghost our souls inspire."

Diary of Philip Henry, 1657.

Sermons by Philip Henry (1631–1696, including one for 24th August, 1662, at Bangor "not preacht").

Diary of Joseph Hussey (Cambridge, 1691–1717).

Three sermons by Matthew Henry (1662–1714).

Diary of Rev. Philip David of Neath.

Autograph letter of William Cowper.

Two autograph letters (1778 and 1787) of Selina, Countess of Huntingdon (1707–1791).

Letter from Katherine Bendysh, great granddaughter of Oliver Cromwell, referring to her stepmother, the famous Mrs. Bridget Bendysh, and to her stepson "Ireton," named, no doubt, after his grandfather. (c. 1720.)

Certificates that John Elmy of Beccles received the Sacrament in the Parish Church in conformity with the Test Act. Signed by the Vicar and Churchwarden and two witnesses, 1729.

Account for the erection in 1738 of a stable to the Manse at Denton, Norfolk. Provision of refreshments was part of the contract.

Account for education and maintenance at Bromfield Academy, total for $1\frac{1}{4}$ years—£15 14s. 4d.

"The Graves of Denton" (Norfolk), a manuscript book, an example of what an exact antiquary can discover about the history of a Chapel.

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[2]He lived in Suckling House, where the Exhibition was held.

Letter from Rowland Hill, 1812.
MS. Tune Book, Bury St. Edmunds.
MS. Tune Book, Corsham, Wilts.
Letter from James Montgomery.

QUAKERS' LETTERS.

From Richard Hubberthorn(e).

1. To George Fox, dated from Norwich Castle, 13th 9th mo. 1654. (Photostat copy.)
2. To Margrett Fell at Swarthmore, dated 21st 10th mo. 1654 (Photostat copy.)

From George Fox.

1. Contemporary copy, dated 26th 12th mo. 1660. Appointment of Meeting "about outward things," widows, orphans, prisoners, and sufferings.
2. Dictated 23rd 4th mo. 1671. Direction for a "Women's Meeting" to care for poor widows and orphans.
3. To Robert Barclay, of Ury, dated from London 2nd 9th mo. 1680 (original).
4. Contemporary copy, dated 1st 4th mo. 1685. Concerning records of the sufferings of Quakers.

To Judges of Assize at Thetford, dated 26th 12th mo. 1660. Request of prisoners to be removed from Norwich Prison to Thetford for trial.

From William Caton to Magdalene Fuller of Yarmouth, from Amsterdam, 25th 6th mo. 1664. (Mentions Thomas Symons, the first Norwich Quaker, and James Crow and John Rust, who had been his fellow prisoners in Yarmouth Gaol.)

Testimony concerning Thomas Symons, written after his death c. 1666.

From William Bennitt to Norfolk Quakers, from "Edmonds Bury Common Gaol," 25th 1st mo. 1667.

From John Lawrence of Wramplingham to George Whitehead, dated 9th 10th mo. 1682. (Photostat copy.)

From John Fiddeman (copy) to Henry Crow, Justice, dated 14th November, 1682, from Norwich Gaol.

From Richard Richardson, dated 10th 12th mo. 1682. Directing Friends to keep a Prison Book.

From Anthony Alexander, Henry Lombé, and Mary Booth to George Whitehead and William Crouch, dated 30th 2nd 1683. Account of sufferings, written from the Gaol under the Guildhall.

From John Defrance to the Magistrates; undated, probably Autumn, 1683.

From "the prisoners under the Guild Hall" to Sheriff Stebbing, dated 8th March, 1683. Complaining of undue severity, and requesting relief.

From Anthony Alexander, Thomas Buddery, and others to Judges Windham and Montagne. Undated, but written Spring, 1683.

From John Gurney and seven others to Judge Hollaway, dated 4th August, 1683.

From George Whitehead to John Gurney and others, 6th 4th mo. 1684. Advice regarding sufferings.

To the Judge ; undated, probably Spring, 1685. Includes message from Quaker prisoners in Yarmouth requesting relief from " close confinement."

George Whitehead to Quakers in Eastern Counties, 28th 10th mo. 1685.

To the City Assembly ; undated, probably 1689 or 1690. Requests that effects of Toleration Act may not be curtailed.

Norwich " Book of Sufferings," containing particulars of hardships endured by Quakers in the city from 1654 to 1784 (excluding 1683–1703).

Quarterly Meeting " Book of Sufferings " containing particulars of imprisonments, distraints, etc., of Quakers in Norfolk (excluding Norwich) from 1654 to 1733.

Charter of Release for 491 prisoners from Charles II. (Photostat copy). This release was obtained chiefly through the perseverance of George Whitehead. It includes the names of some prisoners not Quakers, notably John Bunyan.

Contemporary copy of Petition to the King on behalf of Quaker Prisoners, dated 12th mo. 1682. (Photostat copy.) Records particulars of imprisonments at Norwich, Bristol, Gloucester, York, and Northampton.

First Monthly Meeting Book, Norwich, containing minutes of Meetings from 1670 to 1690. From 10th month 1682 to 9th month 1684, the Business Meetings were held in the Gaol.

PORTRAITS AND PRINTS.

Oliver Cromwell (in oils).
Richard Cromwell.
John Hampden.
Henry Ireton.
Thomas Fairfax.
Col. Nathaniel Fiennes.
Marquis of Winchester.
Major John Lisle, 1655.
General Monk (in oils).
Joseph Hall (1574–1656), Bishop of Norwich.
Andrew Marvell.
John Cosin (1594–1672), Bishop of Durham.
Sergeant Erasmus Earle.
Richard Baxter.
Lord Charles Fleetwood.
John Owen.
Edward Reynolds, Bishop of Norwich, (1599–1676).
Selina, Countess of Huntingdon.
Philip Henry.
Matthew Henry.
James Hamilton, John Wesley, and Joseph Cole (a group).
Sunday School children of Colchester. (c. 1790)

The "Free Churches" of Norwich in Elizabethan and Early Stuartian Times.

THE recent meetings of the Congregational Union Assembly at Norwich awakened echoes, in more ways than one, of the early Puritan struggles and sufferings and witness. How much of the religious freedom and spiritual liberty that we now enjoy is owed to their unflinching hold of the principles they embraced we cannot easily estimate. In looking on the relics at the Suckling Hall, so happily preserved for us from the times of Stuart and Commonwealth, we were conscious that these were but outward and visible signs of a real inward and spiritual grace; both treasured up for us through the intervening centuries, both to be as faithfully treasured up by us, as faithfully handed on.

But it may be good for us to be reminded that in those far bygone days at Norwich, and indeed long before those Stuart days, contemporary even with our own Elizabethan martyrs, there were Churches actually existing which, if perhaps rather Presbyterian than Independent in the precise nature of their Church polity, were none the less Independent in spirit, untrammelled in their autonomy, sturdily independent of State control and prelatical interference, Puritan in their freedom from ceremony and their abhorrence of ritualism, and above all earnest and diligent in the maintenance of a pure faith and doctrine, and in their endeavour to set before men in preaching and practice the example of the one supreme authority they owned in things spiritual, even their Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.

Even before Barrow, Greenwood, and Penry were born, there had flowed into Protestant England, from the persecutions of the Duke of Alva and other inquisitorial potentates on the continent, streams of Flemings and Walloons who by favour of Edward VI and later of Elizabeth founded their own Free Churches ("Eglises Libres") in several towns in England, notably in London, Norwich, Canterbury, Sandwich, and Southampton (or, as it was then called, Hampton). There they held their own faith and worshipped in their own manner, and there they set an example of order, sobriety, and

godly living by their steadfast refusal to swerve from their own faith and practice, when refusal meant persecution and exile, and conformity meant prosperity and undisturbed peace. Under Bloody Mary favour there was none; the pastors of the Reformed Churches had to choose between conformity and flight. There was no hesitation. Embarking in a body at Gravesend, thinking themselves happy to have saved even their lives, though it were but for misery, they were assailed by a violent tempest, and when at last they reached the continent they found the bigotry of man even more cruel than the fury of the sea. Norway, Denmark, Prussia, the Hanse towns were all tried in vain; their conscience forbade them to sign the Augsburg Confession (the Lutheran declaration of faith), the sole condition on which they were allowed to remain; and the Protestantism which should have welcomed them as brethren in Christ was no more tolerant then than was English Protestantism later to the Separatist Independents. They finally dispersed and found a temporary home in the Low Countries and Flanders, but with a fixed determination—and with a faith in English generosity which shows our reputation for hospitality "to the oppressed of all the world" to be a growth of not two or even three hundred years only—to return to this country as soon as opportunity offered.

With Elizabeth's accession the opportunity came, and from that time forward, with many vicissitudes indeed and with oft-threatened suppression, they maintained a continuous Church life in the several centres where they gathered, even down to the present time. Not a little does the domestic life of England owe to these Protestant refugees from the Low Countries and to the French Huguenots of these and later times, in commerce, handicrafts, and engineering; no less is the life of England the nobler and the stronger in mind and heart for the intermingling of so much strength of purpose, keen intelligence, nobility of character, and moral force; and it is pleasant to Nonconformists to find that in their religious life they were sympathizers with what we think highest and purest in principle and in action; that, ancestors of many of us as they were by blood, they were also our fathers in the faith. One is struck in reading the accounts of these Churches, written in their quaint French, to find how much akin to our own are the perplexities, the troubles, the temptations, the discouragements of these simple bands of Christians, and how staunchly they stood up in support of those very principles

for which the early English Separatists, in resistance to the same arrogant intolerance, suffered and died.

The *Colloques et Synodes, 1581–1654*, and *The Walloon Church of Norwich, its Registers and History*, published by the Huguenot Society of London, contain many records of interest to us. A few quotations from these will afford some glimpses of the problems and difficulties that beset these single-hearted but by no means simple-minded Christians. The Norwich Church was a French-speaking but Walloon Church, as were the Refugee Churches of London, Canterbury, and Southampton. These four Churches met at more or less regular intervals, usually from year to year, at one or other place, generally in rotation, in their Conferences (*Colloques*). From time to time "Synodes" were held of representatives of all the Refugee Churches, *i.e.*, including the Flemish-speaking ones; these were held in London.

Colloque VIII was held in London in 1589, at which Norwich was represented by its minister and an elder (*Un Ministre et un Ancien*); the names are sometimes given, but usually omitted. Mons. Anthoine Lescaillet was chosen as Moderator, Philipe De La Mothe as Secretary (*pour écrire*). As De La Mothe is described as *Ministre de Hamptonne* (Southampton), and Lescaillet as *Ministre de la Parole de Dieu*, it would appear that the latter was then without pastoral charge.

Minute 16 runs as follows (I translate the French in all the extracts):—

> "As to the question proposed by the Brethren of London, whether it is lawful or expedient for a Minister of God's word to contribute to the cost and equipment of the Ships of War, which are at this time being sent to sea, and to share in the prizes which they take? Agreed, without prejudice to the laws and regulations of Princes for making war, that in regard to the great and unjust depredations which have long been made under this pretext, by which some even of those who make profession of religion have been greatly damaged; and since the honour of the Ministry ought to be carefully protected from every appearance of evil, whether of avarice or of dishonest gains, and of want of care for his flock; It is not at all suitable in the Refugee Churches in this Country, composed for the most part of Merchants and Artizans, that the Brethren who hold office in a Church, and especially the Ministry, should meddle in the equipment of Ships of War, nor take a share of the prize money arising from them; and therefore the said Brethren should altogether abstain from this."

Be it remembered that this was in January, 1589, a few

months only after the defeat of the Spanish Armada. Now in the previous year, the fateful 1588, loyal Gloucestershire men had fitted out a vessel for the national defence, and put it in charge of a certain captain to assist in the great struggle; and doubtless the good folk of the shire, around their lighted bonfires and roasted oxen after the defeat of the invader, felt a thrill of national pride in having had *their* share in the glorious victory. But alas! it soon transpired that their good ship had taken no part at all in the fray; so far from that, it had been all the while cruising, under its villain of a captain, up and down the coasts, pillaging friends and foes alike; and was indeed nothing more or less than a disreputable pirate. It was abuses such as these that led the Brethren most rightly to resolve to abstain from taking part in anything that might seem to give countenance to such proceedings.

CANTERBURY (*Cantorbery*), 1584.

"As to names that should be given to infants in Baptism, it is considered best to reject names belonging to God, or to our Lord Jesus Christ, names of office ((*d'ofice,*)[1] and those which are derived from paganism. But that those found in the Scriptures might be used with discretion, and in any case should be such as would give a good example of piety and virtue to the children."

At the same Conference it was asked if public notice ought to be taken if a blow had been given in a public place. The conclusion was that it need not be done publicly if there had been no bloodshed or any great scandal!

NORWICH, 1593.

At the Conference at Norwich in 1593 several resolutions were agreed to as regards baptisms. Among them was the following:—

"No Baptisms shall be performed except at Assemblies for worship. And when the parents are fearful, through weakness, of something happening to their children in default of Baptism, before giving way to anything which might give rise to Superstition and attach the grace of God to earthly elements, those who are in office in the church shall instruct and console them and try to remove from them all scruples of Conscience."

[1] What were these names "*d'ofice?*" A very large proportion of the baptismal names given at this time were Scriptural. I do not find any names in the *Registers of the Walloon Church of Norwich* suggestive of the questions here raised (though Belsabee as the name of a daughter is certainly rather unexpected). It may have originated through some practice at one of the other churches in the country.

This shows well the clearness with which these early Reformers apprehended the distinction between the real value of the truths underlying ceremonial forms, and the spurious value attributed to the forms themselves ; and manifests their determination to yield in no way to such superstitious reverence for the mere form as is inherent in the doctrine of baptismal regeneration. A very similar resolution was recorded later as to the practice of the " reservation of the sacrament."

At the same Conference the Brethren at Norwich were admonished to keep their Registers in better order !

LONDON, 1596.

" The Brethren find it advisable that for their edification the old version of the Bible should be followed in our churches ; not to condemn the new version,[2] but awaiting its general approval by the churches."

LONDON, 1601.

" Orders shall be given that all drinkings and other abuses of like nature which are practised after the burial of the dead shall be reformed, as prejudicial often to the Widows and Orphans of the deceased, and repugnant to Christian good feeling."

" Concerning Ester, wife of Josué Caulier, a member of the Church of Cantorbery, considering that through just indignation she had so far forgotten herself as to give one on the cheek (*de donner sur la joue*) to one Pierre Le Blanc, by whose persuasion the husband of the said Ester had enrolled himself as a soldier and left her ; Notwithstanding that the circumstances of the place and time aggravated the act of the said Ester, nevertheless if she cannot be persuaded to confess her fault publicly, considering her great penitence and her good life (*conversation honnête*) both before and after the act, the Brethren with the consent and on the proposal of the Deputies of the said church are of the opinion that she should be restored to the church on confessing her fault to the Consistory, provided also she satisfies those who were present on the occasion."

Poor Esther, you little knew what a stir you were to cause in the councils of the Church when you slapped Peter's face in your just indignation !

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[2] The "old version" would be the Geneva Bible of 1560. It is not clear to what the "new version" refers.

LONDON, 1603–4.

There are two minutes about Brother Timothy Blier, who had been invited to minister to both the Churches at Canterbury and Southampton. It was resolved that when he was ready to be received into the ministry he should be lent to the Church at Southampton in view of the illness of their present minister, unless the need of some other Church should be greater. The next minute proceeds to recount that Brother Timothy had been supported jointly by the three Churches of Canterbury, Norwich, and Southampton while pursuing his studies (at Montauban), and resolves to send letters to the Brethren at Southampton (*Hamptonne* has become *South-hamptonne* for the first time in this minute), begging them to consider the harm done by their fault and precipitation in not only not hastening his departure to his said studies, and in too prematurely allowing him to act as minister before the laying on of hands; but also in prematurely aiding and abetting at his marriage, when he too lightly set aside his promise, verbal and written, in order to follow his affections, since in so doing they discouraged the Churches which took an interest in the education of their students. This the Brethren of Hampton would weigh, if it pleased them, maturely.

Brother Timothy appears to have been a young student of brilliant parts and capable of winning affection in more quarters than one. In less than two years afterwards he had become the minister of the Southampton Church, and was elected Secretary or Clerk of the next Conference, held in Norwich in 1606. At that Conference a long minute records that the Brethren at Southampton gave their reasons for the action complained of, and it was agreed that they were weighty, and if they had been laid before the Conference in London the resolution of that Conference would not have been passed. Nevertheless they should not have let him act as minister, and that not once or twice but every Sunday for four months, before the laying on of hands. As to the marriage, the Brethren of Southampton said they had known nothing of it and had in no way abetted it, so " we accept that reply in charity."

With the Stuarts came evil days for the Refugee Churches. Prelatical interference was on the increase, and king and bishop were bent on introducing a uniform system of worship. In the Conference at Norwich in 1619 the following minute occurs :—

" 26. On the difficulty for a long time discussed in this Church,

and with the other Churches, because Mons. the Bishop has declared his wish to be that they should celebrate the Communion (this is always referred to as the Supper, *la Cêne*) standing, not sitting; and because now Mons. the Chancellor has come to the conference to declare, on behalf of the said Lord Bishop, that his intention is that this said Church shall celebrate the Communion on their knees; resolved; The conference not having yet either personally or in their Consistories[3] heard any suggestion of this last form, of kneeling, has thought it not possible, in view of the consequences, to give its decision at present; and has given instructions to each of the pastors present to discuss the matter in their Consistories, and as soon as possible to send their advice to this Church, which, however, will continue to celebrate the Communion in the form used by all the French Churches in this kingdom, as has already been determined by the resolution contained in Minute 8 of the present conference."

The good Brethren won the right, it would seem, for the time at least, to keep their seats in the service, and that by somewhat more sedate methods than, only a few years later, Jenny Geddes—who did not keep hers—led Scotland's resistance to similar impositions of Anglican liturgies by Laud. For nothing further of this matter appears in the minutes of the next two Conferences; partly, probably, because the Brethren were in no great hurry to bring the matter to a head, but more because the whole of their liberty of worship was being called in question. It was soon to be a matter, not merely of sitting, standing, or kneeling at the Communion, but of a far deeper and wider moment.

"8. On the proposition made by the Brethren of London, whether it is lawful for anyone of our four Churches to yield up any of their common liberty without the consent of the others? Resolved, that it will not be lawful for any of the said Churches to yield up anything of its liberty in things essential, or even accidental, which might be common to, and prejudicial to the other Churches, without their consent and approval."

This was not passed without a reason. There were signs of a coming struggle still more serious, so serious indeed that it became not a matter for the "Conference" of the French Churches alone, but for the wider "Synod" of all the Refugee Churches, French, Fleming, and Walloon. And so at Synod II, London, 1634, the first Minute runs as follows:—

"The Deputies of the three foreign Churches in Kent announced

[3] *Consistoire*—the governing body of each Church.

to this Assembly that Monseigneur the Archbishop of Canterbury[4], having enjoined two things on them by his commissioners, to wit, Sir Nathanael Brent his Vicar-General and others ; (1) that all natives of this kingdom of both Churches, Fleming and Walloon, must withdraw each to his own parish where he dwelt, to take the Communion and to hear the Word of God, and perform all the duties of a parishioner ; (2) that the ministers and all other members of the said Churches who were born beyond the sea must use the Liturgy of the English Churches, and make use of it in so far as it is or can be translated into French and Flemish ; beginning on the first day of next March ; thereupon the said deputies went to call on the said Lord Archbishop of Canterbury on the 2nd day of February ; and by word of mouth asked him to be so good as to recall the said Injunction, as being contrary to their privileges, and the carrying out of which would of necessity cause the breaking up of the foreign Churches. But the said Lord would not agree to their demand, but gave order to his Vicar-General to carry out the execution of the said Injunction, saying to the said deputies that they might go to the King if they thought well."

The Deputies continued that having read over the Patent granted them by Edward VI, recounting the privileges of worship granted them, they next drew up a petition to the King, and appointed a deputation to present it, asking to be heard by the Council of State. His Majesty received the petition (but declined to hear the speech they had prepared !), and passed it on to Mr. Secretary Cook, to whom they sent all necessary documents (including the undelivered speech). A friendly intervention by the Duc de Soubize brought a message that the King said they had more fear than there was occasion for, as he only intended to go on with the last proposition, that concerning native-born subjects.

They had then asked the King to postpone the execution of the Injunction till His Majesty had had time to hear their case ; the King had answered : " I cannot do that " ; and when Mons. Le Duc de Soubize replied : " If your Majesty does not the execution will be very hard for the Churches," His Majesty answered : " It will not be so hard as they fear."

The Synod then resolved, after deliberation, in consideration of the near approach of the day fixed, that the Churches should continue their services as usual, until they knew more fully the King's pleasure.

The Kentish Deputies were then asked to visit Sir N. Brent,

[4] Archbishop Laud.

and on returning[5] reported that they had asked him if he knew anything of the King's wish. He had replied that he could not say anything at present, "*mais que l'Archevêque* WOULD NOT BE SO STRAITE LACED *pour une semaine ou deus*" about executing the Injunction.

The Deputies from Kent were then asked to interview the Archbishop; whereupon M. Pierre Maes of Sandwich found himself in poor health, and M. P. le Noble of Canterbury asked leave to retire to his house; and two other Deputies were appointed in their place. The interview with the Archbishop is then narrated, in the course of which he declared his intention of reducing all to one uniformity, but said he had never intended to confine the Foreigners to the Liturgy of the English Church, and if they would like to draw up a petition to cover two generations of natives, he would bring back to them *bona fide* the King's answer.

Much conversation then took place with Sir N. Brent, who asked them among other things if their ministers would be willing to take the Communion in the English Church. They replied that they would not; and that moreover they were conducting their own services every Sunday. Would they promise that the laity would obey? They answered that they could not promise for anyone else, which he agreed was true.

Finally the Brethren from Kent, having vainly attempted to interview the Archbishop again and having been referred by him to Sir N. Brent, were told by him in the presence of two witnesses that the Lord Archbishop had resolved that those who were native-born were to withdraw themselves to their parishes "*comme* absolute members of the said parishes where they dwell," and were to begin to obey on the first day of April next. On which the said Brethren having asked the advice of the Assembly, the Synod advised them to return to their Churches as soon as possible, to continue their duties as usual, and to be in no way whatever instruments or messengers of the said Injunction, because it tends to the ruin of the Churches which it was their duty to edify.

So, sturdily enough, the Brethren refused to yield to the Injunctions of the Archbishop. Exactly what was the result does not appear from the minutes, but at the third Synod, held in 1641, the proceedings (here recorded in English) state that owing to

"The great disturbances brought upon some of our Churches

[5] The minutes of the Synod cover a considerable period, from Feb. 5th to March 13th.

where the late Injunctions of the Archbishop have been pressed; and the danger of the overthrow of all our Churches if not prevented,"

it was thought to be a fit season to petition Parliament for a

"settling of their liberties of religion; as . . . we have hitherto enjoyed them in this kingdome, by the gracious favour of his Majestie, and his Royall Progenitors King Edward VI, Queen Elizabeth, and King James of blessed memorie."

(The good Brethren were somewhat lavish of *progenitors* to His Majesty Charles I !).

Laud, however, soon had his hands full with his own troubles, and the foreign Churches were left, so far as he was concerned, at least, to a peaceful enjoyment of their privileges.

So courageously did these Brethren, our guests, stand up against royal and prelatical interference with their privileges. So well did they repay our hospitality, and help to win for us, as well as to retain for themselves, the right of each one to worship according to his convictions.

H. N. Dixon.

Charterhouse Notes.

In 1613 there was held the first Assembly of the Governors of Sutton's Hospital, better known as the Charterhouse. Three hundred years later there appeared a handsome volume, *Alumni Carthusiani*, edited by Messrs. Bower Marsh and F. A. Crisp. One need not search far to find among the "poor children" names famous in Nonconformist history. Here is Roger Williams, some day to be pioneer of religious toleration, admitted 1621, sent to Cambridge with an Exhibition 1624, but suspended 1629, as he "hath forsaken the University and is become a discontinuer of his studies." Among Baptists is John Gosnold, admitted 1635, Exhibitioner at Pembroke, Cambridge, 1646, afterwards founder of the church in Paul's Alley. Another entry—"It was ordered 1 July, 1653, that as John Knollis, son of Hanserd Knollis, clerk, presented by Bulstrode Whitelock, was too blind to be admitted 3*s.* be allowed him weekly while being cured." Rather outside the Statutes this, but much may be done by "influence." So Philip Nye also may have reflected when he got his son Rupert admitted as a "poor scholar" in 1650.

A. G. M.

The Dissenting Academies.

A NEGLECTED CHAPTER IN THE HISTORY OF ENGLISH EDUCATION.

THE article on Education in England in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* (eleventh edition) will be scanned in vain for any reference[1] to the Dissenting Academies of the 17th and 18th centuries. The omission is sufficiently remarkable in view of the fact, now becoming more and more widely recognized, that the fundamental principles of modern English education found, not merely their first expression in theory, but also their first systematic realization in the actual work of instruction, in the schools which arose among the Dissenters as a result of the Uniformity legislation of 1662.

As a matter of fact, that legislation was just as decisive in its effects upon education as upon the religious life of this country. "Popular education," says Mr. A. J. Mundella,[2] "was a Puritan tradition from Wycliffe in the 14th century, and the great expulsion of pastors, university dons, and schoolmasters in the 17th century flooded the country with teachers who not only opened schools and academies, but were able freely to introduce to this country the 'new learning' from the Continent. For a whole century and for nearly two centuries the initiative in Education, efficiency, and enterprise was maintained by the Dissenting Academies and their imitators under popular control; whilst the older schools, under strict clerical control, remained impervious to new ideas, even when they did not perish utterly." Hence one effect of the legislation of 1662 was to commit national education to the care of Nonconformists.

This statement will seem less surprising when we call to mind the zeal for education that characterized the English Puritans from the time of Elizabeth. The reform of education both in method and in content had been an integral part of their general programme of reform in Church and State. They recognized that no real transformation of public opinion and action could be brought about unless they began with the

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[1] The new (14th) ed. acknowledges the existence of the Academies, but is content to pass them by with a casual reference.

[2] *Cf.* "The Churches and Education" in *The School-child and Juvenile Worker.* (November, 1928, p. 4.)

schools. Moreover, contact with continental movements brought about through exile had opened their minds to wider views of the task of education. Accordingly, many of them were frankly hostile to the methods in vogue in the Universities, and in their zeal for reform called forth the unmerited accusation of being foes to education. No doubt it is true that some of the extremist sects that arose during the Commonwealth were inclined to decry humane learning in the interests of spiritual illumination. But that was never the attitude of the main body of the Puritans, and least of all of the Presbyterian and Independent wings. Their aim was not to destroy the Universities but to remodel them, not to abolish learning but to bring it into line with the clamant needs of a widening life. It is a significant fact that one of the first acts of the Puritan settlers in Massachusetts, now free to realize their own ideals, was to make provision for university learning in their midst by the foundation of what came to be known as Harvard College.[3]

What then was the educational system to which the Puritans were opposed? A Report issued by the Consultative Committee of the Board of Education in 1923 informs us that "for some hundreds of years before the middle of the 18th century, the typical school in England was the Grammar School. . . . The aim was, before all else, to give some form of instruction in Latin." This was because their primary aim was to train clergymen, who should speak the language of the universal Church. "Latin, therefore," says Miss Parker,[4] "was not merely *a* subject, it was *the* subject—it was, in fact the whole curriculum."

All that was aimed at was "the formation of a good style in prose and verse," and "the acquisition of the ease and elegance of Cicero" in disputation. Construction and translation were usually all that mattered. There was little interest in the subject matter of the authors studied. This was the position in the Grammar Schools as a whole for 400 years or more. As the Board of Education Report already quoted puts it: "By their persistent adherence to this narrow tradition they, to a great extent, missed the real advantages of the humanistic renaissance as represented by scholars like Erasmus."

As for the Universities the young student went up to Oxford or Cambridge from the Grammar School primarily in order to

[3] The first appropriation by the General Court of the Colony, made in 1636, six years after the founding of Boston, was probably equal to the whole tax of the colony for one year. (*Enc. Brit.*, 11th Ed., VIII. 984).

[4] *The Dissenting Academies in England*, 3 f.

perfect himself in Latin. He spent some six or seven years following the traditional course of instruction in the *trivium* (grammar, logic, and rhetoric) and the *quadrivium* (arithmetic, geometry, music, and astronomy), after which he might take up one of the special courses in theology, law, or medicine. The system remained unchanged for centuries. None but the accepted treatises of generations were studied. There was positive discouragement of individual effort and independent judgment, and the energies of the students were often exhausted in interminable disputes about the most trifling issues. The object of the training was not so much to fit men for the duties of life in the largest sense as to produce skilled logicians and subtle pleaders for orthodox views in every subject. Individual teachers might seek to broaden the curriculum, but they failed to exercise any permanent influence. The sanctity of tradition was too powerful to permit such radical changes as were demanded by that new discovery of nature with its impulse to wider fields of study that was one of the most important fruits of the renaissance.[5] "The 17th and 18th centuries," says the Board of Education Report already cited, "were marked by great advances in science and by the development of rich vernacular literatures in the countries of Western Europe, and many protests were raised against the narrowness of the traditional curriculum. Nevertheless the endowed schools, both local and non-local, supported by the conservatism of the old Universities, successfully resisted all attempts at reform." Hence, in the 17th century, the upper classes, dissatisfied with the narrowness of the old classical curriculum, "frequently entrusted their sons to private tutors, afterwards sending them to knightly academies abroad which gave instruction in modern languages, history, geography, and the application of mathematics to military and civil engineering." As early as 1531 we find Sir Thomas Elyot pleading for a humanistic education that should include history and natural science. Forty years later Sir Humphrey Gilbert, under the inspiration of Peter Ramus, the champion of scientific method in education, is planning an academy on continental lines to give instruction in modern languages and science; his most revolutionary idea is that the instruction shall be given in English instead of Latin. These proposals, however, had little practical result. Ramism indeed secured a foothold at Oxford and Cambridge to the extent of furthering

[5] Miss Parker, *Op. cit.*, 11-14.

a deeper interest in mathematics. Scientific studies, however, began in Oxford under private auspices with little or no encouragement from the University. These private ventures paved the way for the Royal Society, which became the patron of scientific research at a time when the Universities still regarded it with suspicion.

Now it is important to realize that some of the leading champions of the newer conceptions of education were to be found among the Puritans. One of the most enthusiastic among them was Samuel Hartlib, an indefatigable correspondent with scientists of all sorts, and a zealous disciple of Comenius, the Moravian pastor, whose realistic ideals in education might be summed up in the phrase, "Things not words." According to Comenius (Komensky), the object of education is not so much to train the memory in grammar and vocabulary as to train the understanding through the development of observation; therefore, education should include all knowledge within its scope. At the invitation of Hartlib and his Puritan circle Comenius came to England in 1641. It was proposed to establish a college in London to work on the new lines, but the Civil War put an end to the project.

In 1644 appeared Milton's *Tractate on Education*, written at the request of Hartlib and no doubt embodying his own ideals as a private tutor. The central conception of the new realism appears in the famous sentence: "I call a complete and generous education that which fits a man to perform justly, skilfully, and magnanimously, all the offices, both private and public, of peace and war." Milton recommends the establishment of new Academies in place of the Universities. The course of instruction is to include Latin and Greek grammar, Geography, Agriculture, Mathematics, Natural Philosophy, Politics, Church History, and Theology (including Hebrew and Syriac), and finally Logic and Rhetoric as the art of discourse and of elegant writing. Interspersed with these studies there will be manly exercises, while (note the Miltonic touch) "the Italian tongue" might easily be learned "at any odd hour." Making all due allowances for the solitary grandeur of Milton among his contemporaries, it must be confessed that he is at least a representative Puritan in his general conception of the function of education.[6]

[6] Hezekiah Woodward, a Puritan friend of Hartlib, introduced the realistic method into his own school. He wrote pamphlets in support of the ideas of Comenius which exhibit an understanding of child psychology far in advance of his age.

When Puritanism came into power after the Civil War, the Commonwealth Parliament, as might be expected, gave some attention to education. Grants were made to necessitous schools, and it would appear that the leading Puritans even contemplated the establishment by the State of universal education so far as that was possible under the conditions of the time. An endeavour was made to meet the demand in the North of England for an institution of higher learning by founding a University at Durham in 1657, but the Commonwealth Government was too short-lived to carry out the ideals of its supporters. In 1660 the Restoration hurled the Puritans from power and ushered in a period of violent reaction. Triumphant Royalism was in no mood to compromise with any sort of reform in Church or State or School, for reform was identified in their minds with the regicides and the republicans, with the Cromwellian Triers and Major-Generals. Hence, so far as education was concerned, the effect of the Restoration was little short of disastrous. Reform, says Miss Parker, was put back nearly 200 years, so that whereas "during the Commonwealth the door leading into the world of knowledge, of increased capacity, and of fuller life, was slowly opening" to admit those who stood expectant without, the Restoration angrily slammed to the door and bolted and barred it by means of the Clarendon Code.[7] For just as Puritan clergymen were thrust out of the Church so were Puritan reformers thrust out of the schools. Clearly it was no use silencing Puritan preachers whilst leaving Puritan teachers in school and University free to spread abroad ideas subversive of authority and tradition. Hence the legislation which began in 1662 affected the schools and the teachers no less than the churches and the clergy. Every schoolmaster or private tutor was required to subscribe a declaration that he would conform to the established liturgy, and was required also to secure a bishop's licence to teach, failing which he was prosecuted and subjected on conviction to fine and imprisonment. These prosecutions continued even after the Toleration Act of 1688 and were not finally abandoned until 1734.

Most of the ejected clergy and teachers were, of course, University men; some of them were University dons. It was natural that, being deprived of their livelihood, they turned to teaching in order to keep body and soul together. Many of them, therefore, in defiance of the Act, carried on schools of one

[7] *Op. cit.*, 43.

sort or another, usually in their own houses, where they received as pupils the sons of friendly neighbours. Prosecuted on account of these illegal activities, they were driven from their homes into obscure corners of the land, where as often as not they continued the work thus interrupted. In this simple way began the Dissenting Academies. Expelled from the ancient seats of learning the Dissenters established and maintained schools of their own in face of the severest persecution.

Many of these schools were short-lived, being dependent upon the life and fortune of their founders. Some of them, on the contrary, maintained a long and honourable history under a succession of able men. The important point, however, is that these Academies, outside the law as they were to begin with, did enable the Dissenters to tackle the problem of education in their own way, unfettered by tradition and in accordance with ideals for which the better sort of Puritans had stood for many years. We are to understand, according to Miss Parker,[8] that "the Dissenting Academies 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." In their Academies the Dissenters kept alive the spirit of Hartlib and of those who had worked with him in the cause of educational realism. The Board of Education Report already mentioned informs us that "the Nonconformist Academies established in considerable numbers from about 1662 . . . often provided a remarkably wide curriculum (including, in addition to Greek and Latin, Mathematics, Modern Languages, and a certain amount of Natural Science, chiefly Physics) and were influenced indirectly by educational developments in Holland, Scotland, and the Protestant cantons of Switzerland." In these respects they furnish a marked contrast with the old Grammar Schools, which throughout the 17th and 18th centuries remained "impervious to new ideas. Discipline was harsh, morality lax, and the staffing frequently insufficient." They invited hostility by "the contempt of the school authorities for outside opinion and the tenacious adherence to ancient custom."

Over against institutions of this sort the Dissenting Academies were the finest schools of their time in this country. Very quickly they passed beyond the Grammar School stage in

[8] *Op. cit.*, 44.

order to become institutions of University standing ; in other words, they took the place of Universities in the minds of those who, for any reason, were unwilling to send their boys to Oxford or Cambridge. This very fact was a sore point with their enemies, as well as a matter of serious scruple with the earlier Academy teachers, who as graduates of Oxford or Cambridge were bound by the University oath (originally intended to prevent the foundation of a rival University at Stamford in the days of Edward III) not to lecture " as in a University " elsewhere in this country than in Oxford or Cambridge. " Many of the ejected," observes Dr. Gordon,[9] " felt this oath as a conscientious bar to the exercise of their gifts in the higher learning. Calamy," he goes on, " has preserved for us the elaborate arguments by which, after a time, Charles Morton of Wadham College, Oxford, and Samuel Cradock, ex-fellow of Emmanuel, convinced themselves that the oath prohibited, and was designed to prohibit, merely prelections in order to a degree : and that, since Nonconformists did not pretend to give degrees, or to qualify for them, the oath did not close their lips as teachers of university learning." The violation of the oath was, however, often charged upon the Dissenting teachers by their opponents and was frequently the ground of legal proceedings to stop them—a fact which is clear evidence of the contemporary view of the Academies as schools of University standing.

And, moreover, the further fact that Anglicans often sent their sons to a Dissenting Academy as offering the best education available clearly shows that it was generally recognized that the standard of instruction in the Academies was higher than that in the Universities. It must be remembered that students in these Academies were not expected, formally or otherwise, to commit themselves to the Nonconformist position. There was no credal test ; they were open to Conformist and Nonconformist alike. Frankland's first student at Rathmell was the son of a Conformist. Thomas Secker, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, before proceeding to Oxford as a qualification for Anglican orders, had received training in no less than three Nonconformist Academies, in one of which he had studied science in preparation for the medical degree which he afterwards took at Leyden. Joseph Butler became a student at the Tewkesbury Academy about the same time as Secker, and when he arrived at Oxford in order to qualify for orders he

[9] *Early Nonconformity and Education*, 4.

found the work so much below the level of that in the Academy as to force him to confess that the "frivolous lectures" at Oxford quite tired him out. Nor was it only in the ministry that there were to be found eminent men who had been trained in the Academies. Both Harley and Bolingbroke had been students at Sheriffhales, and when afterwards they surrendered to the persecuting temper of 1714 and supported the Schism Act which was designed to suppress the Academies, they were reproached in the House of Lords by Lord Wharton. "Such a measure," said he,[10] "is but an indifferent return for the benefit which the public have received from these schools in which the greatest men have been educated—men who have made a glorious peace for England, who have paid the debts of the nation, and who have extended its commerce."

Among the students at Newington Green Academy was Samuel Wesley, the father of John and Charles, and himself the son of an ejected minister. He also turned upon his *alma mater* later on and gave rise to a long and bitter controversy concerning the value of the Academy training.

Another of the students at Newington Green was Daniel Defoe. Unlike Wesley, he remained unashamed of his Dissent. He tells us with some measure of pride what the Academy has done for him; he has been master of five languages, and has studied mathematics, natural philosophy, logic, geography, history, and politics as a science. A certain Mr. Tutchin has ventured to declare that Defoe is no scholar, and he is answered on this wise: "As to my little learning and this man's great capacities, I fairly challenge him to translate with me any Latin, French and Italian author, and afterwards to translate them each crossways, for the sum of £20 each book; and by this he shall have an opportunity to show before the world how much Daniel Defoe, hosier, is inferior to Mr. Tutchin, gentleman."[11] We may note in passing that Defoe's tutor at Newington Green, Charles Morton, went over to New England in 1685 and became Vice-President of Harvard College. No one who knows anything about the work of the Academies will accuse Dr. Gordon of straining the truth when he says: "They did not profess to grant degrees; though, had they done so, I suspect that a degree at Rathmell in the seventeenth century, or one at Daventry in the eighteenth, would have meant a good deal more than a contemporary degree either at Oxford or at

[10] Parker, *op. cit.*, 72.

[11] *Op. cit.*, 61.

Cambridge, if measured, not by its value for merely social purposes, but by its worth as an index of the intellectual stimulus promoted by careful and enlightened study."[12]

The broad distinction between the Universities and the Academies was that whereas the Universities laid most stress upon classical studies somewhat pedantically conceived, under the idea that the less culture has to do with life the more liberal it is, the Academies laid stress upon science, modern languages, and at a later date even upon commercial subjects, under the conviction that a liberal education must at least be in touch with life.[13] Hence the Academies were pioneers in the use of English as the language of the class-room. The earlier Academies, it is true, followed the University practice of lecturing in Latin. English was only permitted on special occasions, or in the private discussions of the students. Some of the tutors indeed required their pupils to sing their Psalms in Latin, or in Greek verse, or even in the original Hebrew.[14] Dr. Gordon regards Doddridge as mainly responsible for completing the revolution whereby Latin was abandoned by the lecturers in favour of English " as the appropriate vesture of a more modern Science, a more modern Philsophy, and a more modern Theology." Science played an important part in the Academy teaching and " was pursued with a keen curiosity, and often with an apparatus as efficient as was then procurable." Prominence was given to Philosophy, which indeed constituted the chief intellectual interest of an age when older forms of thought were being supplanted by the conceptions of Descartes and Locke. In this department there was no attempt to impose authoritative teaching. Concerning Matthew Warren of Taunton, *e.g.*, we are told[15] that though " he had been himself educated in the old logic and philosophy, and was little acquainted with the improvements of the new, yet it was expressive of liberality of mind and good sense that he encouraged his pupils in freedom of enquiry, and in the study of those authors who were better suited to gratify the love of knowledge and truth, even though they differed from the writers on whom he had formed his own sentiments." Moreover the students themselves were encouraged to engage in the freest possible discussion, while in the open discussions at Daventry it was

[12] *Op. cit.*, 6.

[13] *Cf.* Parker, 133.

[14] See Gordon, *op. cit.*, 9.

[15] Toulmin, *Historical View*, 231.

customary for the tutors to take different sides on most topics. It was the aim of the tutors to cultivate sound judgment rather than to impart information. Indeed it was this very freedom of outlook that laid the Academies most open to attack on the part of those for whom all liberalizing influences were bound up with faction and intrigue. As a matter of fact, they were not out to produce men whose minds were tied down to any sectarian viewpoint, Nonconformist or other, but to produce men who could think, men who were equipped for public duty in all the great callings of life.

It must not be supposed that the work in all the Academies was on exactly the same line. On the contrary, the one-man system of tuition in the early Academies meant that each tended to acquire special characteristics of its own. The linguistic studies at Sheriffhales included Latin, Greek, and Hebrew. There is no mention of any other modern language beside English. In the contemporary Academy at Newington Green, however, according to the testimony of Daniel Defoe, European languages occupied a prominent place. Elsewhere, says Dr. Gordon[16]: "One tutor had a reputation for philosophy; another for science, and so on. The student bent on reaping in all the most profitable fields would migrate from Academy to Academy" like Thomas Secker, who was at Attercliffe under Timothy Jollie, and then at Tewkesbury under Samuel Jones, and finally under John Eames, F.R.S., in London. Eames, who taught him science, was described by Isaac Watts as the most learned man he ever knew, and incidentally was the only layman who ever held a chair in a Nonconformist Academy.

A brief account of two or three of the most notable Academies may be of service. Yorkshire is specially interested in the Academy founded by Richard Frankland at Rathmell, near Giggleswick. It was one of the earliest, and the building erected for its accommodation in 1686 is still standing. In the parish Church of Giggleswick there is a mural tablet which records the virtues and the scholarship of one who in his lifetime was driven out of the parish for teaching without licence. Frankland was a native of the parish, being born in 1630. He was educated at Giggleswick Grammar School and Christ's College, Cambridge. Instituted to the living of Bishop Auckland during the Commonwealth, he was appointed by Cromwell to a Chair in the new University of Durham. Ejected at the Restoration, he returned to Rathmell, and soon

[16] *Op. cit.*, 10.

afterwards began to take pupils in his own house. Being threatened with legal proceedings, he left Rathmell for Natland, near Kendal, where he carried on his Academy for 9 years. Expelled once more he was driven to a wandering life for 3 years, and in 1686 established his Academy at Attercliffe, where he had no fewer than 51 students in three years. Taking advantage of the Toleration Act, he returned to Rathmell in 1689, where he remained until his death in 1698. In the year 1695 he had 80 students and one assistant tutor. In all some 303 pupils passed through his hands, of whom 110 became Dissenting ministers, while many of the rest entered other liberal professions. With the passing of the founder the Academy was scattered: some of the students went on to Manchester and others to Sheffield where Academies had been founded by former pupils of Frankland.

Another notable member of the group of early Academies was established by John Woodhouse in 1663 at Sheriffhales in Shropshire. At one time he had between 40 and 50 students under his care. Among his pupils were many like Robert Harley and Henry St. John who achieved considerable prominence in later life. Of the course of study at Sheriffhales we have an account by Toulmin[17] which may be taken as more or less typical of the work of the early Academies in general. "The students were conducted through a course of lectures on logic, anatomy and mathematics, beginning usually with the first. . . . These were followed by lectures in physics, ethics and rhetoric. They were heard successively in Greek and Hebrew, at other times of the day or week. A law lecture was read one day in the week to those who had entered at the Inns of Court, or were designed for the law: and they who were intended for the pulpit were conducted through a course of theological reading." Then follows a formidable list of authors who were read and expounded in class. These include Grotius, Baxter, Stillingfleet, Ramus, Gassendi, Descartes, Henry More, Baronius, Littleton, Coke on Littleton, Calvin, and many others, covering between them the wide fields of natural theology, logic, mathematics, geography, physics, anatomy, ethics, metaphysics, rhetoric, law and theology. "In all lectures," continues Toulmin, "the authors were strictly explained and committed to memory, at least as to the sense of them. On one day, an account of the lecture of the preceding day was required before a new lecture was read: and

[17] *Op. cit.*, 226, f.

on Saturday a review of the lectures of the five days before was delivered. When an author had been about half gone through, they went that part over again ; and so the second part passed under a second perusal ; so that every one author was read three times. And after this they exercised one another by questions and problems on the most difficult points that occurred." The method may not in all points commend itself to modern educational theorists, but at least it must be admitted that in the range of studies as well as in the thoroughness of treatment, there is an immense advance upon the methods in vogue in the older schools and universities. Moreover Sheriffhales was not content merely with book-work. " Practical exercises accompanied the course of the lectures ; and the students were employed at times in surveying land, composing almanacks, making sun-dials of different constructions, and dissecting animals."

Coming down to a later time, Doddridge's famous Academy at Northampton was originally founded at Kibworth in Leicestershire by John Jennings in 1715. Doddridge was a pupil of Jennings in 1719, and has left us a very full acccount of his education at Kibworth. From this it would appear that the course was similar to that at Sheriffhales, though a larger place still was given to science, while French also was included, but " without regarding the pronunciation, with which Mr. Jennings was not acquainted." The Academy was moved to Northampton in 1729, when Doddridge became tutor. In 1733 an attempt was made to suppress it on the ground that Doddridge was teaching without episcopal licence, but the proceedings were squashed by the personal intervention of George II. During the 22 years of Doddridge's work at Northampton the Academy exercised a widespread influence. Students came from all parts of the United Kingdom, and even from Holland. Many of them afterwards rose to positions of considerable prominence in the various professions. The curriculum exhibits a marked tendency to subordinate linguistic to scientific studies. Doddridge was prepared to give instruction in Latin, Greek, Hebrew, and French where these languages were required for special purposes, but took the view that for the ordinary student science was much more important.[18] After Doddridge's death in 1751, the Academy became a theological institution and moved to Daventry.

One of the last of the Dissenting Academies in the sense of a

[18] *Cf.* Parker, 89.

school of all the faculties as distinct from a purely theological seminary, was that which was founded at Warrington in 1757, with a view to the liberal education of youth not merely for the ministry and other learned professions, but also for commercial pursuits. There is a distinctly modern note about this Academy, which addressed itself to the education of merchants and bankers as well as of ministers, doctors and lawyers. It had many distinguished tutors, including the celebrated Joseph Priestley, whose *Essay on a course of Liberal Education for Civil and Active Life* (1765) is a sustained plea for a thorough revision of the whole plan of education in the light of modern needs. In particular he advocates a wider study of history and geography as an indispensable preparation for usefulness in civil and active life, thus maintaining and extending the realist tradition which had always been the characteristic feature of the Academies. Indeed, although cut off from the main body of Dissent by its Unitarian associations, the Academy at Warrington represents the fullest expression of that broader and more humane conception of education which had been the distinctive contribution of Puritanism and Nonconformity through two centuries. During the 25 years of its existence the Warrington Academy was the centre of a brilliant literary and scientific coterie that gave it the name of the "Athens of the North." From 1783 it passed through many vicissitudes, and is now represented by Manchester College, Oxford.

In the second half of the 18th century, the Dissenting Academies as schools of general education began to decline. We cannot do more than mention the chief causes: (1) The growth of Unitarianism which led the orthodox Academies to demand from their students confessional credentials, and so to become frankly denominational institutions. (2) The growth of private schools as profitable investments, the Academies having suggested the idea that the 'new' education could be made to pay.[19] The Government Report to which I have referred several times tells us[20] that "When Protestant Nonconformists were allowed to follow the teaching profession (Statute of 1779), a great number of new private schools, partly modelled on the older academies, were established, especially in the towns, to meet the needs of merchants and manufacturers who demanded a more practical education for their sons than that provided in the Endowed Schools. These

[19] Parker, 136.

[20] *Op. cit.*, 5.

private schools had many faults and weaknesses, but they were more receptive of new ideas and more ready to experiment than the old foundations, and subsequent reforms in the curriculum can be traced largely to their influence." Those of the Academies that survived either became Public Schools of the Mill Hill type, or became theological seminaries for the training of Dissenting ministers. Thus Doddridge's Academy became one of the contributory streams out of which the London Congregational Institution known as Hackney and New College took its rise. The broader work of the Dissenting Academies had been accomplished. They had made their contribution to educational theory and practice. During a period in which the older educational institutions of the country were languishing under the domination of outworn ideals, the Academies had been making steady progress towards a more modern and more practical goal. " The spirit animating the Dissenters was that which had moved Ramus and Comenius in France and Germany, and which in England had actuated Bacon and later Hartlib and his circle. The Academies were the first institutions in England to put into practice the realistic theories which had found expression in the works of a series of writers from Rabelais and Montaigne, Mulcaster and Elyot, to Bacon, Comenius, Milton, and Petty. It was in the academies alone that . . . an attempt was made to meet the changing needs of the time. . . . In so far as they taught ' modern ' subjects, and employed the newest methods advocated by the educational reformers, and opened their doors to the ' people,' they exerted a true realistic influence and thus became the forerunners of the modern Universities in our commercial centres."[21] Thus, having accomplished their work of modernizing English education, they were content to pass out of existence ; but their ideals, expanding with changing outlooks and changing needs, still live in the schools and Universities of to-day.

E. J. Price.

[21] Parker, 134 f.

Mary Rowles Jarvis

BY the death of Mary Rowles Jarvis recently at Hambrook, near Bristol—where for a number of years her husband, the Rev. George Jarvis, has been the minister of Whiteshill Congregational Church—Nonconformity, and indeed the Christian Church generally, has lost one of its truest modern poets.

She would have disapproved of the word "lost," however, and we only allow it to stand here in a very restricted sense. She had a strong sweet faith that

> Upon that wayside sleep which men call death
> Look down the stars of God.

Moreover, she can never be lost to those who have found in her poems beauty and truth and the presence of God. For such she remains—like all poets of inspiration—an enduring friend with an abiding message.

This is not a memoir, but an appreciation. But it should just be mentioned that she was born in 1853, that she was a life-long Congregationalist—her early associations being with Southgate Church, Gloucester, where she is still remembered by some who went to Sunday School with her—and that she was an active and valuable partner with her husband in his pastoral work. She was a frequent contributor of verse to local papers, and in 1883, when she published a selection of poems under the title *Sunshine and Calm*, she began to win wider recognition; two of her hymns are included in the *Congregational Hymnary*, while fortunate possessors of *St. Olave's Hymnal* will recall the many quotations there from her writings.

An interesting recollection of her Gloucester days is that sometimes, when the birthday of her Bible Class teacher came round, she prepared and presented to her some verses as a token of esteem and love. Part of one such poem may appropriately be quoted here from a manuscript—probably the original manuscript—kindly lent by Miss Lizzie Davis, whose mother was the loved and honoured teacher mentioned.

SABBATH THOUGHTS.

> How sweet to us the hallowed rest
> Our welcome Sabbath brings!
> At times our spirits almost hear
> The sound of angel wings,
> As folding back life's weekday cares,
> They shield our hearts from worldly snares,
> And bid our thoughts, our hopes, and prayers,
> Arise to holier things.

With ever deepening love and joy
We hail this day of days ;
Its hours speed by on golden wings,
Freighted with prayer and praise ;
It is a spring in desert strand,
A " shadow in a weary land,"
A beacon lit by God's own hand
To guide with cheering rays.

The joys are many, but to me
This one seems passing sweet—
With sweet heart fellowship again
Our Bible Class to meet !
Greeting with love our teacher dear,
Though not content with learning here,
Teacher and taught alike draw near
To learn at Jesu's feet.

The poem, which is too long to be quoted in full, ends on the thought of the members of the class reunited in heaven. While it does not, of course, show the maturity of thought or the richness of expression so noticeable in her later writings, it is surely worth recording as an unusual witness to the good old-fashioned attachment of class to teacher in bygone days.

Many expressions of the high esteem in which her poems have been held by prominent Free Churchmen might be quoted. Dr. Arnold Thomas spoke of her " genuine poetic feeling " and " fine felicity of phrase " ; the Rev. W. Garrett Horder, the eminent hymnologist, said she had " a genuine lyric gift consecrated to high and holy themes " ; Dr. Alexander Smellie wrote of one of her books that " from cover to cover everything is musical and fragrant and gracious."

Her love of Nature, her sense of the divine spirit immanent there, and her happy choice of words to express these thoughts, may be illustrated by the following lines, which remind one irresistibly of a verse in Gray's " Elegy " :

God hath His solitudes, unpeopled yet,
Save by the peaceful life of bird and flower,
Where, since the world's foundation, He hath set
The hiding of His power.

Year after year His rains make fresh and green
Lone wastes of prairie, where, as daylight goes,
Legions of bright-hued blossoms all unseen
Their curven petals close.

Amid the strong recesses of the hills,
Fixed by His word, immutable and calm,
The murmuring river all the silence fills
With its unheeded psalm.

This is, of course, but a fragment of a poem which in its entirety beautifully expounds the theme that "All thy works shall praise thee, O Lord."

She undoubtedly had a striking power of illustrating Scripture truth in verse, which, once heard, becomes fixed in the mind and is ever afterwards an inevitable part of one's thought upon certain texts. The present writer well remembers the thrill with which he discovered the following verses :

Not in the tumult of the rending storm,
  Not in the earthquake or devouring flame,
But in the hush that could all fear transform,
  The still small whisper to the Prophet came.

O Soul, keep silence on the mount of God,
  Though cares and needs throb round thee like a sea,
From supplications and desires unshod
  Be still, and hear what God shall say to thee.

All fellowship hath interludes of rest,
  New strength maturing in each poise of power :
The sweetest Alleluias of the blest
  Are silent for the space of half an hour.

Not as an athlete wrestling for a crown,
  Not taking heaven by violence of will,
But with thy Father as a child sit down,
  And know the bliss that follows his " Be still."

Similarly, her fine development of the Master's thought shrined in the words, " She hath done what she could ; she hath anointed my body aforehand for the burying," invariably comes to mind when that story is read. It cannot be given here, as this brief appreciation must draw to a close.

In conclusion, however, we must recur to the thought dealt with at the commencement—her faith that death is but a " wayside sleep " ; she wrote many sonnets of great beauty, but one of the very finest is that entitled " Every Sunset a Promise." We must forbear to quote it in full, but the closing words certainly belong here, in view of her own recent passing.

Life's setting sun,
Whose slow departing but as death we know,
Makes heaven's high dawning. Where, with blinding tears
We whisper " Ended ! ", angels write, " Begun ! ".

RODERIC DUNKERLEY.

The Romance of a Colonial Church.

WHEN the battle of Blaauwberg Strand was fought in the summer heat of January, 1806, another was added to the roll of decisive battles. Then the Cape passed for the second time into the possession of Great Britain, and this time finally.

The first troops to land were the men of the Highland Brigade, and the only accident was the loss of a boat, capsized in the surf, containing forty men of the 93rd regiment. This regiment, the Argyle and Sutherland Highlanders, were making history, but as they marched across the scorching sands, after having been cooped up on board crowded transports for five months, they were marching to more than the addition of " Blaauwberg " to the battle honours on their flag.

After eight years at the Cape the Highlanders sailed for home. A leaf from the record book of the old Cape Town Church tells of their going. It is dated April 24th, 1814 :

" Yesterday the 93rd regiment embarked on the *Baring*, the *Nestor*, and the *Norfolk*. The church in the regiment included in its ranks one hundred and twenty privates, four drummers, six corporals, eight sergeants, twelve wives of privates, and the wife of the adjutant, in all one hundred and fifty-seven members. In the number there were six elders and deacons, twenty assistant elders, the church secretary and the treasurer. Every member departed with a certificate of membership, such certificate being lodged with the elders."

That Highland regiment, marching to the transports lying in Table Bay, deserves a place beside the Ironsides of Cromwell, the saints of Havelock, and the praying stalwarts of Stonewall Jackson. Marching past the white and yellow houses of old Cape Town, looking up for the last time at the flat roofs or the thick thatch and waving farewells to the Dutch folk sitting on their stoeps, a kilted regiment of veterans who had won the Cape for Britain . . . but more ! A Church was on the march !

When the Highlanders landed at the Cape there was a religious society in its ranks, and a revival in the regiment had brought a large proportion of the soldiers under " conviction." The Rev. George Thom, a missionary of the London Society, had been persuaded to continue at the Cape and minister to the influx of English-speaking people

rather than to proceed to the natives on the frontier. The religious society of the regiment was transformed into a church, and it was organized after the Puritan model and ruled with Puritan strictness. The records of the infant church tell of the rules against "sins of the flesh," especially the over-indulgence in the use of strong drink, and any lapse was followed by swift reprimand, or suspension.

When the 93rd sailed from the Cape in 1814 a mere skeleton of a church was left. Twenty-seven members, of whom not ten were civilians, kept the church in being. Fortunately another regiment of saints arrived, another Highland regiment, the Seaforths, and when their turn to be relieved came they left South Africa with a duly constituted church in the regiment.

Thus the first English church in South Africa owed its organized existence to a regiment of veterans of the Napoleonic wars, and the first English church in South Africa was of the Congregational Order.

There was a prelude to the romance of the organization of the church. About the time the British fleet took possession of the Cape for the first time, in 1795, the first missionaries of the London Missionary Society landed in South Africa, and found a prepared atmosphere of sympathy and understanding. The thrill of the great revival had been felt in South Africa. The saintly Hollander, Van Lier, had but a brief ministry in Cape Town, but when he passed on—still a young man—there was another to catch the torch ere it fell. A young South African, M. C. Vos, was a man with as great a concern for the heathen as his loved master, and his first sermon was preached on the commission of our Lord which sends all missionaries forth. Mr. Vos was ready to welcome Dr. Van der Kemp, and to discuss with him the formation of a South African Society on the model of the London and Amsterdam societies for sending missionaries forth in the Name.

In the very first year of the nineteenth century the second company of missionaries arrived at the Cape. Of their number was an earnest young man, James Read, anxiously seeking opportunity whilst waiting the moment when he could follow his colleagues to the frontier. Like the great apostle he resolved to speak to his own countrymen, and the way was opened by the authorities of the Groote Kerk. At that time there were only two churches in Cape Town, the Groote Kerk of the Dutch Reformed Church at the foot of the Company's Gardens, and the Lutheran Church almost

on the sea-shore. The sympathy of the Dutch Consistory is a tribute to the memory of the saintly Van Lier, and to the influence of Mr. Vos.

Thus the first sermon preached to Englishmen in South Africa since the coming of Van Riebeek was preached in a Dutch church, by a young man sent out to be a missionary.

The South African Missionary Society erected a chapel in Cape Town: this Society, designed "for promoting the extension of the Kingdom of God," worked for many years in great harmony with the missionaries of the London Society. It was in this chapel built for the slaves that the first English church found a home.

The old chapel is still used by the descendants of the old slaves, and its ministrations continued by earnest Dutchmen of like spirit to Mr. Vos. It is interesting to remember that for years a boarding-house stood opposite the chapel, and at this house many of the great missionaries stayed before they trekked to the north, and on the stoep were final "Good-byes" said.

In the records of African travel there is no quainter figure than the Rev. John Campbell, the minister of Kingsland chapel, and the first deputation from the London Society. On his first visit, with tall hat and umbrella to face the perils of the wilds, he preached in the old slave chapel to a congregation of four hundred, "largely composed of men of the garrison, from the 93rd and 71st regiments, and the 21st dragoons" (The 71st was another Highland regiment, the Light Infantry.) Then, cheered by his responsive congregation, the good man shouldered his gingham umbrella and went into the hinterland, the queerest mixture of shrewdness and simplicity who ever published travel tales.

In 1818 Dr. Philip took charge of the Independent Church and immediately set about to provide it with a home of its own. Union chapel was built in the heart of the town, in Church Square, and it speaks of the influence of the Church in those early days, when there were not 1,500 English-speaking people in Cape Town, to know that the regular congregation was at least three hundred.

Union chapel was an interesting experiment. It was an attempt to gather all races into a common fold. The missionary spirit prompted the purpose, very warmly approved by the Directors at home. Most of the coloured people were slaves, and neither master nor servant felt quite at home in social worship in the same building, so the coloured people

petitioned for their own chapel. Then the old Barrack Street Chapel was built, and a man of colour in whose name the birds sing, Vogelgesang, was set aside to assist Dr. Philip, and to minister to his own folk. Yet the first purpose remained associated with the Union chapel, and "Missionary chapel" it remained in common speech until the lamentable exodus to Caledon Square.

On the slopes of Table Mountain grow the trees with leaves of silver. You press the leaves, sentimental folk, and in your books they retain something of their first beauty, and flutter to the ground when you turn the pages! The story of the old Cape Town Church is full of gathered silver leaves, fluttering to the ground with every turning page. There is the story of the South African Lydia, the woman of mature years, with a share of sorrow and bereavement beyond the common lot, a convert of Van Lier, and eager to be of use to the slaves. So when Van der Kemp arrived the Widow Smith welcomed him, and when for a time there was no missionary at Bethelsdorp, she carried on the work amongst the Hottentots at the frontier station. It was this woman of homely presence and a common-place name who cared for Dr. Van der Kemp during his last illness, and at last closed his eyes.

Fluttering leaves falling from the pages of the old records tell of the visit of many passers-by calling at the tavern of the oceans. John Williams, with his recruits for the South Seas, called at the old church for fellowship and his farewell meeting, whilst the *Camden* anchored in Simon's Bay, and then sailed to his martyrdom. Moffat and then Livingstone tarried awhile before their long trek north. The two Quakers, James Backhouse and George Walker, fresh from their visit of concern to the Penal Settlements and on their way to visit all the missionary stations in South Africa, stopped here to establish the first Total Abstinence Society in South Africa. Backhouse, a York nurseryman, in the handfuls of seed he scattered here and there, left behind him trees which still flourish, and his name is preserved in the name of a township.

To-day South African Congregationalism has been outstripped by other Churches according to the tabulated returns of census forms, but there is no Church with such a wealth of romantic memories. A land without ghosts is too lonely to be the home of men, and the story of the old church at Cape Town is fragrant with clinging presences, whilst the moderns who carry on the work of the pioneers cannot escape from the subtle influence of the forgotten.

GEORGE WALKER.

Some Baxter Notes.

WHICH version of the Bible did Baxter use? Usually that of 1611. But sometimes he ventured on unauthorized versions. The title-page of the third part of *A Christian Directory* has 1 *Tim.* 3^{15} "the Church of the living God, (as) A pillar and basis of the truth." More interestingly, it has *Eph.* 4^{14} thus, "That we henceforth be no more Children, tossed to and fro, and carryed about with every wind of doctrine, by the cogging (or sleight) of men"; and goes on with some more free translation. But about this word "cogging." "Cheating at dice. Underhand dealing, deceit. Deceitful flattery; fawning": the *New English Dictionary* adds an instance which suggests the possible source of Baxter's version.

In 1656 there was published at Dublin a smallish octavo volume—*The summe of diverse sermons preached in Dublin, before the L. Deputie Fleetwood, and the Commissioners of Parliament for the affairs of Ireland. Wherein the doctrine of infant-baptism is asserted, and the main objections of Mr. Tombs, Mr. Fisher, Mr. Blackwood, and others, Answered. By Samuel Winter, D.D., Provost of Trinitie College near Dublin.* So runs the title-page, and also bears some Scripture texts showing that the author thought he could improve on the authorized version. That by the way, for the passage relevant to our purpose is on p. "176" (177), where we read, "Hence it is that they being but children are tossed to and fro, and carried about with every wind of doctrin by the slight (κυβεία the cogging of the die) of men." Presumably Baxter had been reading the Provost.

Arising from the previous paragraph. There is a copy of Winter's book at the British Museum. On its fly-leaf is written, "Beverley, July 5th 1697. The gift of a Friend. *Sum Ex Libris Thomae Bradbury.*" "From Leeds, in 1697, Bradbury went to Beverley, as a supply": so says the article in the *D.N.B.* And there too occurs the name of Winter. Bradbury "left two daughters, one married (1744) to John Winter, brother to Richard Winter, who succeeded Bradbury, and father to Robert Winter, D.D., who succeeded Richard." The Provost had five sons. We should like to hear what the genealogists make of the situation.

More interesting than its copy of Winter's sermons is the B.M.'s copy of the first edition of Baxter's *Directory*. No name is on the fly-leaf, but the red leather binding and the crowns thereon lead us to assume that if there were an inscription it should run, *Sum ex libris Caroli Regis secundi*. It must be identical with the copy mentioned by Grosart in his bibliography of 1868 as then in the possession of Mr. Joseph Thompson, of Ardwick, Manchester. How His Majesty came by the volume can only be matter of speculation. Perhaps it was a presentation copy "with the author's compliments," or whatever words Baxter would use to that effect. How much His Majesty read of the volume can also only be matter of speculation. Perhaps his roving eye lighted with a smile on this to those contemplating marriage :

" . . . it is no small patience which the natural imbecillity of the Female sex requireth you to prepare. Except it be very few that are patient and man-like, Women are commonly of potent Fantasies, and tender, passionate, impatient spirits, easily cast into anger, or jealousie, or discontent : and of weak understandings, and therefore unable to reform themselves. They are betwixt a man and a child : Some few have more of the man, and many have more of the child ; but most are but in a middle state."

A. G. MATTHEWS.

Cromwelliads, the Wesleys, and the Duke of Wellington.

IN the British Museum (Davy's Suffolk MSS. ; MSS. Addit. 19118, ff. 54–63) is a pedigree of the Bendish[1] family which is, perhaps, as trustworthy as some other documents of the same kind. It begins with a certain Peter de Westley who flourished in the reigns of King John and Henry III. A few generations later one of his descendants took the name of Benedicite, whence presumably the Bendishes' surname. A Bendish was, the pedigree says, at the Siege of Calais and another was at Agincourt. It would be interesting to know whether John and Charles Wesley could claim descent from the original de Westley. If so, Cromwell's great grandchildren, through Bridget Bendish, were cousins, many times removed, of the Wesleys and also of the father of the Duke of Wellington, for whom see the last pages of Sir A. T. Quiller-Couch's *Hetty Wesley*.

This may remind some of our older members of a remarkable paper published some forty years ago by a Congregational minister—Henry Kendall of Darlington—who set everybody talking of his "Kinship of Man." He proved to his own satisfaction and to the satisfaction of many others that every human being is a blood relative of every other human being; so, whether we trust pedigrees or not, the Wesleys and the Cromwelliads were akin.

PEPYS.

John Pepys of Cottenham married Elizabeth Bendish—hence a Bendish was Samuel Pepys's "Cozen" (*Diary*, Oct. 4, 1660), and Pepys comes into the Cromwellian circle.

THOMAS BENDISH THE ELDER.

Bridget Bendish's father-in-law was admitted a member of the Independent Church at Great Yarmouth, April 15th, 1644. On July 16th, 1645, he was appointed to exercise his gifts at the weekly meetings there. All his children, Bridget's husband included, were baptized in the Congregational Church at Great Yarmouth.

MRS. HENRY BENDISH.

Bridget's son, Henry Bendish, married Mary or Martha Shute, sister of Shute Barrington, first Viscount Barrington, who represented the Dissenting interest in Parliament in the days of George I. Mary or Martha Shute may have

[1] See my article, "Bridget Bendish" (*Congregational Quarterly*, VI., 427).

been the heroine of the following adventure as recorded in the *London Journal*, January 10th, 1729/30 :

"On Sunday morning, Mrs. Bendish, coming to town from her home at Chingford and seeing in Epping Forest a person whom she suspected to be a Highwayman, she took off her rings and watch, which she concealed in her coach with her gold ; Soon after, the fellow came up, ordered her to let down the glass and then demanded her green purse which at this time she had prepared for him, having put in 3/6 and some halfpence and tied in a hard knot ; he then asked for her watch and rings, but seeing she had neither, he told her she might go on, and if she met two persons at the bottom of the hill, she need only say ' Poor Robin ' and they would not molest her."

This Mrs. Bendish may have been the wife of "Henry Bendish, Esq., of Chinkford in Essex, said to have died very rich" at his house in Bedford Row. (*Hooker's Weekly Miscellany*, May 19, 1740 ; *London Magazine*, 1740, p. 249.)

A Henry Bendish (son of above) died at Chingford in 1753.

SHUTE BARRINGTON.

About the time of the South Sea Bubble some Whigs and Protestant Dissenters indulged in a "flutter" called the Harburgh Lottery. The scandal was made much of by certain newspapers and gave occasion for enquiry by a Committee of the House of Commons, whose report fills many columns in the *Parliamentary History*. As a result Shute Barrington, first Viscount Barrington, was expelled the House. But according to *D.N.B.* Walpole owed him a grudge and seized this opportunity to satisfy it. Of Barrington, Robert Mackewen said (*Funeral Sermon*, 1735) that he was "chosen into parliament by the town of Berwick without a bribe, and might have been a Candidate at the last election would his principles have permitted him to give a bribe of forty pounds." Happily for Henry Bendish he had declined to become a Trustee for the lottery. In *Applebee's Weekly Journal* (July 23, 1720) and *Mist's Weekly Journal* (March 2, 1722/3) were some not very complimentary remarks, but according to advertisements in the *Daily Post* (Feb. 14, 1722/3) and *Daily Courant* (Feb. 16 and 23, 1722/3), except for a very inconsiderable number, all the subscribers had been repaid and daily attendance was given in Throgmorton House for the repayment of the small remainder. So the Abneys, Barringtons, Bendishes, Hartopps and others seem to have discharged their liabilities in full. W. J. PAYLING WRIGHT.

The Rev. T. G. Crippen Memorial Fund.

	£	s.	d.
Sir James Carmichael	10	0	0
Dr. S. M. Berry	5	0	0
Dr. Albert Peel	5	0	0
Dr. A. J. Grieve	5	0	0
Dr. J. D. Jones.	5	0	0
Anon.	5	0	0
Mr. C. W. Link.	3	3	0
Sir R. Murray Hyslop	5	0	0
Mr. Alex. Glegg	5	0	0
Rev. Arthur Furner	1	1	0
Mr. John Avery	1	1	0
Rev. F. W. Newland		10	6
Rev. T. T. James		10	0
Mr. F. N. Tribe.	1	0	0
Mr. T. Hughes	1	1	0
Mr. H. F. Keep.	3	3	0
Mr. L. H. Snow	1	1	0
Rev. J. J. Poynter	1	0	0
Mr. J. Jones	1	1	0
Rev. D. Walters	1	1	0
Mr. Arnold Pye-Smith	5	0	0
Mr. F. W. Bull		10	6
Mr. E. Beaumont	1	0	0
Mr. H. N. Dixon	5	0	0
Mr. W. Wilkinson	10	0	0
Dr. A. E. Garvie	3	0	0
Rev. H. C. Carter	2	0	0
Mr. A. E. Parsons	3	3	0
Rev. C. B. Cockett	1	1	0
Mr. H. J. Pollard	1	1	0
Mr. R. Lewis	2	2	0
Mr. J. Heddle		10	6
Mrs. M. Jenkins	5	0	0
Dr. A. Gordon	2	2	0
Mr. A. Burns	10	0	0
Mr. P. Randall	2	2	0
Mr. E. Hindle	3	3	0
Mr. A. H. B. McCappin	1	1	0
Mr. J. Minshull.		10	0
Dr. W. T. Whitley	1	0	0
Rev. E. P. Powell	2	0	0
Rev. W. Melville Harris	1	0	0
Rev. G. Porter Chapple		10	0
Rev. Wm. Robinson		10	0
Rev. W. F. Clarkson		10	0
Mr. A. W. Sykes	5	0	0
Mr. A. B. Lankester	1	1	0
Rev. Hugh Jenkins		10	0
Mr. H. Geen	2	2	0
Rev. McEwan Lawson	1	1	0
Mrs. Jesse Haworth	10	0	0
Rev. T. J. Hosken		5	0
Mrs. J. H. Jowett	3	0	0
Rev. W. J. Farrow		10	0
Mr. H. J. Woodall		10	0
Dr. J. E. Lloyd	3	3	0
Rev. T. Eynon Davies	1	1	0
Mr. B. L. Manning	5	0	0
Dr. R. F. Horton	5	0	0
Mr. W. G. Roberts		10	0
Mr. T. H. Roberts		10	0
Mr. W. E. Stevens	5	0	0
Rev. Arthur Hallack	2	0	0
Rev. J. A. Houlder	1	0	0
Rev. Arthur Pringle	3	3	0
Dr. W. B. Selbie	3	0	0
Rev. H. Staines		2	6
Mr. A. C. Harrison	1	1	0
Mr. G. Soundy Unwin	5	0	0
Mrs. Minshull		5	0
Mr. & Mrs. W. Stevens	2	2	0
Major N. G. Brett-James	1	1	0
Mr. C. Stancliff.	1	0	0
Mr. W. F. Wrigley	5	0	0
Mr. & Mrs. Selwyn Oxley	1	1	0
Rev. James Cregan	1	1	0
Mr. J. E. Skinner		10	0
Mrs. Stevenson.	1	1	0
Mr. A. E. Elkington	2	2	0
Anon.		10	0
Mr. T. Briggs	1	1	0
Dr. John Stevens	1	1	0
Friends at Wycliffe Church, Ilford, per the Rev. J. F. Brown	8	10	0
Mr. J. T. Chamberlain	1	1	0
Mr. W. A. Perry	1	1	0
Rev. H. Hooper		5	0
Rev. E. Hampden-Cook	1	0	0
Mr. R. A. Kemp	5	0	0
Dr. A. A. Mumford	2	2	0
Mr. Gerard N. Ford	3	3	0
Rev. Thomas Bagley.		10	0
Rev. R. G. Martin		10	0
In Memoriam, W.H.S.A.		10	0
Miss E. Muriel Bessell		10	0
Mrs. Margaret Bevan.	1	0	0
Rev. W. E. Anderton		10	0
Anon.	1	0	0
Rev. Leyton Richards	2	0	0
Rev. W. Major Scott	3	3	0
Anon.		2	6
Sir Edward Sharp	5	0	0
"A Friend"	5	0	0

The Rev. T. G. Crippen Memorial Fund

	£	s.	d.
Anon.		10	0
Rev. D. Macfadyen		10	0
Dr. A. R. Henderson	1	0	0
Mr. A. P. Mottram	2	0	0
Mr. W. A. Hounsom	10	0	0
Rev. C. H. Hedgman	2	2	0
A.M.P.	1	0	0
Wycliffe Congregational Church, Warrington	2	2	0
Mr. Joseph Shaw		10	0
Lady Lucy	5	0	0
Mr. J. Bradley Holmes	2	2	0
Dr. A. E. Matthewman		5	0
Mr. W. Valder	3	0	0
Mrs. Ella S. Armitage	5	0	0
Mr. R. J. T. Hagyard	10	0	0
Mr. Halley Stewart	10	0	0
Mr. J. H. Brocklehurst	2	2	0
Mr. N. Micklem, K.C.	5	0	0
Mr. Charles E. Price	5	0	0
Mr. B. Cozens-Hardy		10	6
Mr. Edward Unwin	10	0	0
Mr. A. Graham	1	0	0
Mr. S. J. Benham	2	2	0
Rev. J. Philip Rogers	1	0	0
Dr. J. Vernon Bartlet	1	0	0
Bank Interest		15	9
	£327	1	9

THE

Congregational Historical Society

(FOUNDED 1899).

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