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EDITORIAL.

THE annual meeting of the Society was held in May and the Officers were duly re-elected, and the balance-sheet, which is printed below, was accepted. The Rev. A. G. Matthews gave an extremely interesting paper on "Mr. Pepys and Nonconformity" which is printed within.

The next meeting of the Society is to be held in the Westcliff Congregational Church (junction of King's Road and Leigh Road) on Tuesday, October 7th, at 4.30 p.m. The meeting of the Council of the Congregational Union is to be held in the same building, and so it should be handy for such members of the Society as are also members of the Council. The speaker is Dr. W. T. Whitley, and the subject "Nonconformity in the Middle Ages." Dr. Whitley has done yeoman service for the Baptist Historical Society as Editor of its journal and as the guide of many research students. His two volumes on the works of John Smyth will stand for all time and his *History of British Baptists* long be the standard work on its subject. Members of the Society are specially urged to be present on this occasion.

* * * *

The Centenary of the Congregational Union next year will lay special burdens on the Society, and we trust that one of the ways of celebrating it will be a great accession to its membership. A campaign is being started with the aim of increasing the number of members to 1,000. If that is to be successful every member must lend a hand. The decreasing Balance in the Balance Sheet shows the great need for increased income.

* * * *

The Rev. C. B. Cockett's article on the centenary of Congregationalism in Australia fits in well with previous articles on denominational life in the Colonies—the Rev. D. L. Nichol's on Newfoundland, and the Rev. George Walker's on Cape Colony. Far too little is known in this country of the spread of Congregationalism in the Colonies, and these articles, we hope, will serve both to shed light and to stimulate interest.

We print in this issue the first instalment of a bibliography of Baxter, which will, we know, be warmly welcomed by students.

* * * *

Further contributions to the Crippen Memorial Fund are as follows :

	£	s.	d.
Already acknowledged	327	1	9
Wimbledon Congregational Church, per Rev. J. Beeby	4	4	0
Mr. A. C. Young		10	0
Rev. George Walker		5	0
Mrs. and Rev. A. G. Matthews	5	0	0
Anonymous Donor	200	0	0
	<hr/>		
	£537	0	9

The Fund is being administered by the Memorial Hall Trustees, and the money has been invested in the names of Mr. J. Bradley Holmes, the Secretary of the Trust, and Dr. Albert Peel.

CONGREGATIONAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

SUMMARISED ACCOUNT OF RECEIPTS & PAYMENTS, 1928.

<i>Receipts.</i>	£	s.	d.	<i>Expenditure.</i>	£	s.	d.
Jan. 1.							
To Balance forward	49	14	5	Printing <i>Transactions</i>	43	17	6
Subscriptions, 1929 ..	31	3	0	Postages, etc. ..	2	8	4
Arrears	5	10	0	Hire of Hall and			
Subscriptions in Advance	1	5	0	Speaker's Exs. ..	2	2	0
Sale of <i>Transactions</i> ..	6	15	4	Friends' Historical			
				Society		5	0
				Record Cards	2	10	2
				Cheque Book and			
				Rubber Stamp ..		9	6
				Balance in hand,			
				31st Dec., 1929 ..	42	15	3
	<hr/>				<hr/>		
	£94	7	9		£94	7	9

Audited and found correct,

CYRIL LEE DAVIS,

18th February, 1930.

Hon. Auditor.

Mr. Pepys and Nonconformity.

TWO portraits of Mr. Pepys adorn the walls of the National Portrait Gallery. Only the earlier belongs to the period of the *Diary*. It was painted by John Hayles in 1666, when its subject was about thirty-three. He is in flowing brown periwig, wearing an "India gowne" hired for the occasion, with a scarf loosely knotted round his neck; in his hand is a copy of his song *Beauty Retire*. The portrait alongside represents someone who is clearly "no gentleman"; in very plain attire, a narrow white band about his brown coat collar; his head of hair is a rough one; his left eye squints forbiddingly; in his hand is a book. It is John Bunyan. The author of the *Diary* hangs side by side with the author of that other masterpiece of self-revelation, *Grace Abounding*. As far as the east is from the west, so great is the difference between the two, between Mr. Worldly Wiseman of the town of Carnal Policy and the Pilgrim fleeing from the City of Destruction, haunted by his "hot unmanageable thoughts."

What then has Mr. Pepys to do with Nonconformity? He was certainly not a Nonconformist, but when he envisaged the human scene about him in that magic mirror of his the Nonconformists inevitably came into the picture, and, what was not inevitable, they appear in a more or less favourable light. Not that we are to expect too much from the diarist. He never proposed to give an account of public affairs, nor was he "in the know" ecclesiastically. Though he numbered a bishop (Fuller) among his friends and once dined at Lambeth with the Archbishop, who was "mighty kind to me, particularly desiring my company another time, when less company there," we may suspect him of having a good slice of the layman's anti-clericalism in his composition. Certainly he was not "churchy"; but ecclesiastical affairs interested him as did all other human affairs; *nil humanum alienum*—never was man more entitled to the claim than Pepys.

Brought up in the days when Puritanism was in the ascendant, despite his "enjoying nature" and the obviously unpuritanical character of his general outlook upon life, Pepys retained something of his early training. He conformed at the

Restoration as a matter of course. We can follow in his journal the progressive stages of the Prayer Book's reappearance.

"22 July 1660, Lord's Day. Home, and at night and a chapter read; and I read prayers out of the Common Prayer Book."

"5 Aug., Lord's Day. "After dinner to St. Margaret's (Westminster), where the first time I ever heard Common Prayer in that Church."

4 Nov. "In the morn to our own church (St. Olave's, Hart Street), where Mr. Mills did begin to nibble at the Common Prayer, by saying 'Glory be to the Father, &c.' after he had read the two psalms; but the people had been so little used to it, that they could not tell what to answer." The following Sunday, "This day also did Mr. Mills begin to read all the Common Prayer, which I was glad of."

But when as long as two years later (26 Oct., 1662) Mr. Mills first appeared in a surplice Pepys expresses no gladness:

"it seemed absurd for him to pull it over his ears in the reading-pew, after he had done, before all the church, to go up to the pulpit, to preach without it."

Neither this comely vestment nor what Anglicans until the last few years have been proud to call "our incomparable liturgy" call forth any more comments. True, under 24 Aug., 1662, we read:

"Among other things they tell me that there hath been a disturbance in a church in Friday Street (St. Matthew's where Henry Hurst was ejected); a great many young (people) knotting together and crying out "Porridge" often and seditiously in the church, and took the Common Prayer Book, they say, away; and, some say, did tear it; but it is a thing which appears to me very ominous. I pray God avert it."

But this remark is obviously due to a fear of disorder, not to any feeling for the established ritual. Only two parts of church observance really stirred Mr. Pepys—sermons and anthems. Of the former he seldom, if ever, fails to give some indication of his opinion, even if it be only to say that he slept through it. Nor did he confine himself to hearing alone; he was, as his library shows, an assiduous buyer, and presumably reader, of printed discourses by both Anglican and Nonconformist divines.¹ But for the Church of England

¹ The bound volumes of sermons in the Pepys Library, Magdalene Coll., Cambridge, contain about 300 sermons, of which nearly 100 are by Nonconformists or men

as such we find no enthusiasm in the *Diary*, no concern for its welfare, no conception expressed that anything of spiritual or national moment was at stake in its fortunes. Presumably it was to be regarded like the Navy Office, another branch of the same Civil Service, and as such to be taken for granted.

Of Nonconformity Mr. Pepys always speaks with a notable impartiality. That, of course, is in part due to the objective manner in which he handled his material, but surely in some measure due to a sympathy with Dissenters. Note is given of passing events, the rising of fanatics under Venner in 1660, the executions which followed, as well as other executions, such as the death of that intrepid visionary, Major-General Thomas Harrison. We get the talk of the day, 31 May, 1662.

“The Act for Uniformity is lately printed, which, it is thought, will make mad work among the Presbyterian ministers. People of all sides are very discontented; some thinking themselves used, contrary to promise, too hardly; and the other, that they are not rewarded so much as they expected by the King. God keep us all.”

Then in due course follows the farewell Sunday, 17 August, and the famous description of Bates's two sermons at St. Dunstan's, by far the most vivid picture of that sad day which has come down to us. At the end of September the ejections are still the main topic of conversation:

“The late outing of the Presbyterian clergy by their not renouncing the Covenant as the Act of Parliament commands, is the greatest piece of state now in discourse. But for ought I see they are gone out very peaceably, and the people not so much concerned therein as was expected.”

Here is his summing up at the end of the year 1662:

“The Bishoppes are high, and go on without any diffidence in pressing uniformity; and the Presbyteres seem silent in it, and either conform or lay down, though without doubt they expect a turn, and would be glad these endeavours of the other Fanatiques

who later became such. Among other books by Nonconformists in the Library are George Fox's *Journal* (fol. London, 1694, 632 pp. Vol. I. A slip of paper at p. 401 is perhaps Pepys's mark); three works by Baxter—*The Saint's Everlasting Rest* (11th ed., 1677), *A breviat of the life of Margaret Baxter* (1681) and *Church history abbreviated* (1680); Joseph Hill's *The interest of these United Provinces* (1673) and *A dissertation concerning the antiquity of temples* (1696); and Bates's *Considerations of the existence of God* (2nd ed., 1677). The bound vols. entitled “Liturgy Controversys” contain Vavasor Powell's *The common prayer book noe divine service* (1660), and the Savoy *Declaration of faith and order . . . in congregational churches* (1659).

would take effect ; there having been a plot lately found, for which four have been publickly tried at the Old Bayley and hanged."

That is the worst thing to be said about the Presbyters, they were fishing in troubled waters. For the rest you will never catch Mr. Pepys disliking a Presbyterian because he is a Presbyterian ; if he disliked him it was for the much more human reason that he was dull or ridiculous, or under suspicion of being a humbug.

" 1 June 1662. A Presbyterian made a sad and long sermon, which vexed me." " 8 May 1668, to my Lord Crew's, and there dined ; where Mr. Case, the minister, a dull fellow in his talk, and all in the Presbyterian manner ; a great deal of noise and a kind of religious tone, but very dull."

To take off this Presbyterian manner was a well recognized form of after-dinner amusement. It was practised even at Lambeth, at least on that 14th of May, 1669, when Pepys obtained what he had " long longed for," an invitation to dine with His Grace.

" Most of the company gone, and I going, I heard by a gentleman of a sermon that was to be there ; and so I staid to hear it, thinking it serious, till by and by the gentleman told me it was a mockery, by one Cornet Bolton, a very gentleman-like man, that behind a chair did pray and preach like a Presbyterian Scot that ever I heard in my life, with all the possible imitation in grimaces and voice. And his text about the hanging up their harps upon the willows ; and a serious good sermon too, exclaiming against Bishops, and crying up of my good Lord Eglinton, till it made us all burst ; but I did wonder to have the Bishop at this time to make himself sport with things of this kind, but I perceive it was shewn him as a rarity ; and he took care to have the room-door shut, but there were about twenty gentlemen there, and myself, infinitely pleased with the novelty."

In all this there is no animus against Nonconformists for their Nonconformity, so far as the *Diary* is concerned. Indeed, we can hardly think ourselves indulging in anything but an intelligent anticipation if we opine that its author would readily have gone to a conventicle to hear a preacher like Bates, had it been safe to do so. But it was not safe, witness the sad case of poor Tom Hater, a subordinate at the Navy Office.

" 9 May 1663. Up betimes and to my office, whither sooner than ordinary comes Mr. Hater desiring to speak a word to me

alone, which I was from the disorder of his countenance amused at, and so the poor man began telling me that by Providence being the last Lord's day at a meeting of some Friends upon doing of their duties, they were surprised, and he carried to the Counter, but afterwards released; however, hearing that Sir W. Batten do hear of it, he thought it good to give me an account of it, lest it might tend to any prejudice to me. I was extraordinary surprised with it, and troubled for him, knowing that now it is out it is impossible for me to conceal it, or keep him in employment under me without danger to myself. I cast about all I could, and did give him the best advice I could, desiring to know if I should promise that he would not for the time to come commit the same, he told me he desired that I would rather forbear to promise that, for he durst not do it, whatever God in His providence shall do with him, and that for my part he did bless God and thank me for all the love and kindness I have shewed him hitherto. I could not without tears in my eyes discourse with him further . . . At noon dined at home with a heavy heart for the man . . . to the office, where busy late, and so home to supper and bed, with my mind much troubled about T. Hater."

Pepys spoke to Mr. Coventry about it all next day, and he in his turn reported the matter to the Duke of York, with the happy result that a few days later we have this entry :

"He (Coventry) told me that for Mr. Hater the Duke's word was in short that he found he had a good servant, an Anabaptist, and unless he did carry himself more to the scandal of the office, he would bear with his opinion till he heard further, which do please me very much."

At the end of the same month Pepys took occasion to call Hater's attention to Parliament's

"putting an act out against all sorts of conventicles, and did give him good counsel."

Three days later (30th May) he was giving a needy Nonconformist something more than good counsel :

"So to my brother's, and there I found my aunt James, a poor, religious, well-meaning, good soul, talking of nothing but God Almighty, and with so much innocence that mightily pleased me. Here was a fellow that said grace so long like a prayer; I believe the fellow is a cunning fellow, and yet I by my brother's desire did give him a crown, he being in great want, and, it seems, a parson among the fanatiques, and a cozen of my poor aunt's, whose prayers she told me did do me good among the many good souls that did by my father's desires pray for me when I was cut of

the stone, and which God did hear, which I also in complaisance did own ; but, God forgive me, my mind was otherwise."

A conversation of Nov. 9 of the same year has more about Nonconformists. The opinions are those of Robert Blackburn, secretary to the Admiralty Committee in Commonwealth days and uncle of Pepys's good friend and servant William Hewer ; but they are endorsed in the *Diary* with an unusual heartiness.

"Mr. Blackburne and I fell to talk of many things, wherein I did speak so freely to him in many things agreeing with his sense that he was very open to me : first, in that of religion, he makes it great matter of prudence for the King and Council to suffer liberty of conscience ; and imputes the losse of Hungary to the Turks from the Emperor's denying them this liberty of their religion. He says that many pious ministers of the word of God, some thousands of them, do now beg their bread : and told me how highly the present clergy carry themselves every where, so that they are hated and laughed at by every body ; among other things, for their excommunications, which they send upon the least occasions almost that can be. And I am convinced in my judgment, not only from his discourse, but my thoughts in general, that the present clergy will never heartily go down with the generality of the commons of England ; they have been so used to liberty and freedom, and they are so acquainted with the pride and debauchery of the present clergy. He did give me many stories of the affronts which the clergy receive in all places of England from the gentry and ordinary persons of the parish."

Blackburn went on to speak of the loyalty of "them that they call Fanatiques" whom he described as

"the most substantiall sort of people, and the soberest . . . of all the old army now you cannot see a man begging about the street ; . . . and concludes (and I think with some reason) that "the spirits of the old parliament soldiers are so quiett and contented with God's providences, that the King is safer from any evil meant him by them one thousand times more than from his own discontented Cavalier."

In due time the Bill against conventicles of which Pepys had warned Hater, came into force. Its passage through Parliament caused some friction between Lords and Commons, and representatives of both Houses met to adjust their differences. Pepys was a thrilled listener.

"In the Painted Chamber I heard a fine conference between some of the two Houses upon the Bill for Conventicles."

But as to the terms of the Act and its enforcement his feelings were quite otherwise. On a Sunday in August, 1664,

“ while we were talking came by several poor creatures carried by, by constables, for being at a conventicle. They go like lambs, without any resistance. I would to God they would either conform, or be more wise, and not be caught.”

That came from Pepys's heart, and we love him for it. Nothing that he ever said about the Established Church and its members has the same warm ring of sincerity. In that age of loud-mouthed and vindictive passions there were some who, if they did not speak out, none the less held by the dictates of humanity and common-sense; among them was the man who is now the best known and best loved figure of the day.

So much for the more general features of the ecclesiastical situation. It remains for us to consider something of what the *Diary* has to tell about individual Nonconformists with whom its author was brought into some manner of contact. I will confine myself to those, numbering some twenty or more, who appear among Calamy's ejected or silenced ministers and Fellows, though in the majority of cases they are mentioned in the *Diary* before Bartholomew, 1662, and then for some sermon which Pepys has heard from them. Here are some instances :

“ 23 Sep. 1660. To the Abbey, where I expected to hear Mr. Baxter or Mr. Rowe preach their farewell sermon, and in Mr. Symons's pew I sat and heard Mr. Rowe. Before sermon I laughed at the reader, who in his prayer desires of God that He would imprint His word on the thumbs of our right hands and on the right great toes of our right feet. In the midst of the sermon some plaster fell from the top of the Abbey, that made me and all the rest in our pew afeard, and I wished myself out.”

Why Pepys expected to hear Baxter at the Abbey is not apparent; I have been able to find only one reference to his preaching at Westminster after the Restoration. The only other reference to the great divine is under date of 25 May 1662 :

“ Walked up and down, and looked into many churches, among others Mr. Baxter's at Blackfryers.”

On 12 Aug., 1660, he heard the elder Calamy preach before the King at Whitehall.

“ made a good sermon upon these words ‘ To whom much is given,

of him much is required.' He was very officious with his three reverences to the King, as others do. After sermon a brave anthem of Captain Cooke's, which he himself sung, and the King was well pleased with it."

At Whitehall on October 7 he heard Dr. Spurstow, of Hackney—"a poor dry sermon." On Easter Sunday of the following year he was at St. Martin's, Ludgate Hill, where the preacher was "Long Tom of Ludgate," as Cromwell used to call Dr. Thomas Jacomb—"A lazy sermon, like a Presbyterian," so Mr. Pepys registers his verdict. In February he again heard Jacomb, this time at St. Bride's

"upon the recovery, and at the request of Mrs. Turner, who came abroad this day, the first time since her long sickness. He preached upon David's words, 'I shall not die, but live, and declare the works of the Lord,' and made a pretty good sermon, though not extraordinary. After sermon I led her home, and sat with her, and there was the Dr. got before us; but strange what a command he hath got over Mrs. Turner, who was so carefull to get him what he would, after his preaching, to drink, and he, with a cunning gravity, knows how to command, and had it, and among other things told us that he heard more of the Common Prayer this afternoon (while he stood in the vestry, before he went up into the pulpitt) than he had heard this twenty years."

The use of the Prayer Book at St. Bride's was due to John Herring, also among the ejected:

"tho' he by reading so much of the Common Prayer as he did, hath cast himself out of the good opinion of both sides."

He left St. Bride's before the appointed day, and when on August 10 Pepys went to hear Bates at St. Dunstan's, Herring was acting as clerk.

"Mr. Herring, being lately turned out at St. Bride's, did read the psalm to the people while they sung at Dr. Bates's, which methought is a strange turn."

Herring was there also on the following Sunday, that of the farewell, and distinguished himself by his extraordinary exposition of Scripture:

"Parson Herring read a psalm and chapters before sermon; and one was the chapter in the Acts, where the story of Ananias and Sapphira is. And after he had done, says he, 'This is just the case of England at present. God He bids us to preach, and men bid us not to preach; and if we do, we are to be imprisoned and

further punished. All that I can say to it is, that I beg your prayers, and the prayers of all good Christians, for us.' This was all the exposition he made of the chapter in these very words, and no more."

All these were London ministers. One country minister who lost his living figures in a sentence of the *Diary*, William King, of Ashstead, Surrey. The village was one which Pepys had known as a boy, and on revisiting it in 1663 he attended church,

"where we had a dull Doctor, one Downe, worse than I think even parson King was, of whom we made so much scorn."

There is a reference to King in another 17th century diary. Under date 26 Sep., 1658, Evelyn noted,

"Mr. King preach'd at Ashsted on 15 Proverbs 24: A Quaker would have disputed with him."

It was not only on Sundays and at services that Pepys came into touch with Nonconformists. Few things interested him more than scientific experiments, then just coming into vogue. Among the practitioners of these absorbing pursuits, in whose company he was delighted to be found, was Jonathan Goddard. Whether that distinguished physician should be classed with Dissenters may be a moot point, but he has a place in Calamy's hagiology on the ground that at the Restoration he lost his post as Warden of Merton College. He then withdrew to London where he was most generally known as the sole purveyor of a remedy to be used in "faintings, apoplexies, lethargies, or other sudden and alarming onsets." The compound was called "Goddard's drops," and was "a preparation of ammonia with a few irrelevancies added, such as skull of a person hanged, dried viper, and the like." He is mentioned more than once in the *Diary*, most interestingly just after the Plague, when Pepys himself had heroically refused to leave London. Here is the relevant entry of 22 January, 1666:

"I back presently to the Crowne taverne behind the Exchange by appointment, and there met the first meeting of Gresham College since the plague. Dr. Goddard did fill us with talke, in defence of his and his fellow physicians going out of towne in the plague-time; saying that their particular patients were most gone out of towne, and they left at liberty; and a great deal more, &c."

- On October 13, 1664, Pepys left London for Brampton.

Somewhere in Hertfordshire he fell in with an old acquaintance, Jeremiah White, once a chaplain in the household of the Lord High Protector. White was a remarkable man. In those days when Calvinism was only just beginning to totter, he was, *rarissima avis*, a universalist. As daring in politics as in theology, he faithfully attended the annual meetings of the Calves' Head Club, when on January 30 it sang its "anniversary anthem" and from the calf's skull drank to the immortal memory of "the patriots who had relieved the nation from tyranny." There is a familiar and entertaining story, which does credit to all parties concerned, that while he was Cromwell's chaplain, Jeremiah fell in love with Frances Cromwell and was caught by her father kissing the young lady's hand. He promptly alleged that he was asking her to allow him to wed her waiting lady. Whereupon the Protector called for the lady in question and a chaplain, and the matter was settled without further ado. This story, however, like all such stories, is probably more entertaining than true. On 19 September, 1660, Pepys dined with White and other company at the Mitre Tavern, Wood street, and speaks of White "as formerly chaplain to the Lady Protectress and still so, and one they say that is likely to get my Lady Frances for his wife." So that two years after her father's death the gossips were still busy marrying White and Lady Frances. Anyone interested in pursuing Jeremiah's amorous adventures will find at the Bodleian transcripts of some very high-flown love-letters written in 1686 and 1687 by Philamon to Philama or by Jeremiah White to Mrs. Elizabeth Rogerson. Possibly more thorough criticism might prove unfounded the attribution of authorship to White.

In any case, let us return to a road, or perhaps a wayside inn, somewhere in Hertfordshire, where on Wednesday, 13 October, 1664, two travellers are in close conversation :

"In this day's journey I met with Mr. White, Cromwell's chaplain that was, and had a great deale of discourse with him. Among others, he tells me that Richard is, and hath long been, in France, and is now going into Italy. He owns publicly that he do correspond, and return him all his money."

There followed more conversation about Richard and about his father, of whom White said :

"The hand of God is much to be seen that all his children are in good condition enough as to estate, and that their relations

that betrayed their family are all now either hanged or very miserable.”

In conclusion, a few words about a more intimate friend whom Pepys had among the Nonconformists. By birth of Yorkshire, by education of Cambridge, Joseph Hill was a fellow of Magdalene when Pepys went up in 1650. In October, 1653, he was one of the two fellows who solemnly admonished Pepys and another undergraduate :

“for having been scandalously over-served with drink ye night before. This was done in the presence of all the Fellows then resident, in Mr. Hill’s chamber¹.”

In February, 1660, when Pepys paid a post-graduate visit to his old College that same chamber was the scene of “a handsome supper” concerning which we read in the journal of an appreciative participant :

“I could find that there was nothing at all left of the old preciseness in their discourse, specially on Saturday nights. And Mr. Zanchy told me that there was no such thing now-a-days among them at any time.”

In July, 1661, Pepys met Hill in London

“with some women with him whom he took and me into the tavern there, and did give us wine, and would fain seem to be very knowing in the affairs of state, and tells me that yesterday (the end of the Savoy Conference) put a change to the whole state of England as to the Church ; for the King now would be forced to favour Presbytery, or the City would leave him ; but I heeded not what he says, though upon enquiry I do find that things in the Parliament are in a great disorder.”

Two years later the two men met again, Hill having in the meantime lost his fellowship.

“I at the office a while, till disturbed by Mr. Hill, of Cambridge, with whom I walked in the garden a while, and thence home and then in my dining room walked, talking of several matters of state till 11 at night, giving him a glass of wine. I was not unwilling to hear him talk, though he is full of words, yet a man of large conversation, especially among the Presbyters and Independents ; he tells me that certainly, let the Bishops alone, and they will ruin themselves, and he is confident that the King’s declaration about two years since will be the foundation of the settlement of the

¹ Magdalene Register, quoted by Wheatley, *Diary*, I. xvi.

Church some time or other, for the King will find it hard to banish all those that will appear Nonconformists upon this Act that is coming out against them. He being gone, I to bed."

Shortly after this Hill crossed to Holland and after various vicissitudes settled as minister to the English church at Rotterdam, where he remained until his death in 1707. He kept in touch, however, with his old friends in England in more ways than one. William Millington, the auctioneer, wrote to thank him in 1677, "for ye great Service done to Learning and Learned men in yor first advising & effectually setting on foot that admirable & Universally approved of way of selling Librarys by Auction amongst us." Evidently Hill was responsible for the sale of the library of Lazarus Seaman, also among the ejected, whose books were the first to be auctioned in England (1676). From that same library Hill obtained the minutes of the London Provincial Assembly and presented the volume to Sion College. Nor did he lose touch with Pepys, as letters of his at the Bodleian show. In September, 1681, he wrote to him from Rotterdam: "being tired with the buss. of both parties in London, I retired hither, where I live to my owne content in great peace and quietness, above the frownes of fortune and below the envy of my enemies." Other letters follow; he sent Pepys 'novelles,' and in the capacity of secret service agent, in which he later served other Government officials, provided him with information about the Dutch fleet. "He would fain seem to be very knowing in the affairs of state," perhaps Pepys remarked of his letters as he once did of his conversation. Alas! the *Diary* had then ceased.

A. G. MATTHEWS.

John Jackson.

(Continued from page 99.)

We have been able to recover sufficient details of the life of John Jackson to shew that one of the early founders and the first minister of Protestant Nonconformity in Brentford was truly a scholar and a godly man and one well fitted to have established a cause which has a worthy history, and which, notwithstanding all the religious vicissitudes of over 258 years, continues to-day its witness for freedom and for true religion unimpeded by any real or formal connexion with the State.

A. A. WALMSLEY.

The Centenary of Congregationalism in Australia.

THE British Government decided in 1786 to found a settlement in New South Wales, and Captain Arthur Phillip on Oct. 12th, 1786, was commissioned as Governor, with the Rev. Richard Johnson, B.A., as chaplain, his commission being signed by Lord Sydney.

After the change from Botany Bay to "the finest harbour in the world" the history of the Dominion of Australia began at Sydney, Jan. 26th, 1788. The first Christian service in the new Colony was held "under a great tree" on Sunday, Feb. 3rd, 1788, and Canon W. J. Carr-Smith of St. James's Church instituted an Annual Commemoration. This first service was attended by the marines, the seamen, and the male convicts, and the chaplain's text was *Ps.* 116¹³, "What shall I render unto the Lord for all His benefits towards me?" The first Church in Australia was a wattle and daub structure, like the first historical Church at Glastonbury, shaped like a T, with a thatched roof. It cost £67, seated 500 people, and was opened on Aug. 25th, 1793, to be destroyed by fire on Oct. 1st, 1798. A Memorial Cross at the junction of Bligh and Hunter Streets, Sydney, where the Church once stood, commemorates the beginnings of Christianity in Australia: the original Bible rests in St. Philip's Church, Church Hill.

Tasmania was circumnavigated by Bass and Flinders and colonized from Sydney in 1803 at Hobart Town by Lieutenant Bowen, Colonel Collins arriving in 1804. Glowing reports induced a good many free settlers to emigrate from England in 1822.

Now in Hobart Town, Van Diemen's Land, a small group of Independents, under the leadership of Mr. Henry Hopkins, met for worship, and this father of Congregationalism in Australia from 1824 to the close of 1828 approached Christian friends in England, and then the London Missionary Society, seeking a minister. The Colonial Missionary Society was not established until 1836, and the application emanating from Mr. Hopkins in Nov., 1828 was transmitted to Highbury College, Islington, Dr. Halley being the Principal.

"The Committee directed the resident tutor to place it in the hands of the students, and to invite any one of them who might

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be willing to proceed to Van Diemen's Land to communicate with the tutors or the Committee. After some time, the Rev. Frederick Miller accepted the invitation and was accordingly set apart with a view to the exercise of the Christian ministry in Van Diemen's Land. Mr. Miller was ordained on the 23rd April, 1830, at the Rev. H. F. Burder's Meeting House in St. Thomas' Square, Hackney."

Another early record from Brisbane Street Chapel by Mr. Miller tells us that at his ordination

"the Rev. Robert Halley (the classical tutor at Highbury College) delivered an introductory discourse with a view to exhibit the spiritual wants of Van Diemen's Land, and the importance of supplying them."

The Rev. Dr. Burder, in delivering the charge said :

"You, my dear brother, if a guardian Providence permit, are to settle in a far distant land, but little known to us: you will naturally feel interested in enquiring into its peculiarities of soil and climate and productions. This curiosity will not need to be altogether repressed, but it will need to be restrained within the limits of due subordination. It is important to keep in mind that you are not to be ambitious of the reputation of a naturalist, or a botanist, or a mineralogist, any more than you are to be ambitious of the gains of an agriculturalist, or a merchant. You go out with higher aims: you are to be occupied in nobler pursuits: your concern is not with the soil or its productions, but with its living and dying population, you go to save souls from death—souls in danger of the wrath to come."

So Frederick Miller told this story as Chairman of a Conference of Australian Congregationalists at Sydney on Tuesday, 17th Feb., 1857, in the Pitt Street Congregational Church. The present writer, christened in Pitt Street, a minister of the (Miller) Memorial Church, Hobart, wandered recently over Dr. Burder's old church, transformed into the Empress Cinema in Mare Street, Hackney, and now suffering a more extensive transformation. The exterior walls are still the same (with the windows bricked in because of the window tax), the back gallery is there, the graveyard is at the side, but the cinema is extending over the site of the manse, and only a small corner of the garden remains.

The *Evangelical Magazine*, 1830, contained this paragraph :

"On Friday, April 23rd, the Rev. Frederick Miller (student at Highbury College) was ordained at St. Thomas' Square, Hackney, with a view to the exercise of the Christian ministry at Hobart Town, Van Diemen's Land. Mr. Slatterie, of Chatham, offered

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an introductory prayer ; Mr. Halley, classical tutor at Highbury College, delivered a discourse appropriate to the occasion. Mr. Collison proposed the usual questions and received the confession of faith : Dr. Smith offered the ordination prayer : Mr. H. F. Burder (Mr. Miller's Pastor) gave the Charge and Mr. H. Townley concluded with prayer."

The Rev. Charles Price stated at Hobart Town in 1880 that the Rev. Drs. Burder, Pye Smith, and Halley, and the Revs. Messrs. Slatterie, Collison, Townley, Mather, and Davis took part in this service. The young minister at his ordination stated :

" I purpose in the strength of my Lord and Master to embrace every opportunity of preaching with the utmost plainness, faithfulness, and affection, the glorious gospel of the ever blessed God. In order to advance the cause of pure and undefiled religion, I shall likewise endeavour to promote by all the means in my power the distribution of tracts, and employ such other modes of doing good as may be found practicable : with the same view I purpose to promote the establishment of Sabbath, Day and Infant Schools."

This solemn pledge was earnestly and nobly redeemed, for faithfulness, sympathy with the afflicted, earnestness, and activity became the leading characteristics of this Empire Builder for Christ and Britain : his ordination certificate is treasured in the Memorial Church vestry.

Frederick Miller was born at Hackney on March 8th, 1806. When only 8 years of age he was greatly shocked by the death of his father : his mother's influence proved very powerful, and she retained it until her death in 1858 : being brought up in the Church of England he was impressed by his confirmation, an eminently pious mother and a faithful clergyman having revealed the Christian's responsibilities in a memorable manner. A conversation with the Rev. Mr. Hawtrey and a sermon to young people by Mr. James of Birmingham influenced the youth, who had wasted much time at the theatre and perusing works of fiction, which caused " serious mischief to his mind."

Subsequently he studied the Scriptures and " wearied himself with fruitless speculations on the insoluble mysteries of God's Providence and Government." In July, 1825, he attended the Caledonian Church, Hatton Garden, and heard " with feelings of the most intense interest and anxiety " a series of sermons on the work of the Holy Spirit, by the late Mr. Irving. He traces the crisis of his religious decision to a sermon by Dr. Burder, on the question, " Who is on the Lord's side ? " and

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joined the Independent Chapel at St. Thomas' Square, Hackney, where Dr. Burder was the minister.

In the *Congregational Magazine* for 1825 there is an account of Hoxton Academy, which became merged in Highbury College, Highbury Park, Islington, the foundation stone of which was laid on June 28th, 1825, and an illustration of the New College appears. We learn also that Henry Foster Burder, M.A., a Hoxton student, educated at Glasgow, became third tutor at Hoxton Academy in 1810 : as minister at St. Thomas' Square he was the successor of Matthew Henry, and the *Magazine* reviews his *Lectures on the Essentials of Religion, Personal, Domestic and Social,*" and notes his Introduction to *Juvenile Prize Essays*.

On May 9th, 1828, letters from the Revs. Mr. Stirtevant and H. F. Burder recommending Mr. F. Miller as an eligible person to be admitted to Hoxton Academy were read, and his application was referred to a Committee, which on June 20th, 1828, reported that the candidate is 22 years of age, spoke from 1 *Tim.* 1¹⁵, with a good voice and facility of expression, and appears pious and amiable. On Dec. 12th, 1828, the Tutors' report was approved and he was fully admitted. Another report was given on Feb. 26th, 1830.

Frederick Miller had commenced to prepare for the career of an architect, but at Highbury College he responded to the call to Van Diemen's Land, and decided to commence his ministry in a Colony whose chief associations in English minds were convicts and bushrangers. Before leaving for Australia he married his cousin, Elizabeth Miller, who was born on June 19th, 1808, at No. 1, Scots Yard, Bush Lane, Cameron Street, London, and baptized in Allhallows Church : her husband was the youngest son of her father's (John Henry Miller) brother, Henry, and their new home was found 14,000 miles away from London.

They arrived at Hobart Town, situated on a magnificent harbour, overlooked by Mount Wellington, 4,000 feet high, on Sept. 22nd, 1830, by the ship *Lang*, the Pilgrim Father (and Mother) of the Australian Congregational ministry. Mr. and Mrs. Hopkins welcomed them at their residence, and with some other friends decided to use the upper room of the house of Mr. J. P. Dean in Elizabeth Street, near Wellington Bridge, for worship ; there the first service was conducted on Oct. 17th, 1830, about 30 persons being present. It is interesting to note that in 1821 the first census gave Tasmania's population as 7,185, while in 1880 it had grown to 120,000. On

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Dec. 8th, 1830, the first christening took place, when the three daughters of Alec. Macintyre (the first name being Ellen Glen McIntyre) opened the Memorial Church Register of Baptisms.

Mr. Miller first lived in Brisbane Street, and Mr. Hopkins gave great help in furnishing the house. The foundation stone of the Brisbane Street Independent Chapel was laid on May 28th, 1831, and the Church Book contains the following entry :

“ On Thursday Evening, 15th March, 1832, a Meeting was held at Mr. Miller’s residence of those who having been members of Congregational Churches in England, or otherwise, were desirous of uniting together in Church fellowship, and of forming themselves into a Christian Church. There were present on that occasion nine persons, namely, Rev. F. and Mrs. Miller, Mr. and Mrs. H. Hopkins, Mrs. T. Hopkins, Mrs. Howe, Mrs. Jennings, Mr. Umphelby, and Mrs. Dean. After singing a hymn, reading the Scripture, and prayer, a Church was formed . . . the first Congregational Church and pastorate in these Colonies.”

The Brisbane Street Independent Chapel was opened for Public Worship on 20th April, 1832—the land costing £200 and the building £1,400—the Revs. A. McArthur, N. Turner (Wesleyan) and F. Miller officiating. The Sunday School was opened in 1832 and the Berea Sunday School in 1833.

“The Van Diemen’s Land Home Mission and Christian Instruction Society” was formed in the Chapel in Jan., 1834, W. Gellibrand, Esq., being the Chairman. The Congregational Union of Van Diemen’s Land was established on Sept. 11th, 1837, at Launceston, the Committee consisting of the Revs. F. Miller and J. Nisbet (Hobart Town), C. Price (Launceston), the Rev. Joseph Beazley and Messrs. Hopkins, Jennings, Weston, and Williams. A letter was despatched to the Church at Pitt Street, Sydney, and another to the Congregational Union of England and Wales. The Union interested itself in the Marriage Acts and the development of Congregationalism in Adelaide and Port Phillip (Melbourne), secured the Revs. J. West and A. Morrison for the Island through the Colonial Missionary Society, tried to establish a Theological Academy, and helped to prevent religious education in the State Schools becoming an Anglican monopoly. Mr. Miller refused a grant of £200 *per annum* towards his stipend from the Legislative Council, and later organized the repayment of a Government Grant of £500 to his Church, giving with Mr. Hopkins an initial donation of £50, and mortgaging his marriage fees in his generosity.

Brisbane Street in January, 1848, became the first church to

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discontinue pew rents and adopt the free-will weekly offerings, and the church and its minister were active leaders in every form of Christian service and social reform.

In his early days Frederick Miller travelled for his health ; in the work of founding new churches in Tasmania and other States he might be termed an unofficial Moderator. In 1834 he visited Sydney, and " with the Pastor of the only Congregational Church then in New South Wales " addressed the Home Union on the urgent need for ministerial help : the appeal was

" published in the *Congregational Magazine*, and in connection with the pressing representations of Drs. Reed and Matheson concerning Canada, and of other parties, had some influence in inducing the formation of the Colonial Missionary Society in London,"

which sent forth the Rev. T. Q. Stowe, the first minister to Adelaide, in 1837.

In December, 1848, Frederick Miller (again for health reasons) visited Auckland, New Zealand, where he was welcomed by

" Mr. John Rout, who eighteen years before (being then resident in London) had taken an active part in securing the first minister for Tasmania, and in arranging for his passage."

As there was no Congregational minister there, the people looked to Sydney for help, but the Rev. J. Macdonald, retiring from missionary work in Samoa, was encouraged to settle, and " ignorant of this movement the Colonial Missionary Society sent the Rev. T. Hamer to the same place." Miller visited Wellington in January, 1849, and discovered that Mr. Woodward, a London Congregationalist emigrating to New Zealand for secular employment, had so impressed his fellow-passengers by his conduct of the services on the ship that he was pressed to continue his ministrations on shore.

" He complied with their request and hence the formation of the first Congregational Church in New Zealand . . . organized in Wellington, where a Chapel was erected."

In 1849 the chapel was almost ruined through earthquakes, but another was erected in a more eligible situation. Arrangements were made later to secure a minister who could devote himself fully to the work.

In 1857 Miller acted as Chairman at a Congregational Conference in the Pitt Street Church, Sydney, attended by representatives from New South Wales, South Australia, Tasmania, and Victoria. In his address on Feb. 17th he said :

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“It is cheering to one who was permitted to commence the work to announce the fact [that] it appears that in all the Colonies of Australasia, there are now about 63 Congregational Ministers.”

In 1859 Thomas Binney visited Tasmania. In 1861 the Brisbane Street Chapel sent their minister to England for his health. He left Tasmania in March and sailed from Melbourne on April 13th. His health considerably improved and on the journey of three months round Cape Horn he often officiated as minister for services and Sunday Schools, and visiting the sick and dying.

A few extracts from Miller's diary¹ will reveal the interested traveller and the man of God.

Apl. 13, 200 Passengers, packed very closely : Apl. 14, distributed tracts among passengers : Apl. 15, Saw 2 Sick Men in Hospital : Apl. 16, Cabin Mate, Mr. Annand, very attentive and helpful, gives me his arm on deck : Apl. 21, Evening Service in 3rd Cabin : a fierce looking man in a black beard leading the singing very suitably : Captain Atwood attends Surrey Chapel where Newman Hall is Minister, and went to School at Hackney : Apl. 23, I have spoken about a Sunday School : Apl. 24, Held Service in 2nd Cabin, but suffered with throat afterwards. Apl. 25, Thursday No. 2 : Yesterday was Thursday Apl. 25th and so is to-day : Apl. 28, Sunday. Preached Morning and Evening : Apl. 29, Saw an Iceberg : Apl. 30. Go to Sailors' quarters on Sunday afternoons. May 2nd, a child 1 yr. old died. May 3rd, Funeral this afternoon—Blowing a gale—I read the Service in 2nd Cabin I delivered a lecture on China : we are rounding Cape Horn : Gave my lecture on Bible Arithmetic. . . .

Other entries refer to services, lectures, sick visits, burials at sea, and “I have given *my* arm to Mrs. Atwood, instead of needing the arm of a gentleman to support me.”

In England he was able to take frequent preaching appointments, occupying the pulpit of the Rev. Mr. Beazley, of Blackheath, formerly of Green Ponds, Tasmania. “He preached several times at the Churches of the Rev. Thos. Binney, Weighhouse, the Rev. Mr. Stoughton, Kensington, and others.” His sermon entitled “A Colony” was preached for the Colonial Missionary Society in Tewkesbury, 11.8.1861, Henley-on-Thames, 26.1.1862, Bethnal Green Road, 12.2.1862, Brixton, 27.2.1862, and Hendon, 17.3.1862.

In the diary, 4th Nov., 1861, we read :

¹I am indebted to Mr. E. G. Cox, his grandson, for a copy of his grandfather's diary and many other original sources of information, and to Mr. Herbert Simmons, formerly Secretary of the Memorial Church, for valuable assistance.

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"This morning I called on Mr. & Mrs. Herne. Mrs. Herne is sister to Mrs. Poore, and daughter of the late Rev. S. Hillyard of Bedford. She shewed me a curious relic of ancient times, a very old earthenware mug or cup¹, in which broth used to be taken to John Bunyan, when he was in prison at Bedford—at which time he wrote *Pilgrim's Progress*."

His joy at returning to Hackney is deep and tender. He addresses the girls at his sisters' school, and several personal interviews take place. He corresponds with members of his Church and his letters to his daughter are most beautiful. Frederick Miller was a persistent correspondent, and many of his epistles were evangelical. He writes to his daughter Marion from Hackney, July 19th, 1861 :

"I am now in the Village (as it was once called) in which I was born. . . . The houses are so well built and so regular, and the gardens are in excellent order. . . . Hobart Town, in time, may become as distinguished for its order and beauty as Hackney is now. . . . We live to learn, to grow, to improve. . . . Christ can remove the evil and supply the good. . . . Look to Him, and He will help you to be a comfort to Mamma as you have been to me."

From Hackney on 12th Sept., 1861, he writes :

"Ada (aged 9) is very fond of dolls . . . and she will even have one at family worship, and puts it in a kneeling position by her at the time of prayer. . . . God bless you, my dear child, and make you a blessing."

After attending the Autumnal Meetings of the Congregational Union at Birmingham, he left in the *Moravian* for Melbourne. Tropical and then rough weather brought on a relapse, and he arrived at Launceston on July 14th, 1862, seriously ill. Mrs. Miller and other members of his family greeted him, the hospitable residence of the Rev. C. Price welcomed him, and a carriage brought him by easy stages home to 70, Murray Street, ten days after his arrival, where he lingered until his death from disease of the heart, receiving the assiduous attention of Dr. Officer and Dr. Bedford.

Miller was conscious until a few days before his death : on the Sunday he had his family collected around him and fervently commended them to God. He died on Monday, Oct. 13th, 1862, about three o'clock in the afternoon. He left a widow (cared for by the church until her death 20 years later) and 7 children, 3 other children having already passed away. It was the present writer's experience quite early in his Hobart

¹ Now in the Bunyan Museum.

ministry to meet Miss Anna Henrietta Miller, the last surviving member of the family, and to know Miss Elizabeth E. S. Dawes, his granddaughter, who never forgot the prayer offered in his study, when she was seven, and the texts he then taught them—"Suffer little children" and "Remember now thy Creator."

His last pastoral letter to the Church is quite moving :

"... active labour is to be exchanged for suffering. Will you pray for me that God may be glorified in this altered service? I feel very thankful for all the kindness and sympathy which you and other friends have manifested, and for the many tokens of goodwill which I have experienced during my long residence in this Colony. . . . What could I do without the assurance that Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners? . . . I sometimes wish that I had dwelt in my ministry among you more fully on the bright hopes of the Gospel, and the abundant encouragement which the word of God supplies to men in all their great struggles and necessities."

The *Evangelical Magazine* (Feb., 1863), reported the death of the first Congregational minister in Australasia, and stated that the Rev. J. Nisbet officiated on the following Sabbath morning (Oct. 19th) preaching from *Heb.* 13^r, but the memorial service was held in the large (Melville Street) Wesleyan Chapel, which was crowded by more than 2,000 persons, others being excluded from want of room. The Rev. George Clarke preached from *Heb.* 4th, and paid a worthy tribute. The article concludes :

"Take him altogether—his piety, earnestness, devotion, conscientiousness, catholicity—it will be long ere we shall see his like again."

The *Tasmanian Messenger* (Oct., 1862) gave a long and commendatory obituary notice.

Miller left nearly 1,000 volumes for the training of the ministry in Hobart Town, and 443 Church members were received during his pastorate. His body lies in the vault in the old disused graveyard at the top of Davey Street, overlooking one of the grandest and loveliest harbours in the world, but his spirit belongs to the Immortals.

In his church work he had on Monday a young people's prayer meeting, which filled the upper school-room, a week-night service on Wednesday, a prayer meeting on Saturday, and regular week-night Services at Berea and Battery Point Sunday Schools: innumerable other Societies claimed his attention and generous interest. He took a leading part in establishing the Congregational Sunday School Union, the

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Tract Society, the Evangelical Union and the City Mission, the Bethel Union, the first Temperance Society (with Backhouse and Washington Walker, lecturing and preaching on total abstinence). He was Secretary for the London Missionary Society, Secretary of The British and Foreign Bible Society for 25 years, and one of the chief originators of the Colonial Missionary Society, as well as the ministerial Pilgrim Father of Congregationalism in Australia and New Zealand, his chief title to honour. His adventurous courage took him "to the distant land of penal servitude, the Sodom of the Southern hemisphere," but "the man was heroic, and consulted neither ease nor interest." He was a good organizer, with a striking capacity for detail (while in England he wrote to every member of his congregation), a great worker, with an unusual catholicity of spirit, an earnest evangelical expositor of Scripture, a Tract distributor, and a soul winner, a most excellent pastor and exemplary letter writer. His gracious spirit and generous nature actively promoted philanthropic works, and "among thousands of the poor, scattered through the remoter districts of the Colony, his name was held in universal honour."

An oil painting of Frederick Miller in the pulpit gown of his day adorns the Memorial Hall, Hobart. He was short, and full framed; he wore glasses from early manhood, was bald, and spoke in a high-pitched voice; he suffered often from excessive nervousness and never enjoyed robust health. He had his share of the world's sorrow, but one daughter said she had never heard him speak harshly to his children.

The contrast between 1830 and 1930 is amazing in nearly every department of life, but the fern valleys of Tasmania and the Gothic Memorial Cathedral of Frederick Miller in Hobart will ring with the praise of the pathfinder this centenary year.

He was succeeded by the Rev. W. C. Robinson, of Hackney College, who left Ampthill and Maulden in Bedfordshire and became minister of the Brisbane Street Chapel on Jan. 18th, 1863. Soon after his settlement it was estimated that repairs would cost over £1,000 and at length it was decided to erect a new building, the "Memorial Congregational Church," a memorial of the fact that the Rev. Frederick Miller was the first Independent or Congregational minister, and that the Church which he formed was the first Church of the Independent Order in the Australian Colonies. The subject was laid before Mr. Henry Hopkins, the honoured father of Congre-

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gationalism in these Colonies, and he promised £500 on consideration that five persons in the congregation would each give £100. This was done, and £3,000 was collected. The adjoining property from the chapel boundary to Elizabeth Street was purchased for £1,140, and the tender for the new buildings was £6,835.

The *Tasmanian Independent* (July, 1870) announced that at a Meeting in the Brisbane Street Congregational Church on July 6th, the Rev. W. C. Robinson stressed the importance of the arrangements for laying the memorial stone, for

“ it was impossible for the like to occur again in any of the Australian Colonies. There could be only one first Congregational Minister, and that was their late pastor ; only one first Church or Christian Society formed, and that was the one to which they belonged ; only one first place of worship as a memorial of this event, and that was the one they were engaged in building.”

The foundation stone was laid on Aug. 16th, 1870, by Mr. Hopkins, on his 83rd birthday, and all the Protestant Churches were represented.

“ He had brought out from London to Australia the first Independent Minister and the laying of this memorial stone may be regarded as probably his last act of public and formal service to the Church.”

After the Opening Ceremony the Rev. W. C. Robinson read a copy of the document placed in the cist (with newspapers, journals, coins, photographs of the present chapel and proposed Memorial Church, and visiting cards). The document reviewed the history of the Church and stated its doctrine and polity. An elegant silver trowel and a mallet of myrtle wood, with an ivory handle, in a box of Tasmanian light-wood, was presented to Mr. H. Hopkins, who, having performed his part of the work in a very energetic style, said :

“ I declare this foundation stone laid in the name of the Father, Son and Holy Ghost ; and may the blessing of God attend the labours of all concerned in it. Forty years ago I had the privilege of introducing the first Independent Minister into this Colony ; and thirty years since I was the means of the introduction of the first Independent Minister into Victoria. Two years ago I laid the foundation stone of a new Church in Victoria near the same spot where I had laid the foundation stone of the first Church thirty years ago (Collins Street Independent Church, Melbourne) ; and now, in God's providence, I am called upon to lay the foundation stone of this Memorial Church, which stone bears the name

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of the Rev. Frederick Miller. He was a man of piety and energy, and he felt a great love for the people and for every cause which had for its object the glory of God and the good of his fellow men. I rejoice in having the opportunity of laying this stone ; and may the blessing of God attend the labours of all those who shall be engaged in this building."

After the offertory (£153. 3s. 0d.) the Rev. George Clarke, minister of Davey Street Church, Hobart, gave an address. The Rev. W. C. Robinson (Secretary of the Tasmanian Union at that time) presided at the Evening Meeting. Dr. Nicolson (Free Church of Scotland) spoke of "the complaint of bad times . . . and the increase of six or seven Churches" since he came to Hobart Town. The Hon. W. R. Giblin, Attorney-General, claimed an acquaintance with the late Rev. F. Miller some thirty years back. The Rev. G. Clarke said that upon the 16th of Aug., the birthday of Mr. Hopkins, the Davey Street Church was opened. The first service of the new church was held on Nov. 7th, 1872.

Mr. Hopkins, the co-founder with Frederick Miller of Congregationalism in Tasmania, helped to establish Davey Street, Hobart (the Rev. George Clarke, Chancellor of the University of Tasmania, being his son-in-law). A Bursary at Camden College, Sydney, for a Tasmanian student, bears his name, and a Memorial Church Member now enjoys it, while the Hopkins Scholarship at Caterham was founded in 1871. Mr. Hopkins lived in a large house in Elizabeth Street next to the Church, with a private entrance into the passage at the rear of the old building, behind the site of the first chapel. Through his application to the Colonial Missionary Society the Rev. W. Waterfield was appointed to Melbourne, arriving there on May 22nd, 1838. The foundation stone of a church was laid in Collins Street, and the building was completed in 1840. Mr. Waterfield removed to Tasmania in March, 1843, and on July 12th the Rev. Alexander Morrison became the second minister : the Revs. J. West and A. Morrison arrived in Tasmania in 1838, "appointed by the Colonial Missionary Society to labour in connexion with the Van Diemen's Land Home Missionary Society."

I have been informed that Mr. Hopkins, who laid the foundation stone of the new Collins Street Church in Nov., 1866, gave £500 towards the building. He also promoted the Victorian Ministers' Provident Fund in 1863. At the Jubilee in 1880 testimony was borne to the substantial assistance hitherto rendered by the colonists of Tasmania, and especially

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by the late Mr. Henry Hopkins, for the prosecution of foreign missionary work.

The Collins Street Chapel, Hobart Town (Davey Street Congregational Church), opened in Jan., 1837 (the Revs. Messrs. Nisbet and Miller preaching on that occasion), was erected at his sole expense by Mr. Hopkins, "who promptly established a Sabbath School, acting as Superintendent, and was, it is believed, the senior Sabbath School teacher in the Colony." The Rev. George Clarke (a former member of Frederick Miller's Bible Class) returned from his studies at Highbury and New College, and ultimately received a call to the pastorate, declining a call to the Church in Sydney (Pitt Street) formerly under the care of the Rev. Dr. Ross: afterwards Mr. Clarke "exercised his ministry in a more commodious Chapel in Davey Street."

The Jubilee Commemoration of Congregationalism was held at Hobart Town in 1880 (the New South Wales Jubilee was in 1883) and a review of the history of Independency in each one of the States was presented. Addresses were given by the Revs. George Clarke, W. Law, C. Manthorpe, J. J. Halley (the son of the late Dr. Halley), and Charles Price (oldest resident Congregational minister), who said:

"I very well remember the enquiry which was made about the place among the students (Highbury College) and the surprise expressed at one (F. Miller) going to such an almost unknown region, little expecting at the time so soon to follow."

The Rev. W. C. Robinson read the report of the Southern Committee and Mr. H. Button the Northern Committee's report of the establishment of Congregationalism in the Island.

We learn that the Rev. A. Morrison was received into the Church in Brisbane Street, and encouraged to enter the ministry. He returned to his native country, studied in Dublin, and returned to Tasmania through the Colonial Missionary Society, then recently established.

The Jubilee Year Book contains also a valuable paper on "Independency in New South Wales" and a list of Tasmanian ministers from 1830 to 1878. It is interesting to note that the Rev. J. W. Simmons of Hobart Town (who left Olney for foreign missionary work but settled at Union Chapel) commenced his ministry in 1861, and the Rev. W. C. Robinson of Amptill and Maulden, a near neighbour in Bedfordshire, began in 1863, having previously been a student at Hackney College, and then minister at Maulden from 1845 to 1857, when he left for Australia.

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At the Jubilee it was said "Frederick Miller was the first in time to launch his frailest of oracles and to sail into the void" and his memory was greatly honoured. The Rev. W. C. Robinson, who laboured incessantly for the building of the Memorial Church and the payment of the debt, terminated his ministry in Dec., 1882, and went to Sydney. On June 1st, 1885, a meeting was held to commemorate the extinction of all debt in connexion with the building of the new church. The Church enjoys the stateliness of Gothic architecture, and the foundation stone of the Memorial Hall (which might well be called Hopkins Hall), a handsome modern building on the site of the first Chapel, was laid by the Rev. George Clarke on Sept. 2nd, 1911, when he declared himself to be a boy 76 years ago, in the Bible Class of the Rev. Frederick Miller, "the most zealous and indefatigable Minister I have ever known."

The successive ministers of the church have been Frederick Miller, W. C. Robinson, George Sharp (1884-1914), Harold S. Perkins (1915-20, a Colonel Chaplain on active service during the War and now a missionary in Samoa), C. Bernard Cockett, M.A. (1920-25, who dedicated the Memorial Corner, containing Frederick Miller's pulpit and the first harmonium, in a renovated church) and the present minister, the Rev. A. C. Nelson who has taken a great interest in the Centenary. Mr. James Marsh for 30 years has been Memorial's distinguished organist.

The property, now quite free of debt, on the corner of Elizabeth and Brisbane Streets, near the centre of the Capital, consists of Church, Hall, Caretaker's brick house of two stories, and the old two storied Sunday School Building at the rear of the Hall.

The first arrangements for the Centenary were made in the Church on Feb. 20th, 1925, at the Assembly of the Congregational Union of Australia and New Zealand, when the Rev. C. Bernard Cockett gave a brief account of the commencement of Congregationalism in Australia and moved a resolution, seconded by Mr. H. M. Woolley (Hobart), supported by the Rev. Principal Thatcher of Sydney :

"That the Centenary of the effective establishment of Congregationalism in Australia be commemorated at the Memorial Church, Hobart, in 1930, and at a later date in that year a recognition celebration of the early efforts to establish Independence in Australia at Sydney be held at Pitt Street Congregational Church, Sydney."

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The Rev. J. Ernest James, B.D., of the Collins Street Independent Church, Melbourne, presided, and during the Assembly Mr. Cockett presented to the President, the Rev. George Rayner, a gavel made out of the wood of Frederick Miller's pulpit, the handle being of Tasmanian fiddleback blackwood.

In 1930 in the Memorial Hall, London, at the Annual Assembly of the Congregational Union of England and Wales, the Rev. Dr. F. W. Norwood of the City Temple, the first Australian to occupy the Chair of the Home Union, received a similar gavel from Mr. Cockett, and the resolution of congratulations to the Memorial Church was proposed by Mr. Cockett and seconded by the Rev. J. Ernest James (Kensington Chapel), London. The Colonial Missionary Society sent a message under similar circumstances, and the London Missionary Society has also sent a centenary greeting.

The celebrations at Hobart from Oct. 16-21 will be followed by the Tasmanian Union Meetings, and Oct. 19th will be kept as Centenary Sunday throughout Australia and New Zealand.

Long before the arrival of Frederick Miller, Congregational ministers, chiefly missionaries from the South Sea Islands, were preaching in Sydney. The first group from Tahiti arrived in Sydney (Port Jackson) in 1798, probably in August, part of the first detachment of missionaries sent out by the London Missionary Society; they had returned from Tahiti (eleven men and four women) on account of the extreme danger, and found two clergymen in Sydney, the Rev. Richard Johnson and the Rev. Samuel Marsden (at Parramatta).

In 1824 the Rev. L. E. Threlkeld came to Sydney from the Islands, and was appointed missionary to the Aborigines, and settled at Lake Macquarie. In Jan., 1828, he wrote to the Directors of the London Missionary Society urging them to send a minister to New South Wales.

In 1828 we discern signs of the commencement of Pitt Street Church, for there was a Committee of Management consisting of the Rev. Robert Bourne (retired missionary), Messrs. Bowen, James Hayward, Ambrose Foss, Appleton, and Edward Hunt. Mr. Bowen soon retired as Secretary, and Mr. George Allen took his place. In 1829 services were held in the house of Mr. James Hayward in Castlereagh Street, and the *Gazette* of Oct. 22nd, 1829, states that the Independents have purchased ground in Pitt Street for the erection of a chapel, and that one committee member has offered to advance £500.

On Feb. 4th, 1830, it was resolved to send home for a minister,

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and on April 12th the foundation stone was laid by Mr. Hayward. At the Jubilee it was stated:

“ Now in Tasmania the first minister was sent home for in 1828, and as you duly celebrate, he arrived in 1830, and your first church building commenced. Whereas in this year Sydney had a congregation which had been meeting for some months but no Church formed, no minister, and a building nearly completed.”

In Macelhose's *Pictures of Sydney*, Mr. Frank Walker, F.R.A.H.S., has discovered an illustration of the Independent Chapel, with “ A.D. 1830 ” above the porch. In Aug., 1830, the subscription list amounted to £550; in Dec., 1830, the Independent Chapel was completed save for the floor and the pews; in Feb., 1831, there is a progress report, and then—silence.

The Rev. Charles Price, of Highbury College, had arrived at Hobart Town in Aug., 1832, and began his work at Launceston. As the Sydney application to the Rev. Drs. Henderson and Campbell had not secured a minister, attention was directed to Mr. Price, and in response to the Pitt Street call he journeyed to Sydney. We learn from the *Gazette* that on Friday, Feb. 15th, 1833, the church was opened, the Rev. Charles Price preaching in the morning and the Rev. Joseph Orton (a recently arrived Wesleyan minister) in the evening.

In 1833 the Rev. William Jarrett arrived and by a letter of the Rev. R. Bourne's written to the Rev. L. E. Threlkeld, May 7th (or 10th), 1833, we learn that

“ the week before, the Church was formed—the Rev. W. Jarrett presiding—and the names of the Members enrolled were Mr. Hayward, Mr. and Mrs. Bourne, Mr. Foss, Mrs. and Miss Stafford, Mr. and Mrs. Crook, Miss Evans and Messrs. Dunter, Hunchinson and Wagg.”

The Rev. Joseph King gives the date of the Sydney Fellowship as May 2nd.

The Rev. Charles Price, after Mr. Jarrett's unexpected arrival in Sydney from England in response to a previous application, retired to Port Stephens and the settlement of the Australian Agricultural Company, and in April, 1836, returned to Launceston. The Rev. W. Jarrett preached his farewell sermon in 1838, in 1841 settled at Newtown, Hobart, and in 1843 declined an opportunity to become minister at Melbourne.

In 1834 Frederick Miller visited Sydney and with Mr. Jarrett applied to the Home Union for ministerial help. These appeals in the *Congregational Magazine* helped to establish the Colonial Missionary Society in 1836, and the Rev. Dr. Robert

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Ross was sent to the vacant church at Pitt Street and laid the foundation stone of a new church on Jan. 26th, 1841. Frederick Miller in Jan., 1846, had the privilege of taking part in the opening services of the "new and commodious House of Prayer." Pitt Street, the Mother Church of New South Wales, seats 1,700 people, has been served by splendid ministers and leading laymen, and the present minister is the Rev. T. E. Ruth. During Mr. Ruth's ministry at Pitt Street a large modern Church-house has been erected next to the sanctuary.

The New South Wales Union has approached the Rev. W. L. Patison as Commissioner to collect funds to commemorate their Centenary in 1933 with a Forward Movement.

The story of the first hundred years of Congregationalism in Australia is the record of great adventures by Pilgrim Fathers beneath the Southern Cross. Australia has many a romance to tell of her explorers and pathfinders, and this vast British Dominion is only at the commencement of her history. "Realms Romans never knew thy posterity shall sway" is written on Boadicea's monument beneath Big Ben, and Cromwell stands on the green at Westminster; in the stories of Australia Henry Hopkins and Frederick Miller, the first Independents, will ever be honoured as spiritual pioneers.

The present writer was christened in Pitt Street by Dr. Jefferis: his mother sang in the choir and his parents were married in the church. He spent his boyhood in Sydney overlooking Botany Bay and Cook's monument at Kurnell, and was sponsored into the ministry by the Rev. N. J. Cocks, M.A., of Pitt Street Church. As a Pitt Street "boy" and minister of "Memorial" from 1920 to 1925, it has given him great pleasure to gather up the treasures of truth in Hobart, Sydney, and London, and place them in history's sacred urn in remembrance of our first fathers in God.

C. BERNARD COCKETT.

An Early Nonconformist Father of Freedom : John Jackson of Brentford.

THE old County town of Brentford abounds in antiquities, and it is not surprising that the oldest Nonconformist Church in the town should possess a continuous record and history since 1693, when there was a Church in being, of which Rev. John Walker was the minister, with a membership of 58 drawn from the parishes of Ealing and Old Brentford, Hanwell or New Brentford, Chiswick, Isleworth, and Heston or Hounsloe. The membership of the Church continued to be recruited from these places and from Richmond, Acton, Twickenham, East Sheen and Mortlaick.

The existence of so flourishing a Nonconformist Church at this time presupposes an earlier creative period¹ and some outstanding leader and founder. This we have been able to locate in the person of Rev. John Jackson, and some account of this another early Father of Nonconformity will not be uninteresting to readers of the *Transactions*.

John Jackson, M.A., Fellow of Queen's College, Cambridge was the son of Arthur Jackson, who was ejected from St. Faith's, London. According to Palmer, he was noted as an orator, a philosopher, and a moderator in the schools. He lost his fellowship at Queen's in 1650. Possibly it was he who, as Chaplain to the Earl of Clare, wrote in terms of youthful admiration to Richard Baxter² in 1652. From 1656 he held the sequestered rectory of St. Benet's, Paul's Wharf, London, from which he was dispossessed in 1661. Later, he held the vicarage of East and West Molesey on the Surrey side of the Thames, just opposite Hampton Court, whence he was ejected in 1662. In the negotiations which preceded the religious settlement of the Restoration his name appears appended to an address of thanks tendered to the King by the City ministers, dated November 16th, 1660, for His Majesty's Declaration concerning ecclesiastical affairs issued in October of that year. After his final ejection, he preached in London during the years 1663-64, and lived by correcting for the press. He is

¹Foxe, *Book of Martyrs III*, 734, 738 (ed. 1684) describes the burning of six Protestants at Brentford on 14 July, 1558. They were part of a company of forty taken at Islington.

²Baxter Letters II. 264.

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mentioned as one of the Nonconformist ministers who remained in London during the Great Plague in 1665 and repaired to the pulpits deserted by the regular clergy. He seems to have been at Edmonton when his father died in 1666.

Some time after this date he came to Brentford, probably to be near one so like-minded in matters political as well as ecclesiastical as his father's old friend, Thomas Case of Chiswick. In 1668 he published an *Index Biblicus* or *An exact Concordance to the Holy Bible*, which was printed by John Field, Printer to the University of Cambridge, a copy of which may be seen in the British Museum. At the time of the second Declaration of Indulgence in 1672 we find him at Brentford applying for a licence to preach. The licence is given in Domestic State Papers of Charles II's reign and is as follows :—

Jackson	Licence to John Jackson of Brentford Midd. to be
Pr.	a Pr. Teacher in Grall (<i>i.e.</i> , General).
Brentford	30 Apr. 72.

On the 10th August of the same year a licence was granted for the house of John Jackson in Old Brandford to be used for meetings for public worship and devotion. When the Indulgence was revoked by the King in March of the following year, meetings continued to be held. According to the Wilson MS. "E." at Dr. Williams' Library a Mr. Jackson was pastor at Brentford in 1681, when Joseph Hussey¹, a Congregationalist, preached for him on December 25th. He was at Tottenham High Cross in 1682, when he published his father's *Annotations on Isaiah*, with a Preface giving an Account of his Life and Death. In 1686 he was again at Tottenham High Cross when he made his will. It is uncertain when he finally left Brentford. He is recognized as the preacher at Old Brandford at the Middlesex Sessions held at Westminster in June 1689 in a "Register of the dissenters and the places of their meetings." From a MS. in the archives of the Presbyterian Board which is a Review of Dissenting Ministers and Places throughout England and Wales, compiled in 1690-91, we learn on page 49 under Middlesex, "Places that had or where there may be opportunities of religious assemblies—Att Brainford—were Mr. Jackson and Mr. Dogeridge." Mr. Dogeridge lived at Twickenham and preached at Brentford till his death in 1689. Mr. Jackson was no longer minister at Brentford in October 1690 for, in the Middlesex Sessions Book No 478 under that date, a memorandum states that "John

¹Cf. also Hussey's MS. Diary.

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Walker keeps a meeting house of dissenting Protestants in Old Brentford." Probably advancing years drew him into retirement to Tottenham near which place he had family connections. He died in or about the year 1693 when probate was taken of his will in London on May 5th.

From the time when he came and settled down at Brentford, some time before 1672, until the time of his retirement, we can be reasonably certain that he continued to exercise his pastoral and preaching gifts and drew a body of like-minded Christians around him. From what sources remain to us for information for this period we find him recognised as the minister of the Protestant Dissenters in that place, and we may rightly regard him as the first minister and founder of what is now the Brentford Congregational Church.

From what we know of his life and writings we can well agree with the account of his character as given by Calamy and Palmer. He was a diligent and profitable preacher, well skilled in the scriptures. "Of that his Concordance is a specimen. Which for the contrivance of much in little; and that so as to help in expounding many places of Scripture, is the best of the kind." He had a hand in the continuation of Poole's *Annotations upon the Holy Bible*, Volume II, (1688). He corrected both volumes of the first impression, which is by far the best.

Reference to the sermon which is probably the only one which remains in print confirms the description of him as "a pious Liver and a sincere and useful Friend". It is contained in a volume consisting of 28 sermons, *The Morning Exercise at Cripplegate, or, Several Cases of Conscience practically resolved by sundry Ministers*. The collection has a preface by Saml. Annesley, dated Nov. 14, 1661, and doubtless the sermon was preached at Cripplegate some short time before that date. It appears as Sermon 26 in the 4th edition printed in 1677 and the Title is as follows :—

"How shall those Merchants keep up the life of Religion, who, while at home, enjoyed all Gospel-Ordinances; and, when abroad, are not only destitute of them, but exposed to persecution?"

The Text is taken from *Ps.* 120⁵ : "Wo is me, that I sojourn in Mesech, that I dwell in the tents of Kedar." Together with his other writings this sermon reveals him as a Hebrew and Greek scholar and with a Biblical knowledge which he was able to use skilfully and effectively for the purposes of preaching. Not only was he a scholar of a high order, but he was also the

possessor of a beautiful style of diction as the following extract from his sermon will shew.

“ By Religion we do not understand any outward way or form, any pomp or gaities in worshipping God ; but such a due sense of our dependance upon a good and gracious, Almighty, Holy God, for our being and well-being, both in Time and to Eternity, as doth powerfully engage the soul heartily to love God and sincerely to serve him, in obeying his good and holy commands made known to us——”

The foregoing is also a very fine definition of religion, and a conception of true religion which manifestly made it impossible for him conscientiously to accept the Act of Uniformity. Or again, consider the literary beauty and personal piety that is compounded in this another extract from his sermon.

“ All the world cannot hinder you or me from having good thoughts of God, from sanctifying the Lord God in our hearts, from trusting in, hoping in, rejoicing in the goodness and mercy of God through Jesus Christ ; from making melody in our hearts and such music as shall be heard beyond the spears, though he that stands at our elbow knows not a word we speak ; so that true Religion both in the principle and prime exercise of it, may be infallibly secured, insomuch that he who can rend the heart out of the Body, cannot tear Religion out of the Soul.”

Strangely significant is this passage concerning the indestructibility of true religion even though overwhelmed by the persecution and imprisonment which were the lot of very many of the Nonconformists in the years after the Restoration.

As a preacher he also had much resource in illustration as the following very apt examples testify.

“ Take heed (as for your life) of indulging any secret sin ; for that will keep down the life of Religion in the midst of all Ordinances, and therefore much more in the want of them ; a secret disease in the body which depends upon the stock of radical moisture, will keep a man from being lively and vigorous, though he have plenty of very good nourishing food, much more will it endanger one in a famine ; even so a secret sin lodged within and indulged, will weaken and enervate the principle of Religion in the soul amidst the fullest provision of Gospel-Ordinances, much more when there is a famine or scarcity of the bread of life. A Tradesman that hath some secret vent where his estate runs waste, may prove a beggar in the midst of daily incomes by a good Trade, much more if he spends upon a dead stock ; and so the man who spends the strength of his soul in some close and secret sin, may prove a spiritual beggar in the fullest Trade of Gospel-Ordinances.”

(Concluded on page 78.)

A Country Minister and the Congregational Fund Board, 1795.

To the Rev^d. & Worthy Gentlemen
To the Revd. & Worthy Gentlemen
Members & Managers of y^e
Independent Fund

GENTLEMEN,

I perceive by your Resolution bears date y^e 3rd of March 1794, That it is requisite for those persons who expect any Exhibition from the Congregational *Fund Board*, to solicit the same by an Annual Petition giv^g an acct. of their circumstances & place of abode.

My Place of Residence is at Cam, an obscure Village in y^e county of Gloster ; where I have resided between 19 & 20 years.

Last yr. I recd by subscription less than £5—our Endowments £24 a yr. & with this sum I am necessitated to keep House & a Horse—our congregation is composed mostly of ye poorer Class of People, the greater part of whom belong to y^e Cloth^s Manufacture, by y^e Introduction of Machines, employ is rendered very scarce ; and the Poor thereby reduced to a state of Indigency & distress, so that little can be expected from them, but require every exertion in our power to relieve them.

Thus I have given a fair & open representation of my circumstances, the observations that might be made upon them, shall leave to your candor and generosity.—The situation of Dissent^s. ministers in my opinion is sufficiently discourage^s (at least in y^e country) and the method adopted by y^e Resolution of y^e 3rd of March—94 to confer y^e Exhibition of the *Fund Board* is peculiarly humiliat^s—by this Method Brother Ministers in y^e country and self are reduced Annually to a state of Beggary. I think it wo^d be proper for us (In imitation of the *Gueux*, a party that prevailed in the Low-Countries ab^t ye sixteenth Century) to wear in our Hats, as the Badge of our condition, wooden Porringers and Beggars Bottles

In conformity to y^e above Resolution, I beg leave to request a continuance of your Annual Exhibition, a compliance with this request will be deem'd am additional obligation upon Gentl^{en}, your much oblig'd and hble Petitioner,

J. Thomas

Endorsed

Cam 26 Jan'y 1795.

Gloustr

Mr (?) Thomas of
Cam
1795.

Addressed to

Burton Wilbie Esq
Walthamstow
Essex.

A Country Minister and Congregational Board 101

From the Minutes of the Congregational Fund Board we take the resolution to which reference is made :

“ Res^d. that all Ministers in the Country expecting any exhibition from this Board shall request the said exhibition by Petition early, giving an account of their place of abode and circumstances ; and that all Churches shall convey a state of their respective Churches with the names of the Ministers who preach amongst them, and that such Petitions shall be sent to the Treasurer of this Board before the first Monday in May next and in future before the first Monday in February yearly.”

Mr. Thomas, we are glad to record, duly received a grant of six pounds.

ALBERT PEEL.

A Bibliography of the Rev. T. G. Crippen.

Ancient Hymns and Poems. Chiefly from the Latin. Translated and limited by Lond., 1868.

A Popular Introduction to the History of Christian Doctrine. Edinburgh, 1883.

The Royal Banquet ; a Popular Exposition of the Lord's Supper. Lond., 1890.

Joseph in Egypt : a Sacred Drama, chiefly from Holy Scripture. Lond., 1893.

“ *Plough and Sickle.*” A Cantata. Music by Root. 189-

Christian Baptism, as usually practised in Congregational Churches. With introductory note by George S. Barrett, D.D. Lond., 1895.

The Life of Hugh Peters, Preacher, Patriot, Philanthropist. Lond., 1912.

The True Story of Mary Wallis of Ewell. Lond., 1915.

Christmas Lore. Lond., 1923.

In addition there are many contributions to encyclopædias, etc., including “ Nonconformity in London ” in the *Victoria County History*, “ Modern Hymns ” in the *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, and the articles in the *Transactions*, the number of which is legion.

M. E. CRIPPEN.

The Works of Richard Baxter.

IN 1868 Dr. Grosart republished Baxter's *What we must do to be saved*, and appended to it an "Annotated List of Baxter's Writings." Only 150 copies of this volume were printed. The bibliography contains fuller details than those here given, but it also contains a number of errors, nor does it give the passages, chiefly from the *Reliquiae*, in which Baxter describes his works.

I have sought throughout to give particulars of the first edition of every work. The pagination is that given by the printer and no notice is taken of the often large number of unnumbered pages. Where no other library is mentioned copies are to be found at the British Museum. This, of course, does not mean that there may not be a copy or copies elsewhere, only that there is one at the Museum, or if not there at the other library specified. Preference has been given to libraries in London. L. = London; D.W.L. = Dr. Williams's Library; C.L. = Congregational Library, Memorial Hall.

I hope to re-publish this bibliography separately. I shall therefore be grateful to any readers who will send me corrections or additions. I am already under obligation to Mr. Stephen Jones, Dr. Williams's Librarian, for valuable information and criticism.

A. G. MATTHEWS.

1. *Aphorismes of Justification*. L. 1649. 12mo. 336 + 188. Dedicated, 7th Apr., 1649, to Richard Vines, Master of Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, and Anthony Burges, pastor of Sutton Coldfield. Preface, 17 Nov., 1648. Another edition, 8vo. Hague. 1655. Replies by J. Crandon, J. Eedes, J. Owen, W. Robertson, an anon. *Vindiciæ justificationis gratuitæ*, Ant. Burgess and others (see below, No. 31).

Reliq., I. 107. The first Book that ever I published is a small one. . . . I had first begun my Book, called *The Saints Rest*; and coming in it to answer the Question, How in *Matth.* 25 the reward is adjudged to men on the account of their good works? The chief Propositions of that Book did suddenly offer themselves to me, in order to that Resolution: But I was Prepared with much disputing against Antinomianism in the Army. At Sir Thomas Rous's House, in my weakness, I wrote most of that Book, and finished it when I came to Kidderminster. I directed it to Mr. Vines and Mr. Burgess, out of my

high esteem of them, though my personal acquaintance with them was but small. Mr. Vines wrote to me applaudingly of it. Mr. Burgess thought his Name engaged him to write against it. Two Faults I now find in the Book: 1. It is defective, and hath some Propositions that need Correction, being not cautiously enough expressed. 2. I meddled too forwardly with Dr. Owen, and one or two more that had written some Passages too near to Antinomianism. . . . This Book was over-much valued by some, and over-much blamed by others. . . . It cost me more than any others that I have written, not only by men's offence, but especially by putting me upon long and tedious Writings. . . . The first that I craved Animadversions from was Mr. Burgess, and with much ado extorted only two or three Letters against Justification by Works (as he called it): which with my answers were afterwards published; when he had proceeded to print against me what he would not give me in writing.

The next (and full) Animadversions which I received, were from Mr. John Warren, an honest, acute, ingenious man; to whom I answered in freer Expression than to others, because he was my Junior and familiar Friend; (being a School-Boy at Bridgnorth when I was Preacher there, and his Father being my Neighbour).

Next his I had Animadversions from Dr. John Wallis, very judicious and moderate, to which I began to write a Reply, but broke it off in the middle because he little differed from me.

The next I had was from Mr. Christopher Cartwright of York. . . . he was a man of good reading as to our later Divines, and was very well versed in the Common Road (very like Mr. Burgess). . . . I wrote him a full Reply; and he wrote me a Rejoynder; to which my time not allowing me to write a full Confutation, I took up all the Points of Difference between him and me, and handled them briefly. . . .

The next Animadvertiser was Mr. George Lawson, the ablest Man of them all, or of almost any I know in England; especially by the Advantage of his Age and very hard Studies, and methodical Head, but above all, by his great skill in Politicks, wherein he is most exact, and which contributeth not a little to the understanding of Divinity."

2. *The Saints Everlasting Rest*. L. 1650. 4to. 856.

Four parts: 1. Preface (15 Jan., 1649/50) to inhabitants of Kidderminster. Dedic. to Sir Thomas and Lady Jane Rous. 2. To inhabitants of Bridgnorth. To the reader, 18 Jan., 1649/50. 3. To the inhabitants of Coventry. 4. To the inhabitants of Shrewsbury.

Other editions 1651, 1652, 1653, 1654, 1656, 1658, 1659, 1662 (D.W.L.), 1669, 1677, 1688. Grosart mentions another, 11th ed., of 1671.

Reliq., I. 108. "The Second Book which I wrote (and the first which I began) was that called *The Saints everlasting Rest*: Whilst I was in Health I had not the least thought of writing Books; or of serving God in any more publick way than Preaching: But when I was weakened with great bleeding, and left solitary in my Chamber at Sir John Cook's in Derbyshire, without any Acquaintance, but my Servant, about me, and was sentenced to Death by the Physicians

I began to contemplate more seriously on the Everlasting Rest which I apprehended my self to be just on the Borders of. And that my Thoughts might not too much scatter in my Meditation, I began to write something on that Subject, intending but the Quantity of a Sermon or two (which is the cause that the Beginning is in brevity and Style disproportionable to the rest); but being continued long in Weakness, where I had no Books nor no better Employment, I followed it on till it was enlarged to the bulk in which it is published: The first Three Weeks I spent in it was at Mr. Nowel's House at Kirkby-Mallory in Leicestershire; a quarter of a Year more, at the Seasons which so great Weakness would allow, I bestowed on it at Sir Tho Rous's House at Rous-Lench in Worcestershire; and I finished it shortly after at Kidderminster: The first and last Parts were first done, being all that I intended for my own use; and the second and third Parts came afterwards in besides my first Intention.

This Book it pleased God so far to bless to the Profit of many, that it encouraged me to be guilty of all those Scripts which after followed. The Marginal Citations I put in after I came home to my Books; but almost all the Book it self was written when I had no Book but a Bible and a Concordance: and I found that the Transcript of the Heart hath the greatest force on the Hearts of others: For the Good that I have heard that Multitudes have received by that Writing and the Benefit which I have again received by their Prayers, I here humbly return my Thanks to him that compelled me to write it.

Reliq., III. 177. In June, 1676, Mr. Jane the Bishop of London's Chaplain, Preaching to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, turned his Sermon against Calvin and Me; And my charge was, That I had sent as bad men to Heaven, as some that be in Hell; because in my Book, called *The Saints Rest*; I had said, that I thought of Heaven with the more pleasure, because I should there meet with Peter, Paul . . . Brook, Pim, Hambden . . . The need which I perceived of taking away, from before such Men any thing which they might stumble at, had made me blot out the Names of the Lord Brooke, Pim, and Hambden, in all the Impressions of the Book (which were many) yet were made ever since 1659 . . . But I must tell the Reader that I did it not as changing my Judgment of the persons."

Reliq., *App.*, 117. "When I first ventured upon the publication of my Thoughts, I knew nothing of the Art of Booksellers. I did as an act of meer kindness, offer my Book called *The Saints Rest* to Thomas Underhill and Francis Tyton to print, leaving the Matter of Profit without any Covenants to their Ingenuity. They gave me Ten pounds for the first Impression, and Ten pounds apiece, that is, Twenty pounds for every after Impression till 1665. I had in the mean time altered the Book by the Addition of divers Sheets: Mr. Underhill dieth; his Wife is poor: Mr. Tyton hath Losses by the Fire 1666. They never gave me nor offered me a Farthing for any Impression after, nor so much as one of the Books, but I was fain, out of my own Purse, to buy all that I gave to any Friend or Poor Person that asked it."

3. *Plain scripture proof of infants church-membership and baptism.* L. 1651. 4to. 346. Prefaces to the churches at Kidderminster and Bewdley, 12 Nov., 1650 (p. 346).

Third ed. L. 1653. 4to. 415: with additional matter in reply to Bedford and Tombes. Fourth ed. 1656.

Replies by H. Danvers, H. Haggar, W. Kaye, and J. Tombes.

Reliq., I. 109. "The Third Book which I published . . . being the Arguments used in the Dispute with Mr. Tombes, (at Bewdley) and an Answer to a Sermon of his afterward preached, &c.

"This Book God blessed with unexpected Success to stop abundance from turning Anabaptists and reclaiming many both in City and Country, (and some of the Officers of the Irish and English Forces) and it gave a considerable Check to their Proceedings.

"Concerning it I shall only tell the Reader, 1. That there are towards the latter part of it, many enigmatical Reflections upon the Anabaptists for their horrid Scandals, which the Reader that lived not in those times will hardly understand: But the cutting off the King, and rebelling against him and the Parliament, and the Invading Scotland, and the approving of these, (with the Ranters and other Sects that sprang out of them) were the Crimes there intended; which were not then to be more plainly spoken of, when their Strength and Fury was so high.

Note, that after the writing of that Book, I wrote a Postscript against that Doctrine of Dr. (Cornelius) Burges and Mr. Tho. Bedford, which I supposed to go on the other Extream; and therein I answered part of a Treatise of Dr. Sam. Ward's which Mr. Bedford published; and it proved to be Mr. Thomas Gataker whom I defended, who is Dr. Ward's Censor; But I knew not till Mr. Gataker after told me."

4. *The humble petition of many thousands . . . of the county of Worcester.* L. 1652. 4to. 8.

Reliq., I. 115. "When the part of the Parliament called the Rump or Commonwealth was sitting, the Anabaptists, Seekers &c. flew so high against Tythes and Ministry, that it was much feared lest they would have prevailed at last: Wherefore I drew up a petition for the Ministry, which is printed under the Name of the Worcestershire Petition which being presented by Col. John Bridges and Mr. Thomas Foley, was accepted with Thanks; and seemed to have a considerable tendency to some good Resolutions."

5. *The Worcester-shire petition to the Parliament for the ministry of England defended.* By a minister of Christ in that county. L. 1653. 4to. 40. Dated 28 March, 1653 (p. 40). At D.W.L. is a copy with a MS. page in Baxter's writing inserted at p. 3 and entitled "Answer to 2d question" to supply the omission mentioned below.

Reliq., I. 115. "But the Sectaries greatly raged against that Petition, and one wrote a vehement Invective against it; which I answered in a Paper called, The Defence of the Worcestershire Petition (which by an Over-sight is maimed by the want of the Answer to one of the Accusers Queries). I knew not what kind of

Person he was that I wrote against, but it proved to be a Quaker, they being just now rising, and this being the first of their Books, (as far as I can remember) that I had ever seen."

6. *The right method for a settled peace of conscience and spiritual comfort.* L. 1653. 8vo. 540. (D.W.L.) Ded. 9 May, 1653, to Col. John and Mrs. Margaret Bridges and Mr. Thomas and Mrs. Ann Foley. Second ed. L. 1653. 8vo. 538. An Apologie, "upon the publishing of the first Edition of this Book, I was informed . . . that divers were offended at what is said about Perseverance." Third ed. 1657: "I have left out in this Impression all those passages about perseverance, which were offensive, and all other that any man hath excepted against, and therefore I may well spare the Apologie before annexed."

Reliq., I. 109. "The Occasion of it was this: Mrs. Bridgis, the Wife of Col. John Bridgis, being one of my Flock, was often weeping out her Doubts to me, about her long and great Uncertainty of the true Sanctification and Salvation. I told her that a few hasty words were not Direction enough for the satisfactory resolving of so great a Case; and therefore I would write her down a few of those necessary Directions which she should read and study, and get well imprinted on her Mind. As soon as I had begun I found 1. that it would not be well done in the Brevity which I expected. 2. and that when it was done it would be as useful to many others of my Flock as to her; and therefore I bestowed more time on it, and made it larger and fit for common use. This Book pleased Dr. Hammond much, and many Rational Persons, and some of those for whom it was written: But the Women and weaker sort I found could not so well improve clear Reason, as they can a few comfortable, warm and pretty Sentences; it is Style and not Reason which doth most with them: And some of the Divines were angry with it, for a Passage or two about Perseverance; because I had said that many Men are certain of their present Sanctification, which are not certain of their Perseverance and Salvation; meaning all the Godly that are assured of their Sanctification, and yet do not hold the certainty of Perseverance. But a great Storm of Jealousie and Censure was by this and some such Words raised against me, by many good Men, who lay more on their Opinions and Party than they ought. Therefore, whereas some would have had me to retract it, and others to leave it out of the next Impression I did the latter, but instead of it I published not long after." (No. 27)

7. *Christian concord: or the agreement of the associated pastors and churches of Worcestershire.* L. 1653. 4to. 120. Finished May 20, 1653 (p. 106).

Reliq., I. 112. "When we set on foot our Association in Worcestershire, I was desired to print our Agreement, with an Explication of the several Articles. . . . I gave the reasons &c.

Reliq., I. 112. "I gave the reasons why the Episcopal, Presbyterians, and Independents might and should unite on such Terms, without any change of their Principles: But I confess that the new Episcopal Party, that follow Grotius too far, and deny the very being of all the Ministers and Churches that have not Diocesan Bishops, are not capable of Union with the rest upon such Terms: And hereby I give notice to the Gentry and others of the Royalists in England, of the great danger they were in of changing their Ecclesiastical Cause, by following new Leaders that were for Grotianism. But this Admonition did greatly offend the Guilty, who now began to get the Reins; though the old Episcopal Protestants confessed it to be all true."

8. *Richard Baxter's apology*. In reply to T. Blake, G. Kendal, L. du Moulin, Wm. Eyres and J. Crandon. L. 1654. 4to. 155 + 326 + 40 + 84. Preface (8 March, 1653/4) to Gen. Edw. Whalley. Preface apologetical, 1 Aug., 1653. Third part dedic. to Col. Sylvanus Taylor. Fourth part, preface, 26 Nov., 1653. For Baxter's description of his five opponents see *Reliq.*, I. 110, where we read:

"No one of all the Parties replied to this Book, save only Mr. Blake to some part of that which touched him."

9. *True christianity or Christ's absolute dominion*. L. 1655. 12mo. 216. Two Sermons at Worcester assizes, the first 2 Aug., 1654. Dedic. to Serjeant Glyn, 5 Aug., 1654. Reprinted with No. 11, 1656.

Reliq., I. 110. "The first was preached before Judge Atkins, Sir Tho. Rous being high Sheriff; the second before Serjeant Glyn, who desiring me to print it, I thought meet to print the former with it"

10. *Making light of Christ and salvation*. L. 1655. 8vo. 66. Second ed., 1691.

Preface: "Being called on in London to Preach, when I had no time to study, I was fain to preach some Sermons that I had preached in the Countrey a little before. This was one . . . when I came home I was followed by such importunities by Letters to Print the Sermon, that I have yielded thereunto."

Reliq., I. 112. "This Sermon was preached at Lawrence Jury, where Mr. Vines was Pastor: where though I sent the day before, to secure room for the Lord Broghill, and the Earl of Suffolk, with whom I was to go in the Coach, yet when I came, the Crowd had so little respect of Persons, that they were fain to go home again, because they could not come within hearing, and the old Earl of Warwick (who stood in the Abbey [?Alley]), brought me home again: And Mr. Vines himself was fain to get up into the Pulpit, and sit behind me, and I to stand between his Legs: which I mention that the Reader may understand that Verse in my Poem concerning him which is printed, where I say, That

At once one Pulpit held us both."

11. *A sermon of judgment.* L. 1655. 12mo. 286. Reprinted with No. 9. 1656. Second ed. 1658. *At Pauls before the Lord Mayor, Decemb. 17, 1654, and now enlarged.* Reprinted with, &c. Second ed. 1658.

Reliq., I. 112. "Preached . . . at the desire of Sir Christopher Pack, then Lord Mayor, to the greatest Auditory that I ever saw."

12. *Richard Baxter's confession of his faith.* L. 1655. 4to. 462.

Reliq., I. 111. "In my Confession I opened the whole Doctrine of Antinomianism which I opposed, and I brought the Testimonies of abundance of our Divines who give as much to other Acts beside Faith, in Justification as I. And I opened the weakness of Dr. Owen's Reasonings for Justification before Faith, in his former Answer to me. To which he wrote an Answer, annexing it to his Confutation of Biddle and the Cracovian Catechism (to intimate that I belonged to that Party) that I thought it unfit to make any Reply to it, not only because I had no vacancy from better work, but because the quality of it was such as would unavoidably draw me, if I confuted it, to speak so much and so offensively to the Person, as well as the Doctrine, that it would have been a Temptation to the further weakening of his Charity, and increasing his desire of Revenge: And I thought it my duty (when the Readers good required me not to write) to forbear replying, and to let him have the last word, because I had begun with him. And I perceived that the common distast of Men against him and his Book made my Reply the more unnecessary."

13. *Humble advice or the heads of those things which were offered to many honourable members of parliament by Mr. Richard Baxter at the end of his sermon December 24 at the Abbey in Westminster, with some additions as they were delivered by him to a friend that desired them.* L. 1655. 4to. 11. Dated 25 Dec., 1654 (p.11).

Reliq., I. 111. "One scrap of a Sermon . . . taken by some one and printed; which is nothing but the naming of a few Directions which I then gave the Parliament Men for Church Reformation and Peace."

14. *The unreasonableness of infidelity.* L. 1655. 8vo. 124 + 195 + 310 + 77. Dedic. to Lord Broghill, 20 Aug., 1655. Dated 5 June, 1655 (part iii. 310).

Reliq., I. 116. "About the same time I fell into troublesome Acquaintance with one Clement Writer of Worcester, an ancient Man, that had long seemed a forward Professor of Religiousness, and of good Conversation, but was now perverted to I know not what: A Seeker he profest to be, but I easily perceived that he was either a juggling Papist or an Infidel; but I more suspected the latter: He had written a scornful Book against the Scripture Ministry, called *Jus Divinum Presbyterii* and after two more against the Scripture and against me, one called *Fides Divina*, the other's Title I remember not: His Assertion to me was, that no Man is bound to believe in

Christ that doth not see confirming Miracles himself with his own Eyes.

“By the Provocations of this Apostate, I wrote a Book, called, *The unreasonableness of Infidelity*, consisting of four Parts: The first of the extrinsick Witness of the Spirit by Miracles, &c., to which I annexed a Disputation against Clement Writer, to prove that the Miracles wrought by Christ and his Apostles, oblige us to believe that did not see them. The Second part was of the intrinsick Witness of the Spirit, to Christ and Scripture. The Third was of the Sin or Blasphemy against the Holy Ghost. And the Fourth was to repress the Arrogancy of reasoning against Divine Revelations. All this was intended but as a Supplement to the Second Part of *The Saints Rest*, where I had pleaded for the Truth of Scripture: But this Subject I have since more fully handled in my *Reasons of the Christian Religion*.”

“At that time Mr. Gilbert, a learned Minister in Shropshire, wrote a small concise Tractate in Latin (as against a Book of Dr. Owen’s, though his intimate Friend) to prove that Christ’s Death was not necessary absolutely but of Divine Free Choice; and in answer to that Book I wrote a brief Premonition to my Treatise against Infidelity to decide that Controversy.”

15. *The Quakers catechism*. L. 1655. 4to. 30. Preface, 20 April, 1655. Other eds., 1656 & 1657. Reply by James Nayler.

Reliq., I. 116. “Presently upon this the Quakers began to make a great Stir among us, and acted the Parts of Men in Raptures, and spake in the manner of Men inspired, and everywhere railed against Tythes and Ministers. They sent many Papers of Queries to divers Ministers about us: And to one of the chief of them I wrote an Answer, and gave them as many more Questions to answer . . . These pamphlets being but one or two Days Work, were no great Interruption to my better Labours, and as they were of small Worth, so also of small Cost.”

16. *The agreement of divers ministers of Christ in the county of Worcester and some adjacent parts for catechizing or personal instructing all in their several parishes that will consent thereunto*. L. 1656. 8vo. 42. Dated 4 May, 1655 (p. 33). Names of signatories p. 15.

Reliq., I. 115. “About that time being apprehensive how great a part of our Work lay in catechising the Aged who were Ignorant, as well as Children, and especially in serious Conference with them about the Matters of their Salvation, I thought it best to draw in all the Ministers of the County with me, that the Benefit might extend the farther, and that each one might have the less Opposition. Which having procured, at their desire I wrote a Catechism, and the Articles of our Agreement, and before them an earnest Exhortation to our Ignorant People to submit to this way (for we were afraid lest they would not have submitted to it): And this was then published. The Catechism was also a brief Confession of Faith, being the Enlargement of a Confession which I had before printed in an open Sheet when we set up Church Discipline.”

17. *Gildas Salvianus; the reformed pastor. Prepared for a day of humiliation kept at Worcester, December 4, 1655 by the ministers of that county who subscribed the agreement for catechizing and personal instruction, at their entrance upon that work.* L. 1656. 8vo. 480.

Preface 15 Apr., 1656. Finished 25 Dec., 1655 (p. 480). Postscript with account of the London lecture in Worcs., set up by men of the county living in London.

Second ed., 1657, with Appendix answering some objections.

Reliq., I. 115. "When we set upon this great Work (i.e. catechising) it was thought best to begin with a Day of Fasting and Prayer by all the Ministers at Worcester, where they desired me to preach: But Weakness and other things hindred me from that Day; but to compensate that, I enlarged and published the Sermon which I had prepared for them, and entitled the Treatise, *Gildas Salvianus* (because I imitated Gildas and Salvianus in my Liberty of Speech to the Pastors of the Churches) or *The reformed Pastor*: I have very great Cause to be thankful to God for the Success of that Book, as hoping many thousand Souls are the better for it, in that it prevailed with many Ministers to set upon that Work which I there exhort them to: Even from beyond the Seas I have had Letters of Request, to direct them how they might bring on that Work according as that Work had convinced them that it was their Duty . . . But since Bishops were restored this Book is useless, and that Work not medled with."

18. *Certain disputations of right to sacraments, and the true nature of visible christianity.* L. 1657. 4to. 541.

Addressed to the ministers of the Worcestershire Association, 17 Jan., 1656/7. Dated 1 Oct., 1655 (p. 523).

Second edition, "corrected and amended," 1658.

Reliq., I. 113. "Mr. Blake having replied to some things in my *Apology*, especially about Right to Sacraments, or the just Subject of Baptism and the Lord's Supper, I wrote five Disputations on those Points, proving that it is not the reality of a Dogmatical (or Justifying) Faith, nor yet the Profession of bare Assent (called a Dogmatical Faith by many); but only the Profession of a Saving Faith, which is the Condition of Mens title to Church-Communion *Coram Ecclesia*: and that Hypocrites are but Analogically or Equivocally called Christians, and Believers, and Saints, &c., with much more to decide the most troublesome Controversie of that Time, which was about the Necessary Qualification and Title of Church-Members and Communicants: Many men have been perplexed about that Point, and that Book. Some think it cometh too near the Independants, and some that it is too far from them; and many think it very hard, that [A Credible Profession] of True Faith and Repentance, should be made the stated Qualification; because they think it incredible that all the Jewish Members were such: but I have sifted this Point more exactly and diligently in my thoughts, than almost any Controversie whatsoever: And fain I would have found some other Qualification to take up with . . . But the Evidence of Truth hath

forced me from all other ways, and suffered me to rest no where but here."

19. *The safe religion*. L. 1657. 8vo. 455. Preface, 10 March, 1655/6.

Reliq., I. 116. "The great Advancement of the Popish Interest by their secret agency among the Sectaries, Seekers, Quakers, Behmenists, &c., did make me think it necessary to do something directly against Popery; and so I published three Disputations against them, one to prove our Religion safe, and another to prove their Religion unsafe; and a third to shew that they overthrew the Faith by the ill Resolution of their Faith."

20. *A treatise of conversion*. L. 1657. 4to. 307. Dedic. to inhabitants of Kidderminster, 1 June, 1657. Second ed., 1658.

Reliq., I. 114. "Some plain Sermons . . . which Mr. Baldwin (an honest young Minister that had lived in my House, and learnt my proper Characters, or Short-hand, in which I wrote my Sermon Notes) had transcribed out of my Notes. And though I had no leisure, for this or other Writings, to take much care of the stile, nor to add any Ornaments, or Citations of Authors, I thought it might better pass as it was, than not at all; and that if the Author mist of the Applause of the Learned, yet the Book might be profitable to the Ignorant, as it proved through the great Mercy of God."

21. *One sheet against the Quakers*. L. 1657. 8vo. 13. Dated 5 Sept., 1657 (p. 13). Reply by E. B.

Reliq., I. 116. "Some Men about this time persuaded me, that if I would write a few single Sheets on several Subjects, though the Style were not very moving, yet it would do more good than larger Volumes, because most People will buy and read them, who will neither buy nor read the larger. Whereupon I wrote first, One Sheet against the Quakers, containing those Reasons which should satisfie all Sober Men against their way."

22. *A winding sheet for popery*. L. 1657. 8vo. 13. By Richard Baxter, Catholick. Dated 25 July, 1657 (p.13).

Reliq., I. 116. "The second Sheet . . . containing a Summary of Moderate and Effectual Reasons against Popery: (which single sheet no Papist hitherto hath answered)."

23. *One sheet for the ministry, against the malignants of all sorts*. L. 1657. 8vo. 14. Dated 15 Aug., 1657 (p. 14).

Reliq., I. 117. "The third Sheet . . . containing those Reasons for the present Ministry which shew the greatness of the Sin of those set against them. It was intended then against the Quakers and other Sectarian Enemies to the Ministry: but is as useful for these Times, and against those that on other pretences hate, and silence, and suppress them; and might tell their Consciences what they do."

24. *A second sheet for the ministry.* L. 1657. 8vo. 16. Dated 23 Oct., 1657. (p. 16). Reply by Clement Writer.

Reliq., I. 117. "The fourth Sheet . . . being a Defence of their Office as continued, against the Seekers, who pretend that the Ministry is ceased and lost : And it may serve against the Papists that question our Call for want of a Succession ; and all their Spawn of Sectaries that are still setting themselves against the Ministry, (and against the Sacred Scriptures)."

25. *Directions to justices of peace, especially in corporations for the discharge of their duty to God.* 20 Oct., 1657. L. 1657. Fol. One sheet.

Reliq., I. 117. "Mr. William Montford being chosen Bayliff of Kidderminster, desired me to write down a few brief Instructions for the due Execution of his Office of Magistracy, that he might so pass it as to have Comfort and not Trouble in the Review ; which having done, considering how many Mayors, and Bayliffs, and Countrey Justices needed it as well as he, I printed it in an open Sheet to stick upon a Wall. . . . (suited to those Times)."

26. *Richard Baxter's account of his present thoughts concerning the controversies about the perseverance of the saints. Occasioned by the gross misreports of some passages in his book, called, The Right Method for Peace of Conscience, &c. ; which are left out in the last impression to avoid offence, and this here substituted, for the fuller explication of the same points.* L. 1657. 4to. 42. See above, No. 6.

Reliq., I. 110. "In which I shewed them the Variety of Opinions about Perseverance, and that Augustine and Prosper themselves did not hold the certain Perseverance of all that are truly sanctified, though they held the Perseverance of all the Elect . . . I never heard of any Censure against these Papers, though the few Lines which occasioned them had so much."

27. *The crucifying of the world by the cross of Christ.* L. 1658. 4to. 254. Dedic. to Thomas Foley, 20 Feb., 1657/8.

Reliq., I. 116. "Mr. Tho. Foley being High Sheriff, desired me to preach before the Judges ; which I did on Gal. 6. 16. and enlarged it to a Treatise . . . for Mortification ; and put an Epistle somewhat large before it to provoke rich Men to good Works."

A. G. MATTHEWS.

[To be continued.]