
A table of contents for the *Transactions of Congregational Historical Society* can be found here:

https://biblicalstudies.org.uk/articles_congregational-historical-society-1.php

EDITORIAL.

THE Annual Meeting of the Society will be held in the Council Chamber, the Memorial Hall, on Wednesday, May 9th. This is a very crowded week, and we are endeavouring to arrange the meeting so as to give members of the Society and of the Assembly who would like to attend other gatherings an opportunity to do so. Our Meeting will therefore last from three o'clock to four sharp. Dr. Peel will speak on: "Co-operation of Presbyterians and Congregationalists: Some Previous Attempts."

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The outstanding event since the last number of the *Transactions* from our point of view has been the publication of the Rev. A. G. Matthews's *Calamy Revised*, the full title of which is: "A Revision of Edmund Calamy's *Account* of the Ministers Ejected and Silenced, 1660–2" (Oxford Press, 40s.). Mr. Matthews has often put our Society in his debt; now he has put the whole world of scholarship, and we are proud that one of our own members has rendered such conspicuous service to learning. It may be possible in the course of the years to make some slight additions here and there to Mr. Matthews's work, but in the main it will stand for all time, and the more serious the student in his search for knowledge, the more he will realize the magnitude of Mr. Matthews's achievement, and the more grateful he will be to the compiler of this massive and masterly volume. The Introduction, the Biographical Notes of the Ejected Ministers, and the Indexes are equally well done, and time and trouble are saved for the student in every possible way. Remembering how long ago he lived, and the contemporary attitude to historical facts, Calamy comes out from Mr. Matthews's investigations amazingly well, though it is revealing to contrast the 17th-century scholar's methods with those of his 20th-century editor.

Mr. Matthews's final summary is that 695 ministers were ejected in 1660, 936 in 1662, and 129 at dates unknown, making a total of 1,760, of whom 171 afterwards conformed.

We take this opportunity of saying that the annotated list of Baxter's works which Mr. Matthews contributed to the

Transactions has been re-published, with some corrections and additions. Copies, price 2s., may be obtained from Mr. Matthews, Farncote, Oxted, Surrey.

It is always a pleasure to note a piece of research well done, and Prof. J. A. Muller, of the Episcopalian Theological School, Cambridge, Mass., has also done excellent service to students by his edition of *The Letters of Stephen Gardiner* (Cambridge Press, 31s. 6d.). In 1926 Prof. Muller published a book on *Stephen Gardiner and the Tudor Reaction*, and he has now documented this in an extremely competent volume, in which the transcription of the letters, the notes, and the indexes are a model. For those dealing with the period this work will be as essential and as useful as that of Mr. Matthews for students of 17th-century Nonconformity.

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There has always been a close connexion between the Society and the Congregational Library, especially in the days when the Rev. T. G. Crippen, for so long Secretary and Editor, was Librarian. After the War the Library fell on evil days; there was no money available for the purchase of books, and changes in the structure of the building interfered in a considerable degree with the Library's work. During the last few years attempts have been made to bring some degree of order out of the chaos, and soon it is hoped the Library will be made available for students.

It is not generally known that in Nonconformist history, especially of the Ejected Ministers of 1662, and in hymnology, the Library is extremely strong. A glance at Dexter's famous bibliography of Congregationalism gives some indication of its treasures. Not only so, but along general lines the Library could be extremely serviceable to ministers and theological students.

A card catalogue has now been made of the manuscripts, the hymnological collection, and the main body of printed books. Steps are being taken to equip a room as a Students' Room where books can be consulted in such a degree of quiet as can be obtained in the Memorial Hall. The money to provide this equipment has been obtained by the sale of duplicates. We were specially pleased when, in a recent sale at Sotheby's, the duplicate copy of Roger Williams's *The Bloudy Tenent of Persecution for cause of Conscience, discussed in A*

Conference betweene Trvth and Peace (1644) brought a bid of £138. (This was reduced to £125 owing to some small imperfections in the copy.) The Congregational Union and the Memorial Hall Trustees are uniting to maintain the Library, so that there will be a clerk in attendance for inquiries and also some cash available for the purchase of such books of reference as will make the Library specially useful. In addition some modern books to the value of £50 have been presented to the Library, which also houses the accumulation of books presented by Sir James Carmichael to the London Congregational Union during the last eight years.

The Library has always been well used by students of historical research in this and other countries, but the denomination in general has not realized what a great asset it possessed in the Library. Ministers will find available not only recent commentaries but works like Hastings's *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*; those interested in hymnology will find a vast amount of data (there are, by the way, many copies of duplicate hymn-books for disposal which may be inspected on application).

Sir James Carmichael, as Chairman of the Memorial Hall Trustees, has taken a great deal of interest in the development of the Library. One of the last letters read to him on the day he died suggested that it would be of great value to students if the Library could possess the *Oxford English Dictionary*, and one of his last requests was that a cheque should be sent to meet the cost—a characteristic act from one of the most generous and beloved of modern Congregationalists.

We hope members of the Society will make full use of the Library and help to make its contents widely known.

Early Puritanism and Separatism in Nottingham.

WHEN we consider how near the city of Nottingham is to those places in the north of the county, and on the borders of Lincolnshire, where we find the homes of the Pilgrim Fathers, it is very strange that the city itself saw but little of the movement for another fifty years. There is, however, one link between the city and the Pilgrim Fathers and more particularly with the story of Baptist origins, which may be noticed. It is the story of Thomas Helwys of Broxtowe. Broxtowe is at present within the bounds of the city, but in those early days it was a hamlet some three miles to the north. There are still left portions of an old house which belonged to the days of Queen Elizabeth. There had been an earlier house which was at one time occupied by Sir Hugh de Willoughby, an explorer. Before the end of the 16th century the house was leased to Edmund Helwys, whose son Thomas succeeded him in its occupation. Thomas Helwys married Joan Ashmore, of the neighbouring parish of Billborough, and their house became a centre of hospitality for Puritan clergy. Helwys was deeply interested in religious questions, and loved to have men about him with whom he might discuss the problems of the day. Among his guests were Richard Bernard and John Smyth. Bernard was a Puritan clergyman, vicar of Worksop, who never went the length of separation from the Church of England; Smyth was the founder of the Church of Gainsborough, and one of the leaders of the early Pilgrim movement. Smyth came to Broxtowe to be nursed back to health after a long illness, and for many years his intercourse with Helwys was intimate. There was no organized Puritan meeting nearer to Nottingham than Gainsborough, and among the folk who gathered there from over a wide countryside and formed a Separatist Church were Thomas and Joan Helwys of Broxtowe.

This separation caused a great deal of feeling and made many inroads into friendship. There were many Puritans who were set on reforming the Church from within, and to whom such a severance from established things seemed a hindrance rather than a help to religion. Among such was Richard Bernard. Bernard's utterances from his pulpit at

Worksop had been such as to convince his Puritan friends that he was willing to go the whole way with them, but when he was suspended by the Archbishop he began to realize what separation from the Church would mean for him, and to question in his own mind the value of that path as a way to reformation. He became convinced that he could do more in the way he desired by submission to authority, and so he disappointed his friends. He had to justify his submission both to them and to the world, and entered on a polemic with his former associates. Smyth replied to him :

> Then tell me with what face or conscience you can subscribe to the Prelacy—you can plead for the Prelacy ? Is not this to build that which you have destroyed ?

The interest of this for Nottingham is that Thomas Helwys of Broxtowe was the go-between between Bernard and Smyth. Bernard tried to do his own work of reform in his parish by a covenant among his people, but he became so afraid of being tarred by the Separatist brush that his covenant was not enough for the more serious part of them, and they slipped away from him to join Smyth at Gainsborough. " They have taken away part of the seal of my ministry," wrote Bernard, who sent to Helwys a long letter in which he set out a list of the Separatist doctrines to which he was opposed. Helwys forwarded this letter to Smyth, who replied (Nov., 1607),

> rebuking Bernard for his inconstancy, replying to his objections, and setting out the main grounds for separation from the Church of England.

These two letters were the main documents underlying the controversy into which before long most of the Separatist leaders were drawn ; and it was this first-hand information of the aims and ideals of the Separatists that gave to Bernard the material for his book on the " Separatists' Schism."

All this seems to argue that the generally given date (1602) for the separation of these Nottinghamshire and Lincolnshire pilgrims from the fellowship of the Church of England is some four years too early. In 1605, at least, Smyth and Bernard were working together, both in the fellowship of the Church.

Before passing to the next stage in the story of Thomas Helwys it will be interesting to note one clause in the covenant into which the people at Gainsborough entered : " We covenant

to walk in all His ways made known to us, or to be made known to us." There has been some speculation as to whether the phrase " or to be made known to us " was added subsequently by Governor Bradford, in America. But we like to think of it as part of the original covenant, as suggesting that from the very first there was determination not to put themselves under the tyranny of the dead hand ; there is an outlook about the phrase that is warming and glad, a real prophecy of freedom. We recall also the words with which John Robinson said good-bye to the Pilgrims a few years later :

> The Lord hath more truth and light to break forth out of His Holy Word.

It was quite in the spirit of this that Smyth in different places in his writings calls attention to the change in his thought. For instance, in *The Differences of the Churches of the Separation* (1608) he says :

> Although in this writing something there is that overthwarted my former judgment in some treatises by me formerly published, yet I would intreat the reader not to impute that as a fault to me. Rather it should be accounted a virtue to retract errors. Know, therefore, that latter thoughts oft-times are better than the former, and I do profess this that everyday, as my errors shall be discovered, I confess them and renounce them.

Similarly when Henry Jacob, who had been pastor among the Pilgrims at Leyden, returned to England and founded his Independent Church in Southwark, we find that he and his people covenanted together

> to walk in all God's ways as He had revealed, or should make known to them.

But those considerations, interesting as they are, take us from our main story. There is yet more to say about Thomas Helwys and the part that he played in the development of Puritanism. He was among those who accompanied Smyth to Holland, where they found a little community of exiles in Amsterdam already established under the leadership of Francis Johnson. They did not join this religious fellowship but held themselves apart as a separate church. Differences arose amongst them. Robinson moved on to Leyden, Smyth and Helwys remained in Amsterdam. When Smyth died,

Helwys became the pastor of the church. Not of the whole church, however, for he renounced the practice of infant baptism and founded a secession church on Baptist principles. He soon returned to England, where he established a Baptist Church in London. He began to differ more and more from his fellow pilgrims in Holland, partly on the ground of the stipend paid to the ministers, and partly on the more fundamental question as to whether he had been justified in coming to Holland at all. One wonders whether he was influenced in this latter matter by the experiences of his wife. There is no trace of Joan Helwys in Holland at all. Thomas had escaped arrest at home by his timely flight, and it seems that he imagined that his wife would be immune from persecution. But the authorities, disappointed in their effort to arrest the husband, had laid hands on the wife, and Joan was fined and imprisoned in York. When she was liberated she went to friends in London and remained there until he joined her.

The real connexion of Broxtowe with the movement thus ceases with the imprisonment of Joan Helwys and the flight of Thomas. It had touched Nottingham only to a limited extent, and it would seem that such Puritans as were in the locality were of the mind of Bernard of Worksop, content while remaining in the Establishment to try to accomplish reformation from within. That there were many such appeared in the next generation but one, when, after the Commonwealth, the attempt was made to rid the Church of its Puritan elements.

Under the Commonwealth itself the main Puritan movement in Nottingham was Presbyterian. The congregation at St. Mary's Church, at any rate as far back as the year 1642, appears to have been of Puritan tendency. From that date there was no settled minister until 1651, when the Marquis of Dorchester presented the living to Mr. Whitlock. It is probable that this long vacancy in the parish church was a consequence of the very troubled state of affairs in the town. There were then three parishes; St. Mary's, St. Peter's, and St. Nicholas's, and the same gap appears in the list of incumbents of each of them. There was a considerable amount of ill-feeling in the town, particularly between the Presbyterians and the Independents. The Presbyterians had the prestige of the parish churches behind them; the Independents were comparatively few, and they complained of the intolerant

behaviour of the dominant party. This was, of course, only a local expression of the trouble that existed between the two parties the country over. What a different story might have been written if Charles I had been able to use the differences between these two sections of Puritanism instead of ultimately driving them to make common cause against himself. Though politically they were driven together for a time, their religious animosities were the main cause of undoing the work their temporary union had accomplished. Such is human nature!

Colonel Hutchinson, the leader of the Parliamentary party in the town, and the governor of the castle, set a noble example of charity to all men and of regard to the rights of conscience. Stories are told of the protection he extended to various persecuted people, in particular to George Fox, who on a memorable visit to the town found the people very rude. Hooper, the castle engineer, and Collin, the master gunner, were Independents.

By the year 1651 the main struggle in the country was over and the Commonwealth was established. The Presbyterians, who were the strongest party in the State, were bent on the establishment of their form of church government, and having overthrown Episcopacy, were keen on using Parliament for their purposes. But they reckoned without Cromwell, under whose leadership the Independents were rising to great importance. Unable to accomplish their greater aim, they had succeeded in filling most of the pulpits of the land with men of their own choice. The great majority of the men deprived at the Restoration or ejected under the Act of Uniformity were Presbyterian. As far as Nottingham was concerned, the Episcopal Returns for 1669 (seven years after the Act of Uniformity) show these figures:

	Ministers.	Conventicles.	Communicants.
Presbyterian	16	14	900
Independent	5	6	308
Baptist	12	6	300
Quaker	7	11	415

In the meantime, however, in 1651, as soon as the way was clear, the three parish churches of Nottingham were filled with Presbyterian ministers. Of the men who came to St. Mary's it is important to give some personal notes. John Whitlock was born in London in 1625, and went to Emmanuel

College, Cambridge, where he formed a friendship with William Reynolds, a friendship which continued without interruption for more than fifty years. Whitlock wrote :

> It was in the year 1643 that he and I became first intimately acquainted ; and I hope I may say that it was religion that was the first ground of our acquaintance. Soon after we became chamber fellows, and so continued till the summer of 1644 ; and all that time he was studious and improving, being designed by his father, and himself designing, for the ministry.

After graduation Whitlock undertook the preaching at Leighton Buzzard, living during the week at Cambridge, and Reynolds spent some two years in Russia, but when, after those two years, Whitlock was prevailed upon to undertake full charge of the parish, it was on condition that Reynolds should come with him, and for a time they together ministered to the churches at Leighton and Aylesbury. Difficulty arose in the matter of the " Engagement," a declaration that all ministers who received any augmentation to their stipends were expected to sign. It was to this effect :

> I do declare and promise I will be true and faithful to the Commonwealth of England, as it is now established, without a King, or House of Lords.

Whitlock wrote :

> Could we have been satisfied that no more had been meant by being true and faithful, than to live quietly and peaceably, and not by any unlawful ways to disturb and make any alteration in that government, this we could have declared and actually did perform. But as conceived by those words was intended and signified an approbation of our endeavouring to promote that government : and this we were not satisfied to declare : this alteration of the government being made by an army and a small part of the House of Commons, the rest being forcibly excluded.

This bit of personal story has been told in order to show the type of men who were now called to St. Mary's. When the offer was made to Whitlock, and he asked about his refusal to sign the Engagement, he was told that such refusal would rather commend him to most of the people of Nottingham than give cause for any objection ; and on this assurance he promised to pay a visit to the town, it being understood that

any invitation to him to be vicar should include one to Reynolds to be lecturer at the church. The two men had not yet been ordained, but on the presentation to the living they were ordained in London, after the Presbyterian model, along with fifteen other men. They then came to Nottingham, and established a regular church order, Presbyterian in form, which continued in force until 1662. In this matter they worked together with the incumbents of the two other parishes

> enjoying much peace and comfort with our people and our neighbour ministers.

In Whitlock's words :

> After our return to Nottingham, we soon proceeded, we and the people, to choose ruling elders, to be assistant to us and join with us in the admission of persons into church communion in all ordinances, and to be censors of the manners and conversation of persons, and to assist in all acts of order and discipline that did not belong peculiarly to ministers, and to deacons. The parish being large the ruling elders were eight.

In the records of High Pavement Chapel in Nottingham there is a document setting forth the regulations that govern the Presbytery in Nottingham. The document has no date, but the signatures that are on it, thirty-two in number, show that it must have belonged to the period immediately after the settlement of Whitlock and Reynolds at St. Mary's. It is considered to belong to 1654 or 1655. The document has this preamble :

> For as much as we judge it the will of Christ there should be a communion of churches (as well as particular saints) for the furtherance of the Gospel ; for the more pure, due and orderly administration of all Gospel ordinances ; for the mutual help and strengthening of one another in the Lord's work ; and for the full discharge and exercise of that power and trust which Christ hath put in our hands ; we therefore, whose names are here subscribed do associate and are agreed on the points following. . . .

And then follow four rules to the effect that the ministers and elders should advise one another in cases considered difficult ; that they should meet once a month to consult about matters of rule and government ; that nothing be determined as to government except in the presence of three ministers at least, and as many ruling elders as possible, provided that at least

one elder be present, and that anyone in the congregation represented shall have liberty to appeal to the association. This association met regularly until the Restoration; minutes of its meetings are preserved in the High Pavement Chapel records, the last date being 4th May, 1660. In these minutes many ordinations are described, and many of the ministers afterwards ejected are mentioned as either being ordained or ordaining others. At one of the meetings the following certificate of ordination was decided on:

> We whose names are underwritten do hereby certify upon our personal knowledge that our reverend brother Mr. A. B. is an ordained minister of the Gospel; and that in regard to his serious godliness, competent learning, sound judgment, profitable preaching and exemplary life, we doubt not but he will be a singular blessing wherever God shall call him to exercise his ministry.

This certificate was not easily obtained. The candidate was to be examined in Divinity and in reference to the work of grace wrought in him. He had to present a thesis written in Latin on a question to be assigned to him, and be further examined in philosophy, the tongues, *etc.* There is a minute about a candidate who had satisfied all these requirements, but was put back in order that he should preach before the Presbytery that they might have further satisfaction concerning his utterance.

The last meeting of the association was held on 6th June, 1660, eight days after the Restoration, but there is no minute of this meeting.

At the Act of Uniformity, Whitlock, Reynolds, and Barrett, from St. Peter's, were deprived of their livings. The Presbyterian men the country over responded magnificently to the challenge of Charles. Their party had undone the work of the Revolution; it was through their quarrels with the Independents that Charles was back on the throne; they had resisted to the last every idea of separation from the Church of England in their fixed resolve to reform it from within; but when the last issue came the men in the churches did not hesitate for a moment. They could not have any dealing with the terms that were offered them, and, like their Independent brethren, they left their livings and went out into the wilderness. There were thirty Presbyterians out of a total of forty-one ejected ministers in the county of Nottingham

(three of them being from the city, two from St. Mary's and one from St. Peter's). Eleven afterwards conformed.

In the meantime an Independent church had been formed in Nottingham. The church book at Castlegate records that the cause was founded in 1655 ; and there has been a church there ever since. But although the church was not formed until 1655 there had been Independents in the town for some years, and it is conjectured that there had been a pastor as early as 1643. Thomas Palmer took service in a troop of horse raised for Cromwell, and presumably was on military service for some years. We do know that the little church was scattered at the Restoration and the minister driven away. Palmer, after his return from the army, published in 1659 a book entitled *A Little View of this Old World*, on the title-page of which he described himself as " Pastor of a Church of Christ at Nottingham." But there is no record in Nottingham of his return. He may have been the minister driven away at the Restoration, but we cannot be sure. He is described in Colonel Hutchinson's *Memoirs* in a very unflattering way as a wrangler who must have been a considerable trouble to any cause he championed. But whatever the truth about him, the fact is that the church was scattered for a time, and such meetings as were held must have been held in secret. When the foundations of the present Sunday School buildings in Castlegate were being dug, caves with their roofs eleven feet below the street level were found. It is possible that in these caves the meetings of the church were held during the years of persecution. But if there were no minister at Castlegate for some years, the little congregation allied itself to the ministry of Mr. John James. James had been lecturer in Newark Parish Church until the Restoration, but when he refused to conform he rented a farm at Flintham, preached in his own house, and exercised a ministry there for some fifteen years. He ministered to the Independents both at Nottingham and Sutton-in-Ashfield. Many walked from Nottingham to Flintham, a distance of twelve miles, to hear him preach, and in his rare visits to the town people would assemble for worship, probably in one of the caves already mentioned, at 2 a.m. or 3 a.m. In 1672 a house was licensed for him in Bridlesmith Gate, Nottingham.

In a report made by the Vicar of Flintham to the Archdeacon of Nottingham, James is described as a dangerous seducer from the Church of England. The vicar wrote :

> The pride of a schismaticke I find impenetrable nor will any of them promise me to forbear their meetings.

The Castlegate church book, on the other hand, describes James as

> A person of great holiness and ministerial abilities who did press and promote holiness from Gospel principles, with real clearness and efficacy. He was persecuted and often imprisoned, but still he kept on his work when at liberty: and when under restraint he manifested his care and faithfulness to Christ and the Church, as appears by the many letters he wrote to establish and encourage them in the ways of God, notwithstanding the sufferings they did and were like to meet withal.

James was imprisoned in Newark twice, one imprisonment lasting for six years. Still, he continued preaching after his release, and when further information had been laid against him, his goods were seized under warrant. So cruelly was this done that his children were severely frightened, and one of them died a night or two after. To the great grief of his people James felt himself a broken man and unable to continue. He retired to London, but afterwards took charge of a church at Wapping.

The first meeting-house for Castlegate was built in 1689, during the ministry of Mr. John Ryther. A plain, unpretentious building, its total cost was £322. For some years more peaceful times prevailed, and the congregation grew in numbers. Between it and the Presbyterian congregation on the High Pavement there were friendly relations, in happy contrast with the animosity of the Commonwealth period. Very pleasant testimonies remain in the records of each church to show the cordiality with which the two peoples and their ministers laboured together. Both churches prospered, and it is noteworthy that during the ministry of Mr. Bateson, who succeeded John Ryther, Castlegate Chapel had twice to be enlarged, and this despite the difficult times which followed for all Nonconformists during the High Church revival in the early years of the 18th century.

We may now return to 1662 and the "outed" Presbyterians. Whitlock and Reynolds went to Mansfield. The rector there was a Presbyterian, appointed on the presentation of Cromwell, but he conformed. In those days Mansfield, not being a corporate town, became a resort for ejected ministers, as many as forty living there at the same time. The rector was well

disposed to them. There is in the Old Meeting at Mansfield a memorial to the conscientious sacrifice and Christian labours of these ejected ministers, who found in Mansfield "a little Zoar, a shelter and a sanctuary."

The historian of the High Pavement Chapel tells that the faithful folk of St. Mary's and St. Peter's followed their pastors out of the churches and were looked after by them as best they might.

> They met in the vaults under a house on the Low Pavement, convenient of access by more than one private passage from the open fields lying to the south of the town and to have been ministered to by Whitlock or Reynolds on one Sunday, and by Barrett or some other friendly preacher on the next. When persecution grew too hot, or the watch was too strict, these ministers would make notes of their sermons and send them by some trusty messenger to their orphaned people.

But they must have had many influential supporters in the town, for their meetings could hardly have been kept quite secret. And when the Toleration Act gave more liberty we find many leading citizens among them. Again, when the Declaration of Indulgence came in 1672, and applications might be received for licenses for rooms for preaching, these Presbyterians made application for the Town Hall, the Shire Hall, and the rooms under the Spice Chambers. These were not granted, but there must have been some considerable influence for such applications to have been made. Licenses were granted for the Free School and for a number of private houses, and Mr. Whitlock travelled from Mansfield to London to obtain them. But these licenses only availed for a time. Charles was compelled by his supporters to withdraw them. It does not appear, however, that this fact affected the comfort of the Nottingham Puritans very much, and this again argues that a very considerable number of the leading folk of the city were of the Puritan way. A book published in 1692, entitled *Some Remarkable Passages in the Holy Life and Death of Gervase Disney, Esq.*, describes how Disney, persecuted in Lincoln, came in 1672 to Nottingham, and had the advantage "of the comfortable ordinances there, not only on Sabbaths, but on weekdays too." It was not until 1682, according to this book, that persecution grew hot in Nottingham.

In 1682 the troubles were nearly at an end. Five years after that Whitlock, Reynolds, and Barrett came back to live

in Nottingham. The Presbyterian congregation was meeting in a dark and secret place on Drury Hill, but now a chapel could be built for them. It was known for a time as Little St. Mary's and was on the High Pavement, quite close to the Parish Church. The building was erected in 1690, about the same time as the first chapel in Castlegate. The records of both places show how for some years the ministers and congregations worked happily together. The difficulties that arose later were due to the High Pavement Congregation following the Arian movement of the next century, and the shifting of people from one church to the other as they quarrelled over doctrine, or were expelled. But that is not in the story of Early Puritanism. We may take the Toleration Act of William III as the end of our tale.

H. F. SANDERS.

Valérand Poullain.

A Precursor of Congregationalism?

VALÉRAND POULLAIN was one of the group of notable individuals who took refuge in England in the reign of Edward VI from the storm of persecution which arose on the Continent by reason of the "Interim" put into force by the Emperor Charles V. He should be of particular interest to students of Congregational history inasmuch as his biographer, Professor K. Bauer,[1] suggests that the Walloon French-speaking refugee community established at Glastonbury in 1550, under the protection of the Duke of Somerset, may be regarded as in some sense a precursor of Congregationalism in England. Bauer says:

> From the fact that Poullain received the title "superintendent," one may recognize that he and his congregation were not under the rule either of the English Bishops nor, as was proposed, of the superintendent of the London congregation of strangers. In this independence of the Glastonbury congregation consists its chief importance for Church history. Here we have long before Browne, Smith, and Robinson, and without any Baptist influences, an example on English ground of the thing afterwards usually called Congregationalism and Independency—that breaking up of the church in which the individual congregation feels its separate existence for itself and experiences no need for a connexion with other congregations to form a larger united whole capable of a confession and a constitution. What in later Congregationalism was called the "covenant," consisted in Glastonbury in the regulations which Poullain provided for his congregation, and to which each single member of the congregation pledged himself. This arrangement, so far as Poullain is concerned, manifestly grew out of the regulation of the Strasbourg congregation concerning the formation of a list of members for the purposes of the discipline and the diaconate. But in Poullain's plan each member of the congregation entered himself on a list and thereby expressly committed himself to the confessional

[1] The biography is published in German by the *Deutsche Hegenotten-Verein*. A copy may be consulted at the Library of the Huguenot Society of London.

> position and the other regulations of the congregation. The very thing which Calvin later found so objectionable, namely, that even experienced Christian believers who had already belonged to a Reformed congregation somewhere else must submit to Poullain's confession of faith, was nothing else than the natural working out of the Congregationalist principle.

"Poullain," says Dr. Charles Martin, in *Les Protestants Anglais Réfugiés à Genève au temps de Calvin*,

> organized his community at Glastonbury after the rule and according to the model of that at Strasbourg, in the manner that Calvin had constituted this during his sojourn in that city.

This Strasbourg congregation, like the Glastonbury congregation, was both "independent" and self-governing. They were not associated with nor subject to any other like community. John à Lasco, the superintendent of all the foreign congregations in London, had no control over Poullain as superintendent at Glastonbury nor over the congregation which Poullain superintended.

Poullain was pastor in succession at Strasbourg, Glastonbury, and Frankfort, and the curious thing is that in each of these charges the nucleus of the membership was the same. That is to say, the Glastonbury community was composed of refugees who fled from Strasbourg "by reason of the Interim," and the community at Frankfort was made up of refugees from the congregation at Glastonbury.

Born at Lille, Poullain was a compatriot of Jan Utenhove, a native of Ghent. Utenhove was an elder of the Dutch Church in London of which John à Lasco was superintendent. Under Edward VI the foreign-speaking congregations were not subject to the jurisdiction of the Bishops; indeed, they actually enjoyed greater religious liberty than the English themselves. Elizabeth, however, insisted on these churches being subject to the control of the Bishops of London.

Utenhove came to England, apparently, in the summer of 1548.[1] Poullain arrived at Lambeth Palace with Bucer and Fagius in April, 1549. The *D.N.B.* states that

> it was on the recommendation of Utenhove that Poullain was brought over from Strasbourg as pastor of the French-speaking Protestant exiles at Canterbury,

[1] In 1545 Utenhove was at Strasbourg, where he passed two years and a half as a member of the French-speaking congregation organized by Calvin.

that

> Poullain organized an offshoot from this community at Glastonbury,

and that it was Utenhove who

> sent to Glastonbury the Flemish and Walloon weavers who introduced the manufacture of broadcloth and blankets in the west of England.

Personally I have not found anywhere any confirmation either of the association of Poullain with the Canterbury exiles in the capacity of pastor or of the suggestion that Glastonbury was an "offshoot" of Canterbury. As to Utenhove, it seems clear that he was associated directly or indirectly with at least five French-speaking refugee churches—Strasbourg, Canterbury, Austin Friars, Threadneedle Street, Glastonbury.

Poullain graduated in Arts at Louvain University and was ordained priest in 1540. He was second in succession to John Calvin as the minister of the French-speaking congregation at Strasbourg established by the sage of Geneva. According to Emile Doumergue's monumental work on Calvin, Poullain, who towards the close of Pierre Brully's pastorate had begun to act as assistant minister, "provisionally and irregularly," succeeded Brully when the latter left Strasbourg in September, 1544. In any case, Poullain was only in charge of the church for some four or five months at the outside, as dissension soon arose in the congregation, and at a new election held in February, 1545, Jean Garnier was unanimously elected as minister. Bauer informs us that, in the interval between that date and April, 1549, Poullain was sent on various missions by Calvin and the Strasbourg theologians. His diplomatic abilities and knowledge of the French tongue qualified him for this delicate task of establishing and maintaining relations with the churches of the lower Rhine. Thus we hear of him at Romburg, Metz, Wesel, Aachen, Bedburg.

The next we hear of Poullain after his arrival at Lambeth Palace in April, 1549, is that, on the recommendation of Peter Martyr, then Professor of Divinity at Oxford, he has received an appointment as tutor to the son of the Earl of Derby. C. H. Smyth, in his *Cranmer and the Reformation of Edward VI*, suggests that "probably it was this post that brought him under Somerset's notice," and so led eventually to the foundation of the colony and church of strangers at Glastonbury, with Poullain as superintendent.

We are indebted to Strype for interesting information concerning the Walloon refugee community at Glastonbury. In his *Memorials of Archbishop Cranmer* he says :

> In the same year, viz., 1550, another church of strangers, and they mostwhat French and Walloons, began to settle at Glastonbury in Somersetshire. They were weavers, and followed the manufactures of kersies and cloth of that nature. Their great patrons were the Duke of Somerset and Sir William Cecil—I add, and our Archbishop, though I do not find his name mentioned in the papers I make use of relating to this church ; for there is no question but that his counsel and aid concurred in the settlement of this church—particularly as to the preacher [whose] name was Valerandus Pollanus, a man of great worth both for learning and integrity, who had the title of superintendent of the strangers' church at Glastonbury as John à Lasco had of that at London ; given to each to fix a character of honour and esteem upon their persons and perhaps to exempt them and their churches from the jurisdiction of the Bishops of those respective dioceses.

Poullain was not only superintendent in spiritual matters but very greatly and gravely concerned in the mundane affairs of the refugees. Owing to the fall and disgrace of Somerset, " their affairs were much obstructed," and their condition became more or less desperate.

> Poullain petitioned the Lords of the Council to take their declining state into their consideration and to carry on that good work the Duke of Somerset had begun. . . . The result was that the Lords consented to uphold and encourage them. . . . Orders came down from the Lords to certain gentlemen of the town and neighbourhood, commissionating them to set this manufacture forward. . . . In all this affair Poullain was very much employed, taking a great deal of pains in settling this trade ; for he took many journeys between Glastonbury and the Court, and was at incredible expenses. The office also of surveying the reparation of the houses lay upon him.

Things were looking more hopeful, but the boy King died and upon the accession of his sister Mary,

> all strangers being then commanded suddenly to depart the realm, this congregation accordingly broke up and removed themselves to Frankfort in Germany.

Baron de Schickler, in *Les Églises du Refuge en Angleterre* states that

> The church of Glastonbury was never intended, in the design of its conductor, to become a crowd. Before anyone was admitted it was indispensable that he should know by heart the confession of faith. The candidates, men and women, presented themselves at worship on Sunday after the sermon, in front of the superintendent and the elders, and each recited, in his or her turn, from beginning to end, this long confession. After this the superintendent subjected them to questions, and enquired of the elders if they were satisfied with the answers given.[1]

Dr. Charles Martin would really appear to use too strong language when he states that

> at the beginning of 1554 Valérand Poullain and his Walloon weavers were thrust forth with ignominy.

The fact is that on 5th Sept., 1553, two months after the death of Edward, the Privy Council issued a letter to Sir John Sydnam, "to permitt the Glastonbury straungiers quietlie to departe." De Schickler says that "the entire colony at Glastonbury were allowed to leave in company with their pasteur."

So far as I have discovered, there is no record of any dispute on ecclesiastical matters as between Poullain and his congregation at Glastonbury, but alike at Strasbourg and at Frankfort serious dissensions arose under his pastorate. There are two curious things about this episode in the history of Frankfort: (1) the French-speaking refugee community and the English-speaking refugee congregation, both of which gathered for worship in the same building, the church of the White Ladies, were each "torn with intestine dissensions"; (2) Poullain, contending with serious trouble in his own church, was called in to pour oil upon the troubled waters of the English-speaking community.

"The minister of the French congregation at Frankfort," says Henry Reyburn, in *John Calvin, his Life, Letters and Work*,

> was Valérand Poullain, a reckless and injudicious man who not only gave unnecessary offence to his Lutheran neighbours but created strife within his own congregation by mismanaging an election of elders.

[1] The full text of this confession of faith is to be found in *Ordre des prières et ministère ecclésiastique, avec la forme du penitence publique et certaines prières de l'Église de Londres et la Confession de Foy en l'Église de Glastonbury en Somerset. Londres*, 1552.

And Thomas Dyer, in his *Life of John Calvin*, adds :

> At Frankfort, the refugees were treated with kindness and consideration, though the bitter quarrels which they fell into among themselves, respecting ceremonies and points of faith, rendered them hardly worthy of this leniency. These quarrels ran so high among the French congregation that they had almost come to blows in the church itself.

Calvin himself came along from Geneva with the wish " to appease these dissensions among his countrymen." In Reyburn's words :

> Calvin was asked to preside at a meeting of the presbytery in which the case of Poullain was brought up for decision. His account of the proceedings is : " We have had fourteen days of the most annoying and exhausting labour, settling the affairs of the French congregation. Although Valérand was worthy of punishment, on every charge, we dealt gently with him. But as the only means of peace, he had to resign his office, and although we used comparatively mild language, we indicated our opinion that he had not performed the function of an honourable pastor."

According to Jules Bonnet, Poullain died in 1557, in the year following that in which, at the instance of Calvin, he withdrew from the pastorate at Frankfort. He seems to have been " game " to the end, for in May of 1557 he " combated the intolerance of the ultra-Lutheran party by a virulent writing entitled *L'Antidote*." It sounds as if the antidote was not greatly to be preferred to the disease !

In seeking to estimate Poullain's personal character, his biographer writes :

> No portrait of Poullain has come down to us, but all the more has a portrait of his character been established which is essentially delineated by the disagreeable echo of his life, for which he is not entirely blameless. His generally-recognized defect of character was an extraordinarily strong self-consciousness and a lamentable desire to play an important part. By these he injured in many ways not only himself but the cause he represented. In addition, there was evidently something in his nature which got on other people's nerves. Yet it would be unjust to make the final judgment upon him depend on these defects. The man who was employed by Strasbourg and Geneva in several diplomatic missions to the lower Rhine must have been a personality of more than average

> gifts and trustworthiness. We are again and again meeting with most estimable traits in him. We value him for the untiring zeal with which he served whenever and wherever he could the cause of his faith, were it in simple congregational labours as in Strasbourg, Glastonbury and Frankfort, or in difficult and most responsible missions. What always atones for his faults is the readiness with which he acknowledges them and his earnest endeavours to overcome them. We class him with the brave men of the Reformation era who, true to their convictions, for the sake of the faith abandoned their homes, yet loved their homes far too well not to return to them again at the risk of death in order to serve them in the Gospel. His forgivingness had its deepest root in his frank, warm piety. And what a strong faith he must have had! For at the very time when the plague was demanding its toll in his house, when the Lutherans marshalled their attack on him concerning the Sacrament, and when in his own congregation relentless adversaries were agitating against him, he nevertheless was able to write: "The Lord has not forsaken me; never have I or my family lived in greater joy."

Poullain seems to have found it almost impossible to "keep out of hot water": he would appear to have obtained a certain grim enjoyment in a "good scrap." In the closing months of his stormy career he was still at it "hammer and tongs" in theological disputation with Beza, Farel, Westphal, and others. Such a man—especially in those days of fierce contention and unbridled language—naturally found many opponents, and it is from these opponents that we hear most of him. These, of course, would not emphasize the kindlier and happier side of his personality. Zeal he certainly had—possibly not sufficiently balanced by discretion. The candle of his spirit flared so fiercely that he passed from this troubled sphere ere yet he was forty years of age. One of the reviewers of Bauer's biography says:

> The vicissitudes of his troubles and stormy existence explain his premature end, as also certain defects of his character.

Particulars as to the Glastonbury community are to be found in *Domestic State Papers*, Edward VI, Vols. XIII., XIV., XV., at the Record Office, and the *Acts of the Privy Council*, 1551, 1552, 1553. In the Record Office I have examined the original patent, dated 31st Dec., 1551, signed by the King and countersigned by Sir William Petre, which bestows upon

Poullain the right of denization for life and serves as a fiat for the issue of like letters of denization to sixty-nine others mentioned by name. Many of these names are now undecipherable; all (save one) are described as "natives of the Emperor's dominions." The reader may also be referred to the two papers by myself on "The French-Walloon Church at Glastonbury, 1550–1553," and "The Sixteenth-Century French-speaking and English-speaking Refugee Churches at Frankfort," respectively, to be found in *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society of London*, Vol. XIII., No. 5, and Vol. XIV., No. 1.

HENRY J. COWELL.

An Oswestry Declaration of Indulgence.

CHARLES R,

Charles by the Grace of God King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith &c. to all Mayors, Bayliffs, Constables, and other our Officers and Ministers, Civil and Military, whom it may concern, Greeting—In pursuance of our Declaration of the 15th of March 1671(-2) We have allowed and we do hereby allow of a Roome, or Roomes in the house of Hugh Edwards att Oswestry Shropshire to be a place for the use of such as do not conform to the Church of England who are of the Perswasion commonly called Congregationall to meet and assemble in, in order to their Publick Worship and Devotion. And all and singular our Officers and Ministers Ecclesiastical, Civil and Military, whom it may concern, are to take due notice hereof: And they, and every of them, are hereby strictly charged and required to hinder any tumult or disturbance, and to protect them in their said Meetings and Assemblies.

Given at our Court at Whitehall, the 25th day of July in the 24th year of Our Reign 1672.

By his Majesties Command

ARLINGTON.

Willingham Church.[1]

CONGREGATIONAL 1662–1798.
BAPTIST 1798–1934.

A GROUP of village churches east of St. Ives and west of the Cam shows a transition from Congregational to Baptist fellowship that is rare. It does not seem connected with the open-membership tradition of the original Bunyan churches, unless that were mediated through some of later foundation. Material for a preliminary study has been provided by Mr. Oswin Smith of Cambridge, in a batch of papers relating to Willingham between 1774 and 1834, belonging at the latter date to John Smith, who farmed "Opposite the Steplehouse," as one stiff correspondent used to address his letters.

Baptist churches here and northwards were largely due to Henry Denne, the clergyman who became a famous General Baptist itinerant. The Fenstanton Records have been in print nearly a century, and they show interaction with Quakers, but none with Congregationalists. The work at and round Willingham, only six miles away, was utterly independent of the General Baptists. And while there was a Nonconformist centre at St. Ives, rather earlier, this too seems to have had little influence here.

In 1772 there was a political agitation to exempt dissenting ministers from the necessity of signing certain Articles of the Church of England. A retired Baptist minister, Josiah Thompson, exerted himself to obtain signatures to a petition for this purpose. And though the petition was rejected, he classified all his replies by counties into a valuable volume, which he annotated. This is now at the library founded by Dr. Williams, and in 1912 it was edited for the Congregational Historical Society. It shows churches in this district south of the fens as follows:

Burwell, Congregational; Cambridge, 2 Congregational and

[1] See *Transactions*, VI. 415-428 and VII. 3–15, for an article on "Congregationalism in the Fen Country." Note especially the map on VI. 428. The date of the Fordham Church on VII. 17 is given 1818 instead of 1718.—ED.

1 Baptist; Cottenham C.; Eversden and Barrington, C.; Fenstanton, B.; Gamlingay and Sutton, C.; Gransden, C. B.; Hail Weston, C. B.; Isleham, C.; Kimbolton, C.; Linton, C.; Melbourn and Fulbourn, C. B.; Needingworth, C.B.; Ramsey, C. B.; St. Ives, C.; St. Neots, entry cancelled; Soham and Fordham, B.; Spaldwick, C. B.; Staughton, B.; Willingham, C.

It was perhaps this political agitation, and the activity of Thompson, that revived local patriotism in many quarters. Certainly in 1774 some one at Willingham set himself to jot down something as to the history of that church. He found no records before about 1717, and it is another evidence of the value of central action that it was then Dr. John Evans had made similar enquiries for a similar purpose. For earlier facts the compiler evidently drew chiefly on Calamy. Of local tradition there was apparently little, and that dwelt more on scandals and schism than on success.

The church was founded by the minister ejected from the parish church of Willingham in 1662, was on Congregational lines, and used the Assembly's Catechism as late as 1774. For thirty years it was ministered to by four such ministers—Bradshaw, Oddy, Holcroft, Scandaret. But with the death of the founder, the problem of an educated successor became urgent. Many ministers had taken "tablers" or boarders, and had kept private academies; but in the neighbourhood of Cambridge there were special difficulties, as the university strictly enforced the oath that its graduates should teach only with its approval or that of a bishop. A successor was presently found in the son of a minister ejected in Worcestershire, who doubtless had been trained by his father; but when Henry Oasland, junior, died in 1711, the difficulty was acute.

It is not known what was the education of Mr. Rudd. But during his twelve-year pastorate a new phenomenon showed itself. The strict Calvinism of the Westminster Divines was no longer appreciated by many ministers, and the quarrel at Exeter led to a synod at Salters' Hall meeting-house in London, which reverberated through the country. As Mr. Rudd "did not preach the Doctrine so freely as it had been preached," some of his principal members objected. After several letters, he left for Southill in Bedfordshire, and the church split, many members going to hear Mr. Hargraves at St. Ives.

The strict party obtained a learned minister, Mr. Willes.

But hyper-Calvinism seems always liable to dubious moral conduct, and within four years there was a serious breach due to his behaviour. He removed to Cottenham, three miles away, and there found many who rallied to him ; in one sense this marks the foundation of that church.

At Willingham it took some time to find a man who properly blended doctrine, conduct, and learning. Such a one was apparently forthcoming by 1728 in Mr. Almond ; but within three years another scandal involved the calling in of messengers from sister churches. Their verdict acquitted him, but general opinion disagreed. A new church arose at Over, two miles away, and a second church in Willingham itself for a few months. However peace was restored, and the church prospered for some nineteen years. Then, on the death of the pastor's wife, it proved that the original charges had been true, so the minister was dismissed. For three years the church tried vainly for a new pastor, until in 1754 Thomas Boodger from Oundle was ordained. At first there was trouble, owing to Almond opening a barn for rival services, but presently he disappeared to London.

George Whitefield began a new era by his evangelistic tours, and in 1758 he was active at St. Neots and this neighbourhood. Within a few years new and vigorous churches arose, one at Little Staughton, eighteen miles from Willingham, another at Needingworth, only three miles away. This latter flourished exceedingly, and under Thomas Ladson came to have eighteen preaching places. Boodger was not touched by this spirit, and although the writer of his church's story commends his exposition of free grace, and his exemplary life, he records that Boodger's own son did not join the church. The constituency slowly shrank, till there were only sixty-eight families in the town, and seventeen outside. The church seemed hardly quickened by repeated visits of Wesley in the neighbourhood, for the narrator has no word about such modern movements, unless he glances sideways at " The new system of Divinity brought into some Churches, we are Strangers to it." Boodger passed away in 1784, ten years after this verdict, and a copy was then made. A note was added that the numbers were but small, yet there was a gathering together for social religion, prayer-meetings twice a week, and a cluster of fourteen souls " which we hope will be one Day Fruit for our Beloved, to lay up at our Gate."

The problem recurred, whence to obtain a minister learned, sound, and moral; that he should be evangelistic was not clearly discerned by the copyist, but perhaps some of the fourteen saw their opportunity. It does not seem that any application was made to an Academy, but that, as before, a man trained by his own pastor in his own church was felt desirable.

We have noted a new church at Little Staughton. Under Mr. Emery it had become the second largest in Bedfordshire, with 400 members. And in this church, John Rootham had been called to the ministry. Within five years, Willingham chose him to be pastor, and he was duly ordained.

By whom? The record is curiously vague. We are inclined to connect this silence with a breach of the church's tradition. It had heard supplies of the old type, Mr. Jefferes being mentioned. But Rootham was a baptized believer, from a church which was apparently all of that type. And Ladson at Needingworth with his eighteen preaching places was also Baptist. Godliness and Calvinism were combined, and if the cluster of fourteen found their spirit of earnestness also, baptism should not hinder.

Moreover this temper was shown in a new growth, foreign missions. In 1792 at Kettering, a society had been founded to propagate the gospel among the heathen. One of the leaders was Andrew Fuller, once of Soham. In the early lists of subscribers we find some from Isleham, Cambridge, St. Neots, and Cottenham. This forward programme evidently brought new life to many churches, and Willingham seems to have been touched.

Baptist organizers appeared at this time, founding an Eastern Association centering at Cambridge, an Itinerant Society worked from London, and a Register published there. In 1798 John Rippon included the Willingham church and John Rootham as Baptist, with a frank note that the church had till lately ranked as "Calvinist," by which he meant Calvinist-Pædobaptist. What sister churches thought and said and did, we do not know. But the neighbouring churches at Over, Cottenham, Waterbeach, passed through the same change, and, despite their origin, are to-day plain Baptist churches.

Willingham flourished greatly under Rootham, and when he died in 1827, no thought seems to have been entertained of retracing its steps. It was indeed faced by a practical

problem, for the Old Meeting was dilapidated. The solution was to demolish it and sell the materials by auction, so realizing about £50 towards a new building, which cost £339 19s. 6d. In this a succession of high Calvinist Baptist pastors ministered, with one case of bad conduct and dismissal. The only other important change has been the foundation of a second church in 1873 by a pastor of less rigid theology.

The case is interesting as showing the attachment to sound doctrine and conduct, with comparative indifference to baptism. Is such a combination paralleled in many places, or is the nearest in the Sovereign Grace Union ?

The following list may be useful :

CAMBS. AND HUNTS.

The earliest Free Churches surviving claim the following dates :

Congregational		Baptist		
		1636	Hail Weston	
St. Ives		1642		
		1654	Chatteris	
		1655	Wisbech	
		1660	Waterbeach	
Hail Weston		1669		
St. Neots				
		1672	Cottenham	Great Gransden
		1675	Melbourn	
	Barrington	1689		
	Eversden			
	Linton			
	Royston	1690		
	Cambridge	1691		
	Burwell	1692		
Kimbolton Union		1692		
Spaldwick Union		1693	Isleham	
			Guyhurn	
	Chishall	1694		
	Melbourn			
	Soham	1700	March	
		1710	Whittlesea	
			Gamlingay	
	Fordham	1718		
		1721	Cambridge	
		1737	Over	
		1752	Soham	

The earliest Baptist churches were all General, and they have

no bearing on this church. The story given here seems to show a shortage in 1790 of Congregational ministers near Willingham. It is certain that some of the Calvinistic Baptist churches rose out of Calvinistic Pædobaptist, some when they were becoming Socinian, some by the Bedford influence of mixed-membership.

An Authentick account of the Church of Christ at Willingham from the year 1662 to 1781.

[*Transcribed and annotated November, 1933, by W. T. Whitley, to whom was sent the tattered original in brown paper, with accounts and papers of* 1813–1840 *relating to Willingham, by Oswin Smith of* 2, *Claremont, Cambridge.*]

First. The succession of Pastors to this time.
2ly. Occurances and remarkable providances.
3ly. The present State of the Church.

The best account of the succession we can procure for we have no records, is this.

The Rev[d] Nathaniel Bradshaw was ejected from the Rectory of Willingham by the Act of Uniformity 1662 to the great greife of a [ ][1] of whom he had been the means of converting by his Ministry from the grossest irreligon, to the knowledge and Love of the practial part of godliness.

After his Ejectment he preached in his own house, and sometimes was allowed a Pulpit in a neighbouring Village, and now and then at Childerly an adjacent Village. And as he managed the whole with remarkable modration and prudence, he continued unmolested for about 5 years but through the severity of the times he removed to London. After Mr. Bradshaw's departure from Willingham, the Rev[d] Joseph Oddy who was Ejected from Meldreth and impriosned five years came to live at Willingham and as the times would allow preached here and at Cottenham about 3 miles from hence, sometimes in the night and often in the Day in the most public manner abroad in the Feilds, so vast multitudes of people who flocked to here him, . . for this he was often impriosned and often released [ ][2] years in which time he continued to do this.[3]

In 1672 when the indulgance came out, M[r] Oddy became an itinerant preacher all over the Fen Countery and was wonderfully blessed to the convertion of Souls.[4] from this time our Church and other neighbouring Churches was supplied by several Ejected

[1] Torn away.

[2] Torn away.

[3] This is chiefly drawn from Calamy. Matthews finds no evidence that he was ever vicar of Meldreth.

[4] Oddy and Holcroft took licenses to preach in the house of Job Hall, Bridge Street, Cambridge, for Congregational worship. At Willingham, the house of Francis Duckins was licensed for Presbyterian worship.

Ministers who alternatly preached and administred the ordinances, amongst them there was Mess[s] Oddy, Holdcroft, Scanderet, and Others.[1] Mr. Oddy removed latterly to Cottenham and Died there in the Year 1687.

In 1689 when the Toleration Act gave liberty M[r] Bradshaw returned from London to his old people at Willingham, and tho he Lived a S[t] Ives yet came every Saturday to Willingham and preached to his people on the Lords day returning on the Monday. he continued this about one Year and then Died 1690 in the 71 year of his age.

After M[r] Bradshaws Death the Church was supply'd a while and in 1694 settled for there Pastor the Rev[d] Henry Oasland Youngest son of that famous M[r] Oasland who was Ejected from Bewdly Worcestershire.[2]

M[r] Oasland continued Pastor of the Church till 1711 when he died aged 43 and was Buried by M[r] Oddy at Oakington.

M[r] Oasland was succeeded by the Rev[d] M[r] Rudd who was Pastor about 12 years and in 1723 removed to Southill Bedfordshire.

M[r] Willes succeeded M[r] Rudd and having been Paster about 5 years divided the Church and removing to Cottenham became the first seprate Pastor of that Church in [which] time our Record begins. The Church called M[r] Almond and [?he became] Pastor the same year.

Mr. Almond held his office 23 Years and being cut off for his immoralities, was succeeded by Rev[d] Tho[s]. Boodger sent out by the Rev[d] Walter Oversto Pastor of the Church of Christ at Oundle Northamptonshire.

Mr. Boodger Preached to them 2 Years on trial and on June 19 1754 he was ordained Pastor and yet continues to execute that office. so that the succeession stands thus

Pastors	how long so	from	To
Nathaniel Bradshaw	5 years	1662	1667
Joseph Oddy	5 years	1667	1672
Holdcroft Scanderet[3]	15 years	1672	1687
* * * or Supplys only	2 years	1687	1689
M[r] Bradshaw	1 year	1689	1690
* * ly supplies	4 years	1690	1694
M[r] Oasland	17 years	1694	1711
M[r] Rudd	12 years	1711	1723

[1] Calamy had not heard of Stephen Scandaret here, nor has Matthews.

[2] His elder son Edward became pastor of a church in Bewdley.

[3] Here the transcriber of 1784 has telescoped Francis Holcroft and Stephen Scandaret into one person, misunderstanding the text of 1774.

Pastors	how long so	from	To
Mr Willes	5 years	1723	1728
Mr Almond	23 years	1728	1751
Vacancy & tryal Mr Boodger	3 years	1751	1754
Mr Boodger[1]	30 years	1754	1784

None of these Ministers Published any thing as we know off. the Church was planted congergational and held the Doctrine of the Assembleys Catechism, and continue it in Doctrine and Desciplne to this Day.

But to come to the second part of occurances and remarkable providances. which may not be so pleasant but the Adversity as well as prosperity may be of some use. but the prophet says viz when I remember the wormwood and the gall my soul is humbled within me. Mr Bradshaw was a godly graceious [ ][2]. The Minister in the Church at Willingham meet[ing him] in the street when he was come again and [ ][3] meeting, he said Bradshaw why do you come [and draw] my people away. Mr Bradshaw replyed Sir they [were mine] before they was yours and when I left Willingham I left fourscours and ten praying Families in the Town & I am afraid that since you came have not made them up a hundred.

Mr. Oddys Ministrey was much blesst, in persecuting times he preached a nights in the Fields under a Tree and was taken by the informers Just before he began to preach and was carried a cross his Horse to cambridge Castle where he found several prisoners of his own Church-members, they was prisoners 11 months. some of there sons and Daughters was members here since I came to Willingham.

Mr Oasland was a faithfull servant of god, was blessed with many soals to his Ministery.

Mr Rudd was an honourable man in his Walk and conversation, but did not preach the Doctrine so freely as it had been preached. so there arose a dispute between him and some of his principle members & several Letters passed by both parties, which occasioned a seperation Mr Rudd went away to a people in Bedfordshire. this caused a deffrance in the Church and some members went to St Ives to here Mr. Hargrave.

Mr Willes was a good preacher and a man of Learning as appears by his Library. but there was some dispute about his Moral conduct. however he went away from Willingham and lived at Cottenham [and preached] to that part of the Church till he Died.

[1] In 1773 Josiah Thompson noted that "Budger of Whillingham" signed the petition for relief.

[2] Torn away.

[3] Torn.

This made a great breach in the Church and devided it into two parts. but the part at Willingham looked out for a Minister and had several upon trial, but at last Mr Almond was fixed on and accordingly Ordained June 11 1728. he was a good preacher a man of Learning, and his Labours blest so many Souls, but a Defferance between him and the Church took place in 1731 his Moral conduct was Called into question, a Messengers meeting was called from Sister Churches, and in the preasance of the Church and Messengers Mr Almond denied the charge. and the person (a member) prisnciply concerned also cleared him. but this occaisoned a division. a seperate Meeting was set up and a seperate Minister &c at Willingham. and also at Over 2 Miles from Willingham came Mr Fisher to preach at this time, he gathered many people together and after a time formed a Church which continues to this Day one Mr The Emery is there on approbation &c.[1]

but after somtime the seperate party in Willingham returned to there place. and March 8 1732 was the first Churchmeeting after there defferance. Mr Almond after this was blesst in his Ministry at times till the year 1751. then there arose a defferance some time after the sudden Death of Mrs Almond.

The member that cleared him before came to Willingham in 1751, and joined the Church by giving in her repentance before the Church, and Charged upon Mr Almond what before she had cleared him off. Then Mr Almond was set aside from being pastor.

And many Ministers preacht Occaionaly as Dr Conder Mr Simpson Mr Oversto Wayman and Others and in 1752 came Mr Boodger to preach here and so continued to preach till the Year 1754 June 19 he was Ordained Pastor. Then Mr Almond set up a Seperate meeting and preached in his own Barn which he converted into that purpose. but almost nobody going to hear him he gave it up after sometime, and then came to meeting to hear Mr Boodger till he Married the person who thus treated him and went to London to Live. So that this Church may Justly say and adapt those Words viz. Thou hast broken us with breach upon breach and it is of the Lord's mercey we are not consumed.

But 3ly the present State of the Church.

N:B: this was wrote in the Year 1774,—tho transcribed in Year 1784.

Many have been moved by providance from us, & more have been removed by Death, so that the Number of our members is small to what they have been in times past. men Members now 22 Women 29 Familes in town that attend 68 Familes out of town that attend 17.

[1] At Staughton Baptist Church, founded 1766, W. Emery was pastor later.

The smallness of our numbers now is principaly occationed by our being in the midst or Center of several Towns where there is now a Meeting whereas in times we had several members that attended as from over 2 Miles from us a meeting. and at Needingworth 3 Miles from us a Meeting. at Cottenham three Miles from us on the Other side a meeting. But though our Numbers are small we are unanimous in the belife of the Doctrine of free Grace, and have (we hope) a Savour of the blessed Effects, leading us to practical holiness, the new system of Divinity brought into some Churches we are Strangers to it.

We have thought that the Glorious and Essental Doctrines of the Everlasting God must be heard before they are believed, That applacation of the Truths by the Spirit of God to the Souls of men is absolutely necessary to a principle of holiness, and a principle of holiness can only make a person a real Christian. for without the new nature or principle of Grace in the Heart, all the forms or modes in Religion will be destitute of the genuine fruit that flows from the Spirit of God. our Church Covenant is founded upon those Basies, and we hope now for a little space Grace hath been showed from the Lord our God, to give us a remnant to escape & to give us a Name in his holy place that our god may lighten eyes and give us a little reviving in our Bondage as there is now a trembling gone thro our Little Camp and a shaking amongst our Dead and Dry bones, . . . blessed be God there is a gathering together for soacial Releigon, and prayer meetings twice a week amongst themselves. a little Cluster of about fourteen souls, which we hope will be one day Fruit for our Beloved, to lay up at our Gate.

Mr Boodger was a Faithfull & experimental preacher and of a Steady walk and Conversation. he lived well respected and Died much regreated by his Church & people for tho he was pastor over the Church of Christ at Willingham 30 Years within a few weeks there never was any Defferance between them. and Justly may it be said that through much triublation he entered the Kingdom for his Bodily afflictions where long and very heavy which he bore with remarkable fortitude of mind and submision of Soul. he preached till within two Lordsdays of his Death, the Last words he preached from was 68 Psalm 22 verse—the First he preacht from at Willingham Genesis 49 Ch 9 verse.

Mr Boodger Died May 6 1784 Aged 68 and May 9 Mr Roberson preached his Funaral Sermon from 6 Ch 2 of Corinthins 10 Verse last clause part as having nothing yet possessing all thinngs. May 16, or the Next Sabbath, the Revd Mr Jefferes preached at Willingham (being providentaly cast at Cambridge) and supply'd for us nine Weeks in which time the Lord wes pleased to bless his Ministry for not only the Conviction of many, but the saving conversiton

of Mr Boodger son of the Revd Mr Boodger above mentioned our Pastor.

[End of the 1784 transcript. The one blank page left was afterwards filled thus :—]

The Church of Christ at Willingham Had Supples from Mr Boodger to Mr Rootham year And on the Day of [1789] Mr Jn Rootham was ordained pastor. Mr Rootham is a faithful Minister, and his walk and conversation that of a Christian. He has a large Congregation. but few very few indeed in that vast number whose life and conversation prove them to be. that which they profess to be. But oh ! to deceive a soul of so much value is it a trifle, is all God hath said only a fable take heed ! lest Death in an Instant should arrest you unprepared. and unprovided for so great a change. God is holy, and unless you are made like unto him. how will you abide the day of his coming. Farewell. W.B. Novr 7th 1811.

[*Further notes, by W. T. Whitley, 1933.*]

Rootham was a Baptist, called to the ministry by the Bedfordshire church of Little Staughton. In 1798 Rippon's Baptist Register for the first time catalogued this church, saying that Rootham went nine years before. He died 1827, and was soon followed by W. Reynolds from the Baptist church at Wattisham. When he went to Sudbury, John Stevens junior from the Baptist church at St. Neots came for a year on trial, and refused to stay. The Old Meeting was demolished, and its materials were sold by auction in 1830 ; a new one was built. Sadler was not acceptable. W. Palmer came from Spalding 1834. A split occurred in 1838 leading to the High Street Church, and Palmer left next year. But there was no reversion to the Pædobaptist position, not even with another split in 1873.

John Ray (1627–1705).

IN 1928 the Ray Society printed *Further Correspondence of John Ray*. On 3 Jan., 1658–9, he wrote [p. 16] of giving himself "up to the priesthood." What was thought of "priesthood" in the Cambridge of 1658–9? On 26 Sept., 1660, he wrote [p. 18] "I have long since come to two resolutions, namely no promise of conformity, and no orders."

In a letter [undated, p. 25] he wrote:-

> I am now in Essex where I intend to continue till Barthomew Day be past. I am as good as resolved not to subscribe the declaration in the Act of Uniformity, and soe can expect no other than the deprivation of my fellowship. . . . Many of our ministers in this County will be deprived upon this act, and these too the most able and considerable. . . . I shall now cast myself upon Providence and good friends. Liberty is a sweet thing . . . I shall expose myselfe to much trouble and inconvenience by this refusall but '*Quicquid erit superanda omnis Fortuna ferendo est*' (*sic*) I doubt not but I shall be, some way or other, sustained and it may be more to my satisfaction than if I should swallow the declaration and continue still in Trinity Colledge.

In a letter dated Cambridge 4 Sept., 1662, he wrote [p. 32]:

> I find not many in this University that have refused to subscribe, in all twelve Fellows, whereof three are of Emanuel and the rest—two of St. John's, of our College not one besides myself, two of Magdalen, one of Bennet, two of Pembroke Hall, one of King's; one Master, Dr Dillingham of Emanuel College.

W. J. PAYLING WRIGHT.

The *Sub Rosa*.

FOR 150 years there has existed in London a Ministerial Society known as the *Sub Rosa*. While meetings of the Society are private, as the name suggests, there is no reason for privacy about its history.

The data concerning it are to be found in a printed sketch and sundry account books. The first was written in 1868 by the Rev. Thomas James, brother of John Angell James, who was Secretary and Treasurer of the Society, with the title *A Brief Historical Sketch of a Select Society of Protestant Dissenting Ministers, meeting once a month for friendly and confidential intercourse.* After summarizing the history of the Society, James gives a list of deceased members, of "withdrawn members yet living," and of those still members on 10th March, 1868.

James's sketch was used by the Rev. W. Hardy Harwood in a paper read to the *Sub Rosa* some twenty years ago. Practically the whole of Hardy Harwood's MS remains and has come into our possession. It reads as follows.[1]

> The *Sub Rosa* had its beginning in generous and chivalrous sentiments. In 1780 Homerton College—now incorporated in New College—was rent asunder by a dispute between a large number of the students and Dr. Fisher, the senior tutor. It was a question not of character or orthodoxy but of the all-important matter of prerogative. That is all we know, but the grave and reverend seniors known as the "King's Head Society," who largely helped to maintain the College, evidently felt that the dignity of their brother was so vital a matter that nothing short of the expulsion of the refractory students could meet the case. There was a minority who felt that at least the men should be heard in their own defence, in the hope that admonition and rebuke would be all that were needed. The majority were not to be persuaded, and the students were expelled. Later, by the advice of the minority, they made some concessions (one would like to know what they were) and at the end of the summer vacation they were re-instated.
>
> The ministers of the smaller party had met many times during all these negotiations and they had found their inter-

[1] We print this paper just as read.

course so pleasant that they determined to dine together once a month for nine months in the year. The confidential nature of the meeting is indicated by the title: the year of its first meeting was 1781.

There are no documents earlier than 1814, but it is on record that the original ten members were Thos. Towle, Nathaniel Jennings (Treasurer), John Winter, Chas. Skelton, John Kello, Nathaniel Trotman—one would like to think he was a descendant of the Trotman whose bequest has paid the examination fees of so many struggling students—Joshua Webb, Wm. Bennett, Jas. Kello, and the one name that we all recognize —John Clayton, who since 1768 had been the minister of the Weigh House. He had succeeded Dr. Wilton, who was "splendid in his robes in the pulpit" and "in private life dressed like a dean or an archdeacon," and Clayton himself is described as "of dignified appearance, urbanity of demeanour, conversational power, and pulpit ability." He had been at Trevecca College, was a Calvinist and a Tory, and yet a Christian!

These ten met at the "Globe Tavern," Moorgate St., till the end of the century, when they too migrated to the "King's Head" in the Poultry. For many years the membership did not rise above twelve and after that, for a very long time, twenty was the maximum. In the words of the Rev. Thos. James (for a long time the Treasurer of the Society):

> The primary object of the Meeting was at the beginning, and continues to be, to hold free, unfettered, and confidential communication on any points which respected the general interests of Protestant Dissenters—the special concerns of the Congregation denomination, from which the members have been invariably selected—the peculiar circumstances relative to our churches and ministerial connexions—and any *personal* matter on which a member might desire the confidential opinion, or friendly advice of his brethren.

The books from 1814 are chiefly records of the attendances and payments of members, but there are occasional notes of interest and the names themselves are often "significant of much." The first list still existing, 15th Nov., 1814, has twelve names, of which three were of survivors of the original gathering in 1781 (33 years before)—Webb, Clayton, and Winter. Dr. Winter was minister of New Court, Lincoln's Inn (afterwards removed to Tollington Park), as his ancestor Thomas Bradbury had been before him, and where he numbered "some

aristocratic citizens amongst his congregation." Of Webb I have been able to trace nothing except that one event which makes us all famous, his death in 1820. Of the new names on that first list, the chief are H. F. Burder, Professor of Philosophy at Homerton College; Mr. Wilks, as he is simply styled (I am not sure whether this is the famous Matthew Wilks, who was minister both of Whitefield's, Tottenham Court Road and also of Moorfield's, described as of a "curious physiognomy, harsh voice and pointed sayings," or Mark Wilks, who appears in later lists and who, I suppose, was father or uncle to the later Mark Wilks of Holloway, the educationalist); Humphreys, who resigned in 1819 on becoming president of Mill Hill School, and Dr. Smith, who is undoubtedly Dr. Pye Smith as he is known later. The son of a bookseller in Sheffield, where the name is still honoured, he was tutor at Homerton from 1806 to 1851. He is described as "conservative in doctrine but in advance of his brethren in criticism and science." He was a geologist and anticipated something of the attitude towards the records of the Book of *Genesis* which provoked such a storm thirty or forty years ago. It is said amongst other things that his "courageous independence of thought with relation to the canonicity of Solomon's Song exposed him to animadversions which he bore with exemplary meekness."

It is curious that in 1820 there is a note that "Dr. Smith withdrew from the Society owing to the multiplicity of his engagements;" again in 1821 that "Dr. Smith resigned;" and in 1825 that "Dr. Smith withdrew." He seems to have been of a retiring disposition.

In 1821 the Rev. Thos. James was admitted. He was the brother of John Angell James and for a long time was Secretary as well as Treasurer of the *Sub Rosa*.

In 1825 the Rev. Geo. Burder was elected, a name worth recalling. He was the founder of the Religious Tract Society, one of the founders of the London Missionary Society, and for twenty-four years gave his services without charge as Secretary of the L.M.S., the last few years as Foreign Secretary, retiring in 1828. He was also Editor of the *Evangelical Magazine*, a considerable author, and all the time the minister of the important Fetter Lane Church.

There is a very human note during 1825. A deputation was appointed to see if the Society could be "comfortably entertained" at the "Rainbow Tavern," and at any rate it was resolved to leave the "King's Head." But at the next meeting the proprietors of the "King's Head" had promised greater

attention, and it was resolved to return there and to give the proprietor of the "Rainbow" 10/6 over and above his bill.

In October, 1826, Dr. E. Henderson was elected. He had been appointed tutor of the missionary seminary at Gosport on the death of Dr. Bogue, and when it was determined to move the college to Hoxton in London he was made Principal and so remained till 1830, when it was decided to distribute missionary students amongst other colleges. In 1827 Dr. Halley, Principal of Highbury College, joined. In 1830 Dr. Vaughan rejoined "by common consent." He was minister of Kensington and Professor of Ancient and Modern History in the University of London, and "attracted hearers not usually found in dissenting chapels": whether they were burglars or peers we are not told. Here is part of the description of Vaughan by Dr. Stoughton: "The searching glance from under his knitted brow, his compressed lips, his lordly bearing, his attitude and gesture revealed what was out of the ordinary way and created expectations rarely disappointed."

In October, 1831, Thomas Binney was elected. Binney filled much the same place in the religious world as Parker did later, though the two men were very different: "His portly frame, noble head, ample brow, thin, scattered locks, expressive eye, and changeful countenance which could be fierce with indignation and could also smile in gentlest love even as a little child." He was intensely practical, and more than once created a great sensation by strong utterances which he had afterwards to modify or explain away—as, for instance: "The Church of England has destroyed more souls than it has saved," in which he said he meant the State Control of the Church. In 1832 Dr. Arthur Tidman was elected. Tidman was Foreign Secretary of the L.M.S. from 1839 to 1868.

In December, 1837, it was resolved that any member absent for three consecutive times except for illness or absence from London should be considered to have resigned.

In 1839 John Clayton, Jnr., was elected. John Clayton of the Poultry had three sons in the ministry: John, the eldest, succeeded his father at the Poultry (afterwards moved to the City Temple), having previously been at Camomile St. and Kensington; he only remained one year in the Society as he went to live in Romford, then too far away. His brother George never seems to have joined the *Sub Rosa*, but twenty years ago or more we had as a member P. J. Turquand, who had been assistant to Geo. Clayton and afterwards his successor, and it was always a delight to get him to tell Clayton stories. The public prayers on Sunday were a running account of the

events which had happened during the week amongst the congregation, and the people listened eagerly for the births, marriages, and deaths. When Turquand's first child was born Geo. Clayton prayed "for thy servant, our friend and colleague, unto whom a child is born, unto whom a son is given." He preached always in gloves, black or lavender, according to the occasion, and his man-servant followed him up the pulpit stairs. John, too, was "wealthy, respectable, dignified," but old John was unkind enough to say that "one son had the best stock of goods, the other the best shop-window." There was a third son, William, who never became prominent, and was therefore probably the best man of the three.

In 1846 it was decided to raise the maximum membership to twenty, and in the same year Dr. William Smith, of Highbury College, the man of the Classical and Bible dictionaries of past days, was elected, though he only remained for a year.

In 1848 there is an unusual note in the resolution to discuss at the next meeting "the influence of philosophy on religion at the present time." As a rule there was no such formal discussion.

In 1850 Dr. Stowell joined, and so history repeats itself. In the same year was elected James Sherman, minister of Surrey Chapel from 1836 to 1854, a powerful preacher and great at weeping. In 1853 Henry Allon joined and was a member for forty years; in 1854 Baldwin Brown, the large-hearted and broad-minded, and in 1857 John Kennedy, brother-in-law of John Stuart Blackie. For some time at this period the Society met at the Milton Club, an institution which I have not yet been able to trace,[1] but after some flirtations with the Guildhall Coffee House settled there. It must not be supposed that the title "Coffee House" excluded enjoyment of Burgundy and other wines.

There are one or two other notable names which belong to this earlier period to which a few words should be given:

Dr. Raffles, afterwards so well known in Great George St., Liverpool;

William Orme, of Camberwell, Foreign Secretary—and, I think, the first *paid* Secretary—of the L.M.S. from 1828 to 1830;

William Walford of Homerton College, described as "a foe to enthusiasm, devotional in temper, and a considerable author;"

Dr. Collyer, the popular minister of Peckham, by "a silvery tone of address and by lectures written in a pleasant style

[1] Some of the meetings in connexion with the "Rivulet" Controversy were held in the Milton Club.—Ed.

attracted the notice not only of the middle class but of a few people of high rank, including the Duke of Kent and the Duke of Sussex, who treated him with marked kindness " ;

Dr. Morison, Chairman of the Union for 1850, Editor of the *Evangelical Magazine*, a man of unbounded industry and irrepressible spirits, in spite of great suffering ;

Dr. Joseph Fletcher, a popular preacher, argumentative, illustrative, " his musical voice harmonized with his warmth of sentiment and a careful study of vocal inflection appeared in consonance with a smooth rhetorical diction." I believe he is the man on whose grave in Abney Park are the words " The Children's Friend " ;

John Blackburn, of Claremont, Pentonville—then in its old glory but not as glorious as now—a man " whose bland countenance, reddish hair, and pathetic voice were familiar to the Dissenting public, and whose popularity, combined with literary taste and business capacity, gave him influence amongst his brethren " ;

Dr. Jas. Bennett, at some time of Falcon Square, the father of the physician, Sir Risdon Bennett, and a hearty worker for the L.M.S. ;

Algernon Wells, Secretary both of the Union and of the Colonial Missionary Society : Dr. Binney spoke, in the address which he gave at his funeral, most strongly of his special gifts for his work and of his industry and tact, and Stoughton adds : " He had the gift of tears and was apt to weep on public occasions when his heart was touched or his carefully finished plans were interrupted ; but he had a fund of humour in conversation and could pour forth sunny smiles and hearty healthy laughs."

Caleb Morris should have been named as belonging to this period, and between 1840 and 1860 other names appear on the roll of men who should not be forgotten.

Dr. Stoughton, the embodiment of Nonconformity in its best Sunday clothes, was our representative on State occasions ; he was the moving spirit in a gathering of Churchmen and Nonconformists in 1876 ; in 1877 he lectured in Westminster Abbey on Missions, and was a pallbearer at Dean Stanley's funeral ;

Samuel Martin, who should always be remembered by the fact that not only was he a popular preacher, but he did much to purify and improve the squalid neighbourhood about Westminster Chapel, making it much more than a mere preaching place, an institution which, if that is all it is, I do not think much advances the Kingdom of God ;

Joshua Harrison of Camden Town who was living when I came to London and who was the ideal of a Christian gentleman ;

Dr. Stowell, President of Cheshunt from 1850, and according to the *Dictionary of National Biography* the pioneer of missions to working men, though I cannot find any further evidence on that point ;

Josiah Viney, of Highgate ;

Thos. Hill, of Clapham.

Then from 1860 onward :

Dr. Raleigh, the Scotch preacher, who when he went to Harecourt in 1858 seemed to attract every Scotchman within a five-mile radius. Allon especially suffered but did not allow it to interfere with their friendship ;

Thos. Jones, the poet preacher of Bedford Chapel, who had Browning amongst his hearers and to a posthumous volume of whose sermons Browning wrote an Introduction ;

Dr. Reynolds, called from Leeds to his thirty-four years' Presidency of Cheshunt, a saint if ever there was one, but who might have been a little more effective had there been in his nature some slight trace of the old Adam ;

Dr. Mullens, the Foreign Secretary of the L.M.S. ;

Dr. Newth, the New Testament Reviser, connected with New College for thirty-five years, latterly as Principal but first as Professor of Mathematics and Ecclesiastical History, which strikes one as a curious mixture ;

Dr. Hannay, the "good boy" who is always held up as a pattern to imperfect secretaries ;

W. M. Statham, one of those who later, in Dr. Parker's phrase, "found in the Church of England a temporary obscurity on their way to oblivion."

Before I close let me glance at the names of those who were members when I was admitted in February, 1892. Of the 21 members there are only five living—Darlow, W. F. Clarkson, now of Brading, Isle of Wight, Selbie, Thos. Simon, now of Stowmarket, and myself. Darlow had been elected two months before me, but by leaving for a while he lost his position as Father of the House. In addition there were Allon, who died suddenly two months later ; Joshua Harrison ; the ever to be remembered and beloved Silvester Horne ; J. Knaggs, of Stratford, whose stately figure, clothed in his bands and gown, won the affection of four wives in succession ; Joshua Nunn, the useful Secretary of this Society and helper of many others ; his successor here, Richard Lovett, the Tract Society

Editor and official historian of the L.M.S.; Macgregor of Paddington; R. A. Redford, of whom wicked students used to say that he only resigned when his old lecture manuscripts had become too brown and ragged to be used again; A. Reed; Guinness Rogers, the true friend and tender-hearted, but like a true Irishman often inviting people to tread on the tail of his coat; Selbie, then a modest young man of Highgate; Henry Simon of Harecourt, soon to follow his neighbour Allon to the grave; Turquand, the good story-teller, not without a fine taste in Burgundy; Verrall, of the Pastors' Retiring Fund, with his strong common sense; De Kewer Williams, of the Gravel Pit, wit oozing out at every crevice of his nature, not to be stifled even in his prayers, a very popular lecturer and humorist, and we are told by those who knew him a really earnest and devoted minister at heart. He married twice and published a little memorial volume, entitled, I believe, *My Two Wives*—which shows some courage; Charles Wilson; Woods, the Secretary of the Congregational Union, and Morley Wright, the devoted pastor and friend of his great congregation, who preached rather in his life than on Sundays. The next to join of those who are still members was Harries, who first appears on the roll in April, 1895; William Bolton joined the previous month, but has since

Here ends Mr. Hardy Harwood's paper, the last page of which is evidently missing.

Since the above was printed I have been able to examine the cash books of the *Sub Rosa* from 1816. Occasionally there are in them references to matters discussed, but usually there are only notes about people proposed for election. One or two customs seem to have fallen into abeyance. The *Sub Rosa* sometimes accepted an invitation to dinner at the home of one of its members, and sometimes went on an excursion. Occasionally visits seem to have been exchanged between the *Eclectic*, another Congregational ministers' club in London, and the *Sub Rosa*, and in May some twenty ministers from the country of different denominations were invited to dinner. Ministers accepting in 1888 were "Dr. Bruce, C. A. Berry, Dr. Clifford, Dr. Conder, Dr. Dale, Dr. Green, Dr. Macfadyen, Dr. Mackennal, S. Pearson, Arnold Thomas, Dr. Angus, T. V. Tymms, and Edward White."

It is interesting to note the change in the nature of the dinners. At first the club seems to have paid for wines, then, after examining the procedure of the *Eclectic*, each member

paid for his own wines. For a long time, we imagine, no wine has been seen at a *Sub Rosa* luncheon. The luncheon, too, is probably of a much less sumptuous kind than it used to be; complaint was made that the length of the dinner—the excessive number of courses—encroached on the time for conversation.

In 1885 it was resolved that minutes be kept. The minutes from October, 1885, to October, 1888, have come to light, and they enable us to give a little more information. Apparently the meeting has always taken more or less the same form. The names of absent brethren are read and their health drunk. When a new member is nominated his name is mentioned at two consecutive meetings. If anyone demurs to any name the nomination is not proceeded with. Dr. Parker's name, no one will be surprised to read, caused significant head-shakings. Subjects discussed during these years include "The lawfulness and expediency of the action of Mr. Stead to bring about the passing of the Criminal Law Amendment Act." Dr. Kennedy asked how far the *Nonconformist and Independent* could be regarded as representing the denomination. Dr. Allon announced the discontinuance of the *British Quarterly* and asked whether a monthly magazine with the same objects would be likely to succeed, while in 1886 "The adverse influence which is being exerted by the *Christian World* Newspaper on Belief and Church life especially in many Country Congregations" caused some perturbation. On another occasion it was announced that all persons not members of the Established Church were excluded from some London hospitals, and many members felt that therefore Nonconformists should not continue to collect for the Hospital Sunday Fund. Allon and Kennedy took the opposite view. The formation of Mansfield College was discussed, the troubles at Milton Mount, and also the presence of the Rev. Henry Ward Beecher at the London Board of Congregational Ministers. An interesting entry reads:

> Mr. Wright mentioned the case of a member of his Church, who had just been elected a Deacon. Objection to his holding the office was being made, privately, by some parties, inasmuch as he had married, albeit in Switzerland, his deceased wife's Sister. Mr Wright asked whether in the opinion of the Brethren the objection was valid. Opinions were divided, but there appeared to be a preponderance against the validity

of the objection, not so much because the marriage took place in a country where it was legal, but because the English law is discredited by the judgment and opposition of a large and influential part of the nation as being simply ecclesiastical and as having no scriptural or moral authority.

Which reflects credit on the members of the *Sub Rosa*! With the years the Society has increased in membership, the present number being forty-nine, the meetings still being held monthly during the winter months. The present Secretary and Treasurer is the Rev. R. J. Evans, M.A.

ALBERT PEEL.

A Characteristic Silvester Horne Letter.

9, Campden Hill Gardens, W.
June 6, 1902.

MY DEAR GERARD FORD,

Your letter took me greatly by surprise. I had had some correspondence with Withington representatives, but this suggestion had not crossed my mind. Let me say at once that I always feel any such kind confidence a very real honour, and am equally conscious of having done very little to deserve it. But all the more I should not be justified in leaving them in any doubt as to my reply. No suburban congregation would attract me in the least. I have the feeling that eventually I shall move to some central church; some large empty wilderness of a chapel, and attempt something of a city ministry. Such an offer as the [ ][1] people are laying before me at this very hour in regard to [ ][1] has a real fascination. If I could tear up my roots here and make a move, which I hardly dare even to contemplate, it would have to be for some forlorn hope, at which a fellow could fail with credit and cheerfulness! You do me no more than justice when you say the salary would not count. I should not haggle about that. But I must see that there is a fair chance of becoming central to the life and thought of some town or city in a way I cannot be here. Till I see that, and feel that the call is to me, and to me only, I shall not entertain the idea of giving up a position here where I feel God is giving me influence and usefulness.

Believe me,
Yours very sincerely,
C. SILVESTER HORNE.

P.S. I am so full of engagements that it is, alas, useless to talk of anniversary services.

[1] Two words blotted out. It was in the following year that Horne went to Whitefield's Tabernacle. Is that the reference?

Orthodoxy in Massachusetts.

By PERRY MILLER. HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS. 15s.

ONE of the most gratifying features of historical study in recent years has been the way American students have given themselves to the investigation of ecclesiastical history. H. M. Dexter has his successors among young men to-day who visit this country to examine the religious background of the men of the *Mayflower*. Mr. Stephen S. Slaughter is already known to readers of this journal through his articles on "The Dutch Church in Norwich"; Mr. Slaughter has already sent us a typed copy of his thesis, "Foundations of English Puritan Democracy, as Studied in the Writings of the Congregationalists, and as Limited to the City of Norwich, 1558–1665," which, we trust, will be published in due course.

Not long ago we noticed in these pages Professor S. E. Morison's *Builders of the Bay Colony*. That work is now followed up by Mr. Perry Miller's admirable study, the title of which scarcely represents its contents, for it is of moment to students of political philosophy and religious history alike.

Mr. Miller doubts whether justice has been done to the New England founders either by those who feel that most of them were impelled merely by economic considerations, or by those who, like Dexter and Williston Walker, have read their own conceptions into the story, and "ever felt called upon to justify." He believes that there has been

> no concerted attempt to realize the continuity of thought extending from the initial stages of English Puritanism to the peculiar institutions of New England,

and sets himself to trace that continuity.

This he does in a fruitful and suggestive fashion, though there are many indications that he has had to rely on second-hand evidence (such as the *Calendars of State Papers* rather than the manuscripts themselves), and there is much useful material available, especially upon the Elizabethan Separatists, on which he has failed to draw. Mr. Miller sets out to show that Puritans and Separatists alike believed that :

(1) The Bible provided them with the sufficient rule for Church organization.

(2) Princes could and should rule over the Church, though they must respect the fundamental laws of its constitution.

(3) Uniformity should be maintained and enforced.

In the case of the early Separatists this is not so certain as Mr. Miller makes out, though he brings no mean array of quotations to show that while the discipline they wanted the magistrate to impose was Congregationalism, yet they not only acknowledged his authority, but had no intention themselves of tolerating other sects—how could they when their way of the Word was the only true way! Thus the platform of the exiled church in Amsterdam (1596) says that princes must

> suppress and root out by their authoritie all false ministeries, voluntarie Relligions and counterfeyt worship of God [and] establish & mayntein by their lawes every part of Gods word, his pure Relligion and true ministerie . . . yea, to enforce al their Subiects whether Ecclesiasticall or civile, to do their dutyes to God and men.

Very valuable are the chapters in which Mr. Miller distinguishes between Separatist and Non-Separatist Congregationalism, where we imagine his exposition of the writings of Ames, Bradshaw, and Baines, will break new ground for many readers, even those who were aware from John Robinson of the distinction made between separation from the Church of England and separation from the corruptions in the Church. Mr. Miller then shows, convincingly, that the Bay towns did not catch their church polity by contagion from Plymouth—their writings are too anti-Separatist for that—but that they were adopting the only policy

> left open to a people who were at one and the same time convinced of the absolute truth of a dissenting program and of the absolute necessity for orthodox uniformity,

and applying the principles that they had brought with them.

> The enterprise was a by-product of the Reformation, a spark shot out from a century of religious friction. From its inception the colony was consciously dedicated to achieving the uniformity to which all reformers had aspired. It was to prove that the Bible could be made a rule of life, that the essentials of religion could be derived from Scripture, and then

> reinforced by the enlightened dictation of godly magistrates. It was to show that these essentials included polity as well as dogma, and that the one legitimate polity was Congregationalism. Because it would harmonize true uniformity with the true Church, the colony must continue theoretically loyal to its sovereign and his Church; it must give no encouragement to Separation, in either England or New England. It was to convince the world that a government could admit the Puritan claim for delimitation of the civil supremacy by the Word of God without sacrificing a genuine control over the nation's Church, that the King of England could easily permit the churches of England to become Congregational without destroying their continuity or altering the fabric of society. It was, in short, to demonstrate conclusively that Congregationalism could and should be a competent state religion.

With this thesis Mr. Miller explains the dilemmas in which the colonists found themselves—in regard to baptism, the admission to membership, the eldership and synods, the taxation of non-members for pastoral support, and the persecution or banishment of dissidents. He shows how little in the way of real democracy there was in the constitution of Church and State, and how little in the way of toleration, so that when the Independents in England awoke to the idea of toleration the New England Congregationalists were left high and dry; as Katherine Chidley said in 1641, "they had left England too early, and lost touch with the more recent advances."

> Thus did the New England orthodoxy turn its back upon the greatest single religious advance of modern times, and exert itself to avoid making innovations in its thinking.

Perhaps this summary will indicate the value of the book, which we cordially commend to readers. They will, we imagine, wonder why it contains so little about the Plymouth Colony.

ALBERT PEEL.