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EDITORIAL.

MANY readers of this journal will greatly regret to hear of the death of Mr. George A. Stephen, F.L.A., the City Librarian of Norwich. Mr. Stephen was well known in the Library world as one of the most efficient of public librarians, and many research students in this country and in the United States have had reason to be grateful to him for the assistance he has given them in their work. A keen Congregationalist, connected with Princes Street Church, Mr. Stephen had a wide circle of friends who held him in great respect. His family, his church, and his city will greatly miss him.

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The Autumnal Meeting of the Society was held in George Street Church, Croydon, on September 25th. Dr. S. W. Carruthers was unable to be present owing to illness, and the Society was greatly indebted to the Rev. A. G. Matthews, M.A., who spoke on "Puritan Worship." Mr. Matthews's paper on this subject is to appear in a volume of essays shortly to be published, and so we cannot print it in the *Transactions*. The Annual Meeting will be held in the Council Chamber, Memorial Hall, at 3 p.m., on Wednesday, May 15th. It will take the form of a discussion on the Society's work in the immediate future. The time has now come when the Society might with advantage organize some piece of research. Individual members have been responsible in past years for many contributions to ecclesiastical history, but it should now be possible by means of team-work to tackle many problems awaiting investigation. A project of this kind will be outlined at the meeting, at which it will also be wise to discuss ways and means of increasing the membership of the Society so as to banish financial anxiety. Even *Transactions* of the restricted nature of our own call for a larger sum each year than our annual income, and the balance in hand has been growing steadily less. We make a special

appeal to all members of the Society to be present at the Annual Meeting.

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It has been gratifying to note the publication in recent months of works of great importance to historical study, some of them by Congregationalists.

We warmly congratulated a member of our Society, Major N. G. Brett-James, on his authoritative work, *The Growth of Stuart London* (Allen & Unwin, 25*s*.), to which Sir Charles Collett has written an Introduction. Major Brett-James describes the growth of the city from 1603 to 1702, from Elizabeth to Anne, from Stow to Strype, from Shakespeare to Defoe, and no student of the period can fail to learn much from his scholarly, well-documented survey. Especially valuable are the maps, which Major Brett-James has himself drawn, while the Bibliography, and especially the section on the *Bills of Mortality*, is of great service. Perhaps the most remarkable figure in the history of London's development during the period is Nicholas Barbon, of whom an excellent account is given. Many will be surprised at the thoroughness of London's fortifications during the Civil War ; on this and on many other topics Major Brett-James has collected much information.

It is a pleasure to come across a book where justice is done to Cromwell. He is not only said to have made " the most striking advance towards a national system of roads," but is defended in words which will be of peculiar interest to readers of recent issues of the *Transactions* :

> It is possible to remark that the damage to church property frequently alleged against Oliver Cromwell and his Roundheads and Ironsides, mainly in time of war, is a mere drop in the ocean compared with the ruthless destruction of the glorious churches and spacious monastic buildings of London and elsewhere during the half-century immediately succeeding the Dissolution of the Monasteries, not unjustly called the Great Pillage.

We noticed a misprint on p. 457.

Another able piece of work which will be of great interest to students is Prof. M. M. Knappen's *Two Elizabethan Puritan Diaries. By Richard Rogers and Samuel Ward* (S.P.C.K., 9*s*.). Both these diaries are in the Dr. Williams's Library, and some twenty years ago we made notes on that of Samuel Ward. The transcripts now made, with the competent Introduction,

throw much light on the ecclesiastical affairs of their period, and it is hoped that the fact that the present volume is published for the American Society of Church History will not militate against its being fully used by English students. In some future issue we propose to write at greater length about the diaries. Now we merely draw the attention of readers to them.

For the Third Spalding Club (Aberdeen) Prof. G. D. Henderson has edited a very attractive volume, which bears the title *Mystics of the North-East*, being selections from the Charter Room of Cullen House, Banffshire. One does not usually associate Episcopalians in the north-east of Scotland with mysticism, but here is a group of men, in politics involved in the Fifteen, eagerly studying mystical literature, especially the books edited by Pierre Poiret, and corresponding with Madame Guyon and other French Roman Catholics. Henry Scougall's *Life of God in the Soul of Man* is not unknown at the present day, and students of mysticism are acquainted with John Forbes's *Spiritual Exercises*. Both were Professors of Divinity at Aberdeen, and a third Professor, George Garden, the greatest authority on Forbes and the friend of Scougall, is called by Dr. Henderson " the soul of the Mystical Movement in the North-East." Garden, indeed, his elder brother James, and Dr. James Keith, are the main personalities of a volume which is full of interest in the light it throws on the religious life of the period in the corner of Scotland with which it is concerned. It is edited in competent fashion by Dr. Henderson, the Introduction and Notes affording all necessary information. Dr. Henderson contributed to our pages (XII. 67) an informing article on "Some Early Scottish Independents," which was marked by the same wide learning and sound scholarship as the present book.

We wish it could be assumed that the conclusions reached in Mr. Percy A. Scholes's *The Puritans and Music in England and New England* (Oxford Press, 21*s*.) would be spread far and wide. For 300 years the Puritans have been charged with hating music, the drama, dancing, and all kinds of pleasure; opinions without foundation have passed on from one writer to another, and Macaulay's views accepted without question. Mr. Scholes has made a thorough examination of the evidence, and he clearly shows that there is no basis at all for the charges so often preferred. Those with but a slight acquaintance with Puritan history knew that Cromwell

and Milton loved music, and that Bunyan's Christiana could play upon the viol, and her daughter, Mercy, upon the lute; but they will be surprised at the convincing case Mr. Scholes presents. Because the Puritans opposed the abuse of a thing, it does not mean they opposed its use; because they hated elaborate music in church, vocal and instrumental, it does not mean they did not practise it in private; because they could not tolerate the immoral associations of stage plays it does not necessarily mean they were opposed to the drama *per se*. Whether dealing with Calvin at Geneva, with art, recreation, or music in England, or with New England Mr. Scholes draws on a wide list of authorities. He shows how Samuel Peters (1735–1826) invented the famous "Blue Laws," and then goes on to prove that there were musical instruments in New England, that there was no Puritan objection to their use, and no laws against them. Mr. Scholes has given to scholars a valuable study, packed with evidence; we are sorry that he frequently adopts a jaunty manner which may incline critics to dispute the worth of his work.

It is rather a pity, too, that Mr. Scholes does not stick to those aspects of his subject on which he can speak with peculiar authority. In an "Interlude" he denies that the Puritans gave their children unusual and Biblical names. Well, here are some which a member of the Society has gathered from *Calamy Revised*: Benoni, Machaliah, Ichabod, Sabbath, Gratious, Obedience, Deodate, Charity, Godsgift, Welcome, Deliverance, Lausdeo, Thankfull, Faithfull, Federata, Signata.

Another volume of which Congregationalism can be proud, though it does not deal with ecclesiastical history, is Dr. Howard H. Scullard's *History of the Roman World, 753–146 B.C.*, in Methuen's "History of the Greek and Roman World" series (15*s*.).

Calvin's *Institute of Christian Religion*

In the Imprints of Thomas Vautrollier.

SOME lip-service is due, even in this generation, to the character of a work which has racked the Christian world with controversy and apprehension, which has entered into the very composition of Scottish character and religion, and which, for nearly two centuries, informed the spirit of English Dissent. It is a *gaucherie*, perhaps, to name Calvin when modern presentments of Christian doctrine are discussed ; it has much the effect of a reference to Bishop Barlow in a gathering of High Churchmen.

But the secondary influences of Calvin's teaching have been of greater consequence, perhaps, than the primary results, vast as those were. The modern scientific dogmas concerning the uniformity of nature and of determinism arose among men bred to meditate upon predestination. The genesis of their theories would doubtless be denied by the twentieth-century physicists, who found their theories upon a universal necessity, itself unexplained, or by some doubtfully Christian Bishop, who would regard Calvin with the contempt he feels for all not privileged to live in the days of analytical research. Well, no man is a hero to his lackeys, or to those who borrow from him. It is, perhaps, those who disagree fundamentally with Calvin who will be readiest to recognize his greatness.

The *Institute* is not only readable : it presents its point of view with singular clarity. It formed for Puritanism a manual and standard of theological statement. Prior to Vautrollier's day, editions of the *Institute*, both English-printed and of foreign origin, circulated in England, though tolerated with growing disfavour by the ecclesiastical authorities. One of the reasons for which Robert Parsons, afterwards General of the Jesuits, was driven from Balliol, was his dissemination of Calvinist books among the students. Strangely enough, the compliment was amply repaid. In the days when Parsons was a dreaded exile Calvinists were preparing editions of his devotional works.

Thomas Vautrollier, the Blackfriars printer, by whom so many and so popular editions of the *Institute* were produced, was primarily a printer; he was, nevertheless, a scholar of abilities hitherto insufficiently recognized. To his firm, and probably, to the industry of his extraordinary wife, Jacqueline Du Thuit, who afterwards married Richard Field, the printer of *Venus and Adonis*, is owed the production of the first Greek Testament put into type in this country; a faithful reproduction of the text of Stephens, of the same year, 1587, save for eleven critical alterations derived from Beza.

For a while, after his naturalization in England in 1562, Vautrollier was agent to the illustrious Plantin of Antwerp, and, thereafter, singularly, adopted as his patron the Roman Catholic Earl of Arundel. The nexus, which brought him into contact with Scotsmen involved in the Ridolfi plot, and which, after enduring for years, bore its influence in the attachment of Vautrollier to the Stuarts, did not prevent him from maintaining a steady production of books, sometimes distinctly and dangerously Puritan, and occasionally tinged with the more hazardous speculations of Dickson, and the other followers of Bruno. From 1579 onwards he conducted business both at London and at Edinburgh, at the latter of which places he was King's Printer, and brought into a singularly beautiful volume, for the youthful sovereign, those fine adventures of an immature genius: *The Essayes of a Prentise in the Divine Art of Poesie.*

The editions of Calvin's *Institute* printed by Vautrollier, may be summarized as follows:—

1576. Latin edition. Fully indexed. London.
1576. Latin Compendium. Bunney's. London.
1578. English edition. Thos. Norton, translator. Lond.
1583. Latin Epitome. De Lawne's. London.
1584. 2nd. edition of the above. London.
1585. Lawne's Epitome trans. by Fetherstone. Edinburgh.
1586. 2nd. edition of above. Edinburgh.
1587. 3rd edition of above. Edinburgh.

The gap between 1578 and 1583 could probably be filled. Vautrollier lent the use of his energies to others, described occasionally as his partners. The fact that the name of some such stationer is to be found on an edition of Calvin's *Institute* would weigh nothing against typographical considerations that would assign it to the Blackfriars printer.

The frequency with which Vautrollier and others printed the *Institute*, *Compendia* and *Epitomes* must be regarded as evidence that they furnished a lucrative source of income. The English abridgments were not included in Vautrollier's exclusive Printing Privilege, that is, they could be put forth by any of his trade rivals, if the author could obtain profitable terms from such publishers. In the conduct of a business almost vast, Vautrollier found it remunerative to compete for editions of this work, and to circulate its great bulk in numbers that exceeded, in the aggregate, ten thousand. Such works were read, in Elizabethan days, with avidity and with bias. The Reformation was so recent that the discussion of its teachings entered every home—for union in a mutual enthusiasm, or for division that destroyed every tie of family affection. Dogmatics were politics, and the most unlikely and most irreligious of life were often keen supporters of their favourite brands of theology, suitable for an ideal Christian State. When Martin Marprelate assailed the Bishops, Nash joined in. It was possible to rebuke his scurrility, but his interest in ecclesiastical affairs was not wholly incongruous. So distant is a day of general theological heat that the intervention of Mr. George Robey in a dispute concerning Anglican Orders or the Filioque would be regarded as almost an impropriety; and that he should have any, even the most languid interest concerning them, absurd.

The credit of editing the great Latin edition of 1576 rests between Edmund Bunney and Vautrollier. Of Edmund Bunney, scant available biographical material suffices to establish that he was brother of a popular preacher, Francis Bunney, that he was incumbent of Bolton Percy, Yorks., and probably Archdeacon of York. In 1585, he was entrusted with the compilation of the Exercises for the Seventeenth of November, the day of the Accession of Queen Elizabeth. His works are fairly numerous, and are well represented in the British Museum Catalogue. His eclecticism was evidenced by editing for Protestant readers *The Christian Directory*, a work of Robert Parsons, the Jesuit, and one of those manuals that belong to all the citizens of the Heavenly Kingdom. Parsons resented the expurgation—" punished and plumed " for Protestant perusal.

Bunney's share in the 1576 edition of the *Institute* is clearly stated in the Preface, which constitutes Vautrollier's acknowledgment of indebtedness to the cleric who had assisted him

in the task of digesting and indexing the ponderous mass of material: "*Quum nouam Institutionis Christianae Religionis adornarem, quam maxime fieri potuit curaui, ut pijs omnibus, susceptus a me labor prodesset. Ac primum totius operis initio, librorum et capitum argumenta D. Emundi Bunnij industria, non ita pridem concinnata, catalogo Caluini adiecimus.*" Herein is special reference to the short heads of chapters, occupying two and a half pages and condensing three hundred times as much, and general aid with the whole work. The cross-indexing, which is elaborate, and the explanation of the ingenious system of references in the Indexes, appear to have been the work of Vautrollier. To the literary labours of this great printer catalogues do not bear witness. It is only by perusal of the books that issued from his press that the discovery of his translations, editing, and original compilation can be established. He breathed the spirit of accomplishment into miscellaneous masses of material, and formed in readable shape the author whom he published.

The contents of the entire book of 1576 (B.M. 114 c 34) are stated to be comprised in 920 pages, found by counting, of which bulk the *Institute* itself occupies pp. 1—742; the summary and indexes, pp. 742—902.

The title-page bears the Anchora Spei, and the printer's name. Then, (*a*) Typographus lectori, *ii in recto; (*b*) Theodore de Beza's Carmen ἐπίμικτον, the subject, Calvin's unceremonious, but testamentary, burial in the public cemetery at Geneva; (*c*) Eidem, to *ii in verso; (*d*) Calvin to the Reader *iij; (*e*) Calvin to Francis I, *iv to **iii in recto; (*f*) The Principal Heads of this Book **iij to iiij in verso; (*g*) ***j, Greek verse, 10 lines; (*h*) Greek verse, 8 lines; (*i*) Eidem, i.e. To Calvin, Florus Christianus, nearly three pages to ***ii in verso, where is a French Sonnet; (*k*) Register A, page 1 of the *Institute* to page 742, AA 2 iii. The registration shows error:—ZZ is followed by A 22, misprinted for AAa, and page 742, which should be AAa iij in verso, is, in actuality, registered AA 2 iij. From page 742, the registration is resumed regularly, in great part, to KKKij in verso, which is, however, marked as K ij. The word "Finis," denotes the real last page and surmounts the printer's emblem, the woman's head with cornucopiæ and "T.V."

The Epistle to Francis I has its history. Calvin had, at one time, believed it possible to induce Francis I to espouse the Reforming cause, and this preface of 1536 tells of his disappointed hopes. According to Vogt, a 1539 edition, which appears to have been printed at London, added to

this Preface the name, " Alcuin," an anagram which barely disguised the real author. Of this edition, Vogt could find but two copies, of which one, in the possession of David Durand, the minister of the French Church, had been collected from the house of Dr. Martin.

The heads of the Greek verses have been reproduced with frequency, but without the least explanation. They are puzzling, but the riddle is not insoluble.

The first is entitled : *ΦΡΑΓΚΙΣΚΟΙ ΤΟΥ ΠΟΡΤΟΥ̂.*

The verse that follows is replete with error. It is possible for an Englishman to write poor English, and for a Greek to make grammatical errors.

φραγκίσκῳ τοῦ πορτοῦ is not of this description. It is beyond the worst that a Greek could have done. Andrew Melville charged the Greek professor at Geneva, Francis Portus, a native of Crete, with inability to pronounce his own language, but both Francis and Emile Portus were scholars. The " For Francis of the Portus " is meant, probably, for " By Francis Du Port." In fact, if half a dozen corrections be made, the verse is quite equal to the general level of Du Port's other known productions. He was a doctor, resident at Geneva, who wrote poems, of which the recitation was designed to convert Jews. The perusal can be warranted to render them very uneasy at least.

The second poem, *ΕΡΡΙΚΟΥ ΤΟΥ̂ ΣΤΕΦΑ̂ΝΟΥ̂*, which is queerly accentuated, leaves greater difficulties. It is a boyish production crowding the triple crown, seven-hills, Roman dragon, Styx, and Tartarus, into the first four lines. But it has also managed to say therein that the sickly body of Calvin, which now the earth covers, had suffered pains that one would deem insupportable by the most vigorous, robust, healthy, and immune. There is a certain gift of language, not free from grammatical error, but yet quite as good Greek as would be yielded in half an hour's effort by, say, a modern clergyman. Eric's verse reads with a swing, and he evidently disliked the Pope very much.

The difficulty is " Eric " Stephens. There is no unintentional slip for Henry ; " Eric " was printed, voiced and meant. No Eric is recorded in the great line of Estienne, the printers. The boy was perhaps born in Switzerland, and named in memory of the great hero of Riuli, contemporary and acquaintance of " Alcuin."

The prefixes conclude with a French Sonnet, quite astonish-

ingly fine, and, if the work of Christianus Florus, a key to his identity. The rhyme scheme is *a b b a a c c a d d e f f e.*

Marlorat's Index at the end of the book was by that Biblical scholar, the ex-Augustinian who preceded Loyseleur Villerius in the Huguenot ministry at Rouen. Marlorat's sufferings and end are recorded in the *Biographia Evangelica.* His widow Margaret, who died in February, 1602—3, in St. Katherine's Creechurch, left her all for the poor of the French Church. Probably, that " all " was augmented by the use of this Index by Norton and others, and by some aid from William Feuguerius, later Professor at Leyden, who, in 1574, completed for Vautrollier the *Thesaurus* of Marlorat, a fine Concordance, handsomely printed, and circulated freely by the hearty commendation of Archbishop Parker.

The Latin *Compendium of Calvin's Institute,* abridged by Edmund Bunney, was published in the same year as the larger work. It is a small octavo, with four folding tables, printed in Roman type, of which copies for examination are difficult to obtain. The only example to which reference can be given is that contained in Catalogue X. of Messrs. J. & J. Leighton, who cite it as published, " impensis G. Bishop & T. Vautrollier." George Bishop, who afterwards occupied the highest offices in The Stationers' Company, was associated with Vautrollier in many enterprises, and especially in bringing Field from Stratford-on-Avon to London.

The translation of Bunney's *Compendium,* effected in 1580, was put forth, not by Vautrollier, but by Thomas Dawson, for William Norton, dwelling in Paules Churchyard at the sign of the Queen's Armes. This little 1580 Black Letter describes Edmund Bunnie as Bachelor of Diuinitie, whereby hangs a tale of disappointed hope, related by Anthony à Wood with all his malignant passion for unnecessary truth. Those were the days of supplication for Honorary Divinity Degrees at Oxford, granted freely enough before ever aspirants dreamed that America would enter the field, and, by dumping an unusable article, raise the value of the home product. In the race for distinction Bunney also ran ; his application for the doctorate was refused.

This could scarce have been upon the grounds of Puritanism. The translation is dedicated to the Bishop of London, a truculent, theftuous bully, if Martin Marprelate's account

of John Aylmer is credible. Edward May, the translator, who writes the preface of 9 August, 1579, is willing to describe him as a "reverend Father in Christ." May is quite an obscure figure. A William May, Dean of St. Paul's, was nominated by Queen Elizabeth to the Archbishopric of York, but died before his consecration. He was possibly a relative of Edward May, in which case it may be assumed that Edward was a young man, for he did not at any time enjoy a living or any preferment in the diocese of London. Aylmer would, certainly, have been little likely to be influenced by the dedication to him; he had his own young relatives to look after; but, if May were young, he could scarcely have been expected to weigh the worth of complaisant dedications against family affection.

The first unabridged English translation of the *Institute* produced by Vautrollier was made by Thomas Norton. The whole weight of evidence points to this Thomas Norton being identical with the part author of *Gorboduc*, the City Solicitor and Remembrancer, and the rack-master. The intrinsic difficulty in accepting the evidence is its incredibility. The standard account, which is coherent, and supported by hundreds of contemporary documents, represents an ardent Christian man, who had married, first Cranmer's daughter, then Alice Cranmer, her cousin, then a third wife, petitioning for the post of rack-master; seeking permission to have a rack in his private house at the Guildhall, where he could pursue his avocations in the leisure and comfort of domestic surroundings; boasting that he would drag Bryant, the Jesuit, a good foot longer than God had made him; thrusting steel wedges under the finger-nails to split them from the mangled hands of his victims; in short, behaving, as Bernardino de Mendoza, a rather single-minded soldier, wrote, "in a fashion that might have been reserved for Antichrist in the last days." In the interval of these employments, Norton was dramatist and translator of Calvin.

There would appear to be room for a theory that there were two of the name; one Thomas Norton, the dramatist; the other, the theologian; two dwellers at the Guildhall, both of the same name; one, the father; the other, perhaps, the son; alike in legal avocation, and indistinguishable by reason of share of work; distinguishable now by God alone, in that one sought the accomplishment of His work, and the other yearned, with the coldest crudity of a nature

delighting in cruelty, for the accomplishment of the work of the devil.

For such a theory there is some scrap of evidence, a little that may rid religion of the discredit of possessing such a fellow as the rack-master among its writers. In Strype's account of the last days of Campion is found mention of a minister, Thomas Norton, who advised concerning the celebrated conference between the Jesuit and his old schoolfellow, Fulke, with whom were Goade, Clarke, and John Field, and upon a later occasion, Nowell. (As a schoolboy, Fulke had wept bitterly at the loss of a silver pen, the prize in a competition won by Campion, and had predicted that he would win the next contest.) Had Norton, the minister, been also the rack-master, the fact would assuredly have been mentioned. Bryant, another of the Jesuits who suffered at this time, had before his death communicated a singular account of his racking, by Norton, in which the bodily pain suffered is minimized. In this most interesting document, published contemporaneously by G. T. (whoever he was) for the information of the Lords of the Privy Council, Bryant would certainly have mentioned the strange fact that his tormentor had been a cleric, had such been within his knowledge. The Privy Council was concerned with the indignation aroused throughout Europe by the proceedings in this and other like cases. The pen of Burleigh was employed, and in his *Defence of English Justice,* published by Vautrollier, the acts were defended and extenuated. The Council's correspondence evidences its investigation of allegations of excessive zeal shown by Norton ; detail is given ; the nuisance arising from the screams of the victims, the illness of Norton's wife (the poor woman appears to have become insane) and the general loathing in which Norton was held, all figure in the documents. Had Norton been a minister, the fact would not have been overlooked. Norton, the rack-master, was, therefore, not Norton, the minister.

Again, the public career of Thomas Norton is of a length inconsistent with the theory that there was but one Thomas Norton, dramatist, torturer, and translator. Thomas Norton, tutor to the children of the Protector, Somerset, sends a very mature letter to Calvin describing the end of Somerset's régime, and its sequels. It is a letter of one who has learnt the lesson of caution in the school of revolutions, and of the rise and fall of rulers of men. Withal, it is the well-informed, cheering

epistle of a kindly, polished, and even tolerant man, writing to one of his own age, and of like rank in life. Among all the fierce fanatics by whom he was surrounded, this Thomas Norton would seem to stand out as a gentleman, willing to yield to every man his due. He commends the Marquis of Winchester, whether or no religious differences existed betwixt him and the writer, as " a worthy and religious man." If this were the rack-master of later years, he would have been at least sixty years old when he sought that arduous employment. It was arduous. It frequently took four men to throw the victim on the rack, and the bending over to catch words and phrases, uttered in half delirium, amid the groans of the torture, was no work for a stiff-backed old gentleman. There was, apparently, neither pawl nor ratchet to maintain the strain of the turn of the rollers, and the mere maintenance of the position of the levers, and their adjustment to fresh pivots, was not labour that any considerate employer would have sought of a man getting on for the three-score and ten. For the credit of the Council of that day, it must be supposed that the rack-master was not Calvin's old friend.

Thirdly, for what it is worth, we have assertions such as that of Mr. Edward Farr, who edited the Select Poetry for the Parker Society, that the Thomas Norton who translated the Psalms for the metrical version was a barrister, an occupation not compatible with that of City Solicitor, apparently. Such an occupation was, however, compatible with that of Clerk in Holy Orders. Stephen Egerton, the well-known minister of Blackfriars, became a barrister of Gray's Inn after his ordination, and during the period of the exercise of his sacred functions.

Fourthly, a hint is given by one John Norton, an Edinburgh stationer, of the existence of an elder and a younger Norton, distinguishable most easily by their ages. This John Norton was one of Bancroft's spies, placed in Edinburgh in or about 1588. One of his letters to Bancroft was intercepted, and John Norton was questioned before Robert Bruce and other of the ministers, " and confessed with tears that he had been sett on work by his uncle, old Norton, at the request of Doctor Bancroft, upon promise of some comoditie in his trade."

What emerges from the speculation, certain and definite, is that there was an eminent City officer, the first Remembrancer of the City of London, whose life is recorded by hundreds of official notices. He cannot with absolute certainty be

identified with the rack-master. He was a theological writer. He died in March, 1584, just before the production of the fourth edition of Norton's translation of the *Institute*.

In that fourth edition, which gives no hint of the recent death of its compiler and editor, Thomas Norton furnishes an interesting account of the method of his work. He writes :– " in the very beginning of the Queenes maiesties most blessed reign, I translated the *Institute* out of Latin into Englishe at the request of my deere friends of worthy memory, Reginald Wolfe and Edward Whitechurch, the one Her Maiesties Printer for Hebrew, Greek and Latine tongue, the other her highnes printer of the book of common Prayer. I performed this work in the house of my friend Edward Whitchurch, an ancient, zealous Gospeller, as plaine and true a friend as ever I knew living. The graue, learned and virtuous man, M. Dauid Whitehead (whom I name with honourable remembrance) did compare with the Latin, examining every sentence."

Whilst the first edition was prepared from the written copy, and had many inaccuracies, the succeeding, of which Vautrollier's was one, were prepared from the first and later printed copies, containing Norton's notes of errors. He expresses regret that his professional avocations have precluded greater attention to theological works, and animadverts upon the decay of Latin studies by ministers of the new era.

3557 aaa 7, B.M. is Vautrollier's edition of Norton's translation. On the title-page of some of the copies is the statement that they were printed for W. Norton ; on others that they were printed for H. Toy. Readers of the Marprelate Tracts will recall the scandalous suggestions made concerning Mrs. Toy and Archbishop Whitgift, from which only one certain conclusion can be drawn ; that Toy had offended Waldegrave.

The Anchora Spei upon the title-page has dots before the Anchora and after the Spei, evidence of the period, even were the date absent. The following collation will aid librarians : *ij T.N. The Translator to the Reader ; *iiij To the Most High Mighty Francisce the Most Christian King etc. (Calvin's Basle preface of 1536), in eights to **v in recto, where is the symbol, Woman's head with Cornucopiæ & T.V. ; thence, John Calvin to the Reader, Geneva, 1559, to **v in recto ; **vj in verso, What Chapters are contained in the bookes of the Institution to **viij in verso ; Blank side ; Register A, page 1, The Institution etc to LLLLij in verso ; Then LLLL iij, A Table of the Chiefe Matters to AAAAAvj in recto, Woman's head with Cornucopiæ and T.V.

The Museum copy 3557 aaa7, is bound in original vellum, with four ribs, and contains an early and rather damaged leaf of fifteenth-century printing.

The Congregational Library copy lacks title-page but conforms with the above collation, bears the pagination 635 at LLLLij in verso, and has Marlorat's Table, dated 1562, and that second table, which is probably Vautrollier's compilation.

During the year 1583, in which William Lawne's Latin *Epitome of the Institute* was put to press, Vautrollier was absent from London at dates that can be determined with some exactitude. On 17 March, the *Falcon* of Saltpreston, in which Vautrollier, Charteris, and the paper merchant, Geoffrey Nettleton, had placed their goods for transit to Edinburgh, was seized at sea, off Lowestoft, by Captain Chaleis, a pirate, afterwards in the service of Don Antonio, the Pretender to the throne of Portugal. Whilst the *Falcon* was carried away, laden with goods, its consort, the *Jesus* of Borrowstown, was merely robbed. Vautrollier continued his journey, apparently by the *Jesus*, to Edinburgh, where he made complaint. Mr. James Lawson, the successor of Knox, wrote a letter to Davidson on his behalf, and James VI interested himself in the matter. Vautrollier returned to London, and was there for some part of the remainder of the year, engaged in preparation for re-furnishing his Scottish business.

Upon the occasions of his frequent absences the work of the firm was superintended with great ability by Mrs. Vautrollier. The technical work was preserved at its high level, and the production of classical works increased in volume. The accuracy of the texts attests the efficiency of Mrs. Vautrollier's superintendence. She alone was responsible for the production of the Greek Testament of 1587, the completion of which involved the spirited woman in a contest with the Stationers' Company, and with the decrees of the Star Chamber. She won, and to her is due the credit of giving to England the first Greek Testament printed in this country, a task that she accomplished in the intervals of devoted attention to her husband in his last illness. Probably the revision of the text occupied some of his attention, and the preparation of the material from Stephens' text, printed earlier in the year, was such as may have involved a visit to the Continent.

William Lawne, who wrote the 1583 Latin *Epitome*, was a well-known physician and minister, whose house, tradition states, occupied the site of the present Apothecaries' Hall.

In the Blackfriars' Subsidy Roll of 1581 appears "Gillan the Lame, French Preacher, and three children," who were assessed by the Poll at xvi d. The name Guillaume the Lame was given him, not on account of any personal deformity, but as an Anglicised form of De Laune. The assessment per poll was necessary in the case of denizens, lodgers, who could not be assessed upon their household stuff, bestowed in their own permanent dwelling.

On 7 December, 1582, de Laune was summoned before the Royal College of Physicians, for practising medicine in London without a licence. Extenuating circumstances led to the postponement of his case. On 22 December he petitioned for a licence, and showed, in support thereof, that he had studied for eight years at Paris and Montpellier, under Duretius and Rondelitius, and had a large family. Moved by the magnitude of his studies and of his family, the latter of which must have increased abnormally since the Subsidy, the Faculty examined the minister, and admitted him to the Licentiateship of the College the same day.

His son, Gideon de Laune, born at Rheims, was afterwards apothecary to James I, and flitters in and out of the drug transactions of that monarch in many interesting cases. Just once he came into touch with Mr. William Shakespeare. He was one of the two representatives of Mountjoy in the defence of Bellott's suit in the Consistory Court of the French Church, a suit in which Shakespeare tendered a signed deposition. Gideon and his family were fortunate enough to secure the patronage of the Killigrews, and the increase, thereby, of the Court favour that endured throughout the reign of James I. Gideon lived to be ninety-four years of age, and died in 1659. He was seven years old at the time of the Massacre of St. Bartholomew. William Lawne, the minister, who outlived his wife, died early in 1611. In his Will (P.C.C. 23 Wood) he directs that he shall be buried as near to her as possible. To Gideon, his eldest son, he leaves his tenement in the precinct of Blackfriars, late purchased of Sir William More, and charged with legacies to the poor of Blackfriars, £4. To the poor of Norwich, where one of his sons was sometime a minister, and to the poor of Dieppe, each 30*s*. To poor kindred beyond the seas, £5, to be administered by the testator's son, Nathaniel. It is singular that in all the Wills of French refugees, many of them wealthy, and most of them mindful of the poor, there is not a single

bequest to the needy of Scotland, the country that had come so generously to the succour of the refugees in London, after the Massacre of St. Bartholomew. The testator leaves to his sister-in-law, Mary Desloyes, widow of Cornelius Tance, £3, alluding to her, after the fashion of the day, by her maiden name. To his son, Robert, one new house, late built in Blackfriars, with the apothecaries' stuff there, the legacy being charged with £50, payable to Gideon. Other sons named are Peter and Isaac de Laune, the latter of whom had died, leaving a son, Henry. There were also daughters, Sarah, Elizabeth and Esther, of whom the last had married Nathaniel Mary, a minister, native of Leicestershire, and resident in Blackfriars in his adult age. He was, no doubt of foreign descent. A family of his name came from Pontayse to St. Bride's in the later Elizabethan migrations, and of them, and of Nathaniel, plentiful record exists.

In 1584, a second edition of Laune's Latin *Epitome* (B.M. 3505 c 22, London) reproduces the features of the former edition, of which there is no Museum copy.

Register ij of the Preface begins :—" *Pietate et Dignitate Illustri Viro Domino Richardo Martini omnium Angliae Mineralium fidelissimo Custodi Regio ac celeberrimae Ciuitatis Londiniensis prudentissimo Senatori*—— "

This preface Launeus (i.e., de Laune) dates February, 1583. He notes the hospitality of Martin's magnificent house, open to all. The conjunction of the terms, " Martin " and " The Minerals " (here the Mint) may have fallen under the mischievous eye of Marprelate at a later date, and suggested to that Martin's whimsical humour the phrase, " mineral points," points stamped and marked sound and current.

Register iv is an ode by Miles Bodley to Martin. This is followed by two lines : " Timotheus Massonius, Ad Lectorem." Timotheus Massonius gives no difficulty, it is the Latinized form of a French name, Timothy le Maçon. Robert le Maçon was a contemporary French minister, a Huguenot. Then comes a distich by Isaac de Laune (Isaac Launei filii), the son who predeceased William de Laune. In the burials at St. Anne's, Blackfriars, is that of " Izhak, son of Mr. de Laune," 28 Oct., 1602. The General Table of the Whole *Institute*, followed by some blank verse occupies **j to **vij in recto, and then Registers A to Aa3, pages 1 to 373 comprise the body of the book. The Index follows to Cc iiij.

Sir Richard Martin, to whom the Preface was addressed, was certainly the friend of respectable and eminent Puritans,

but was himself of an eccentricity that involved him in continuous quarrelling and loss. In 1581 he was Sheriff, and was Lord Mayor for the portions of the years 1589 and 1594, remaining from the terms of office of the holders who had died during their service. In 1602 he was dismissed from his Aldermanship of Bread Street Ward, on account of financial difficulties, but on the following St. Thomas's Day, he persisted in presiding at his Wardmote, garbed in a violet gown. His differences with the civic authorities led to his committal for a brief period, from which confinement he was released to attend to his Mint duties. This concession was the result of a commutation of imprisonment for a fine of £500, a course little calculated to relieve his financial straitness.

Whatever the monetary needs of Alderman Martin at this time, his family possessed goods of fabulous worth. On the 12 October, 1584, Mr. Lawson, Knox's successor to the pulpit of St. Giles's, Edinburgh, died, an exile, at Anthony Martin's house in Storey Lane. Mrs. Martin had given, for the relief of the dysentery from which Lawson had suffered, twenty grains of unicorn horn, a medicine then held in high and just admiration, since a correct dosage of the genuine preparation had never been known to fail of effect. Mr. Lawson died, aged 46, attended to his funeral by Mrs. Vautrollier, Mr. Egerton, Mr. John Field, and others whose names recur in this narrative.

The translations of Lawne's *Epitome*, published at Edinburgh, in 1585 and 1586, were effected by Christopher Fetherstone, a person of some interest, by reason of the perpetuation of his name in London Street nomenclature.

His translation of Calvin's Commentary upon St. John, published by Thomas Davies in 1584, describes him as student in Divinity. In 1586 he was, as the edition of Lawne's *Epitome* indicates, a minister. As a minister, he was of the uncompromising followers of Calvin. In the Church of England such men as Bunney, and in France such men as Jean de Serres, had always in mind the possibility of ultimate reunion with the Roman Catholic Church. Jean de Serres, for whom Vautrollier published the beginning of a controversy between members of the University of Nismes and the Jesuits, was heartily disliked by some Huguenots, and distrusted by others. In 1582 de Serres returned to Nismes, and retained his Protestantism, after the reconciliation of Henry IV, which he had foreseen.

That those who had suffered by persecution should come to peace with religious antagonists, against whom they had waged a warfare so long and so bitter, was incredible to Fetherstone, who, in 1587, in a bitter Sonnet, prefixed to his *Christian and Wholesome Admonition*, assailed the peace-makers.

Christopher Fetherstone was of that family whose name is commemorated by Featherstone Buildings, Holborn. Henry Featherstone, in 1648, leaves lands in High Holborn to his daughter, Grace, and to Heneage Featherstone, other lands in trust for poor printers, and for the poor of Blackfriars.

The 1585 (Edinburgh) edition of Fetherstone's translation, is B.M. 697 c 26; the 1586, also of Edinburgh, 3900 b 49. The latter is beautifully bound, in the original binding, with spandrils, central ornament, and the remainder of tapes. John Gibson was the King's binder at this period, and the work is not improbably his.

It contains: A2, Dedication by Fetherstone to Lady Judith Pelham, dated from Maighfield in Sussex, 17 April, 1586; A4, Lawne to Richard Martin, London, 18 Feb., 1583; The General Table; then, B8 to Z3 in verso, pages 1 to 306, The Abridgment; Z4 to Aa8 in recto, The Index.

The 1587 edition, also of Edinburgh (B.M. 3558 aaa 10), adds to the title, "Now againe corrected and in many places augmented." There is no printer's name, but the place and date appear. The reason for the omission of the printer's name may be twofold. The book may have been on sale by Charteris and others. Charteris had been permitted to place his own name on books of Vautrollier's printing previously; for example on Buchanan's *Baptistes*. Secondly, Fetherstone was a young hot-head, about to embroil himself in the domestic differences of Frenchmen, and to assail a cause that he did not understand, and that the history of events has amply justified. Vautrollier, on the other hand, did understand. Himself, he was no bigot. His London house was publishing for Jean de Serres.

Of the books and of those published at this time in Edinburgh by Vautrollier, the paper was probably supplied by Geoffrey Nettleton. He died in St. Benetfink's, in 1602, not worth the price of a couple of bales of his own merchandise.

Vautrollier returned from the printing of Fetherstone's book, bringing back with him one of his presses. Part of

his stuff was left in the Province of York, and he does not appear to have completed the journey. But, his wife nursed him in his last illness, and he made his Will in the presence of his Blackfriars friends, and of his father-in-law, and died in July, 1587.

J. C. WHITEBROOK.

Rustic Play-Acting During the Commonwealth.

For the following transcript acknowledgment is due to "*Oxford Books: A Bibliography of Printed Works Relating to the University and City of Oxford or Printed or Published there.* Vol. III. *Oxford Literature*, 1651–1680. Falconer Madan, M.A., Hon. Fellow of Brasenose College, Oxford, formerly Bodley's Librarian, Oxford, Clarendon Press 1931. [No. 2221.]

Tragi-Comœdia Being a Brief Relation of the strange, and wonderful hand of God discovered at Witny in the Comedy Acted there, February the third, where there were some Slaine, many Hurt . . . . . By John Rowe of C.C.C. in Oxford Lecturer in the Towne of Witny. Oxford, Anno. Dom. 1653.

A Briefe Narrative of The Play Acted at Witny the third of February, 1652, *Together with its sad and Tragicall End.*

[The substance of the above narrative is as follows :—]

On Thursday, Feb. 3, 1652(3), a market day, the play of Mucedorus was acted at the White Hart inn at Witney by some Stanton Harcourt players who had . . . . . performed it at [North] Moor, Standlake, South Leigh, Cumnor. The Town Hall had been refused them, so they took a large oblong room in the Yard of the White Hart, which had been a malting room above a "Shuffle board Roome" . . . A drum and trumpet had summoned the people about 7 p.m., and three hundred crowded in. After two hours (when two-thirds of the play had been acted) the floor gave way slowly and the audience found themselves in a heap in the room below. Only six died ; . . . . . and about sixty were wounded.

Collection for the Piedmontese, 1655.

Oxford Books . . . Vol. III., 1651—1680. By Falconer Madan, M.A. Oxford. 1931. p. 42.

[1655] "The University [of Oxford] raised £384 by July " for a Brief for relief of Protestants in Savoy."

W. J. PAYLING WRIGHT.

Schools Within the Diocese of York in 1743.

IN 1743 the diocese of York obtained a new archbishop in Thomas Herring. He at once sent out to all parishes an elaborate series of questions that he might acquaint himself with their condition. Among the matters which interested him was education; he enquired as to the schools in each parish; whether the pupils were taught the catechism; whether they were brought to church as the canon required. Replies came from 836 of the 903 parishes, covering the whole county of Nottingham and the greater part of Yorkshire. The incumbents were not all sure whether the query related to public schools only; perhaps the reference to the canon added to the uncertainty. And this makes it worth while to glance at the laws as to education.

In 1581 an Act was passed "which visited with a very heavy and cumulative fine the employment of a schoolmaster who did not frequent the parish church, or who did not hold the bishop's licence to teach." This hit at both Roman Catholics and Puritans. The canons of 1604 elaborated the procedure, giving a preference as schoolmasters to beneficed clergy, and if one so acted, giving him a monopoly in the parish; also they prescribed the grammar by Colet and Lyly. The 1662 Act of Uniformity limited the keeping of public or private schools to conformists, and expressly extended the jurisdiction of the bishop to private tutors. This law was hardly obeyed, and with 1689 most attempts to enforce it died down.

In 1699 a charge was laid against Richard Scoryer for keeping school at Wandsworth without a licence. Counsellor King advised him that the canons of 1604 were of no force against any but the clergy, unless confirmed by Parliament. This view was upheld next year by the King's Bench, and henceforth schools for reading, writing, dancing, etc., needed no licence; the powers of the bishops extended only to grammar schools. The Schism Act of 1714 tightened the screw, but it was never put in force, and was repealed in five years. And the Courts, where King was now Chief Justice, rising to be

Lord Chancellor, required the most rigid proof of facts before they would enforce any narrow law.

Thus, until 1779, Dissenters were indeed excluded from posts in grammar schools, but otherwise were in practice free to teach. Abundant illustrations have been published of where and what they did teach in this period; there were many private schools, some for higher education, and a few even worked under a permanent committee. But hitherto no systematic survey has been generally known, such as Archbishop Herring ordered for his diocese in 1743. As the Yorkshire Archæological Society has published the replies in full, study for many purposes is now possible.

The first result is that in 836 parishes 482 schools of all descriptions were reported. As some parishes, especially in the towns, had more than one school, this means that nearly 400 had none. The archbishop would see a wide field for his energy.

In the great majority of cases the clergy reported that the canons were being obeyed, that the children were brought regularly to church, and that they were taught the catechism.

Grammar schools were of long standing. At York itself one dated from the days of Paulinus, and it boasted of educating Alcuin; but it lived by fees, having only a meagre endowment of £5. In the same ancient class were Beverley, Ripon, Nottingham. Others of early date were Boroughbridge, Bradford, Keighley, Normanton, Pickering, Pontefract, Richmond, Romaldskirk, and Wollaton. In the thirteenth century, Newark, Nottingham, Kinoulton, Topcliffe and Helmsley had come to light; in the next, Northallerton, Tickhill, Grantham, Farburn, Doncaster, Durham, Crofton and Howden. The dates are known for Thirsk, Rotherham 1483, Southwell re-founded in 1497, Giggleswick 1499, Owston and Pocklington 1514, Retford 1518, Sedbergh 1525, Kneesall 1528. Despite all the dangers and changes under Edward VI, many of these survived; and indeed a new series opened with Archbishop Holgate in 1546. He obtained licence to found schools at York, Hemsworth, Malton. As there was already the ancient grammar school at York, he offered a better education, in Hebrew and Greek as well as Latin; he endowed it well, so that the teaching should be free; and he ordained that the master might be married or a layman. His example was followed, as at Rotherham. Yet the total in 1743—45 grammar schools only—is somewhat disappointing.

Holgate indeed had set a new precedent, of a heavy endowment, with no fees payable. The idea had proved acceptable, though the area for free education was often defined. And his wide curriculum was not usually imitated. But endowed Free Schools were now an important class, and in 1743 no fewer than 198 were reported. It would be interesting if these were studied more closely, to note in what circumstances they were endowed. Archbishop Herring was not thinking of origins, and did not enquire in that direction.

There was another class of endowed school, of the type known to London by Christ's Hospital, and to Manchester by Chetham's Hospital, where children received hospitality, clothes and education. These were popularly known as Charity Schools, and while some had their roots in the past, a great fillip had been given to the class under James II, and even more by the S.P.C.K. furthering and promoting " that good design of erecting catechetical schools " for " the education of poor children in the knowledge and practice of the Christian religion as professed and taught in the Church of England " as well as of " teaching them such other things as are most suitable to their condition." The annual reports show that the chief thing was the catechism ; then followed reading ; the master received 5*s*. a head for those who reached this stage, with 10*s*. a head more when they could write and " cast accompts." Much time was spent on making and mending their own clothes. Such schools were known in this diocese, but again it is surprising that only 52 were reported. And it is not easy to understand from the returns how far these were supported by permanent endowment, by local subscription, or by grants from the S.P.C.K. Details are given only in a few cases, as that one school had an endowment but no scholars, and that elsewhere the recent death of a benefactor foreshadowed the early closing of the school.

Many clergy stated plainly in their returns that these were all the schools licensed, or public schools. It was not clear whether the enquiry covered schools of every sort. And so the information as to the remainder may not fully represent the real state of the case.

However, 63 schools are reported where fees were taken, and 113 more were mentioned as private. There does not seem any obvious distinction between them. Some are called by the old term " petty school," and of others it is said that a poor man or a widow kept the school. At least

it is easy to see that the 178 fee-paying schools compare with the 198 endowed; and it would be interesting to know more of what they taught. A London advertisement of this date offers arithmetic, algebra, Euclid applied to navigation, geography, and astronomy, the use of globes and charts, merchant accounts; and there is a touch of superiority in the offer to qualify for business "youth from the publick grammar schools." In 1775 at Catterick, for twelve guineas a year boys were boarded and taught reading, writing, Latin, Greek, French, arithmetic, navigation, mathematics, etc. Of these private schools it has been pointed out that since they were free from tradition and from supervision, they were addicted to the subjects which were obviously useful; and that in particular they not only taught in English, but laid great stress on reading and speaking correctly.

There is another group, schools kept by Dissenters. A few clergy wrote of these rather petulantly, and we may surmise that they might have ignored them had it not been for the specific enquiry whether all scholars were catechized and brought to church. It is obvious that the systematic work of the Society of Friends, far the largest body in the diocese, is quite unreported; there is but a vague note that at Scarborough there were many schools unlicensed. Yet 14 schools of this kind were specified, with the unexpected touches that at Collingham the Baptists had endowed a school, that at Sutton-in-Ashfield the Independents had endowed another, and that at another place the Dissenting schoolmaster was also the parish clerk.

Parish clerks are mentioned in eight other places as being masters, public or private. At one place the minister had remembered his preferential claim, and himself taught. In one parish the church itself was used as the place of teaching.

These returns are valuable in another way. Water-power in the Yorkshire dales was beginning to foster the great development of machine industry which encouraged an unexampled growth of population in the West Riding. This necessitated a fresh growth of schools, which took place at first by private enterprise, so that the historic grammar schools and the newer endowed schools were gradually submerged beneath the rising tide. Yorkshire slowly obtained a name for cheap private establishments, which a century later were caricatured as Dotheboys Hall. Before that wave was spent, a new type of organization arose, on lines

applied throughout the kingdom. The vicar of Catterick in 1765 started classes on Sunday for religious instruction; a Gloucester curate in 1780 used Sunday for schools free to ragamuffins; a Baptist deacon in London promptly urged that every congregation should establish such schools; on the Pennines the curriculum was developed to include reading, writing, and often summing. Such schools were soon helped and guided by the Sunday Schools Society, then by the Sunday School Union. Speedily there followed, for the six week-days, the British and Foreign School Society, then the National Society. These three Societies indicate how the nation awakened to a sense of its obligation to the poor, and discharged it widely, by voluntary effort. But in Herring's day neither supply nor demand seems to have existed here. The returns of 1743 give a useful picture of a time when the few remnants of the medieval system were decaying in face of endowed schools teaching in English on a newer pattern, and of private schools whereof many deliberately sought to prepare for the actual life ahead.

W. T. Whitley.

Rowland Hill and the Theatre.

[The enclosed copy of a broadsheet speaks for itself. It is not clear who wrote the description with which it is headed. EDITOR.]

THE following is a copy of a Bill, written by the late Rev. Rowland Hill, which was stuck up at Richmond, on Saturday, 4th June, 1774, close to the Play Bill for that day. The design of this was to divert the minds of the gay and dissipated from the vain amusements of the Theatre, and to fix their attention to the awful circumstances which shall usher in and succeed "The Great and Terrible Day of the Lord."

BY COMMAND OF THE KING OF KINGS, (*a*)
AND AT THE DESIRE OF ALL WHO LOVE HIS APPEARING. (*b*)
AT THE THEATRE OF THE UNIVERSE, (*c*)
ON THE EVE OF TIME (*d*) WILL BE PERFORMED,
THE GREAT ASSIZE; OR, DAY OF JUDGMENT. (*e*)

THE SCENERY

Which is now actually preparing, will not only surpass every thing that has yet been seen, but will infinitely exceed the utmost stretch of human conception, (*f*) There will be a just representation of all the Inhabitants of the World, in their various and proper colours; and their customs and manners will be so exact, and so minutely delineated, that the most secret thought will be discovered. (*g*)

"*For God shall bring every Work into Judgment, with every secret thing whether it be Good or whether it be Evil.*"
—*Eccl. xii.* 14.

THIS THEATRE will be laid out after a new Plan, and will consist of PIT and GALLERY only; and contrary to all others, the GALLERY is fitted up for the reception of Persons of High (or Heavenly) Birth. (*h*) And Pit for those of Low (or earthly) Rank. (*i*) N.B.—The Gallery is very spacious. (*k*) and the Pit without bottom. (*l*)

To prevent inconvenience, there are separate Doors for admitting the Company; and they are so different, that none can mistake that are not wilfully blind. The Door which opens into the Gallery is very narrow, and the steps to it somewhat difficult; for which reason there are seldom many people about it. (*m*) But the Door which gives entrance into the Pit is very wide and commodious, which causes such numbers to flock to it, that it is generally crowded. (*n*) N.B.—The straight Door leads towards the right hand, and the broad one to the left. (*o*) It will be in vain for one in a tinselled coat and borrowed language, to personate one of High birth, in order to get admittance into the upper places, (*p*) for there is One of wonderful and deep penetration, who will search and examine every individual; (*q*) and all who cannot pronounce Shibbolith (*r*) in the language of *Canaan*, (*s*) or has not received a white stone and a new Name; (*t*) or cannot prove a clear title to a certain portion of the Land of Promise, (*u*) must be turned in at the left hand Door. (*w*)

The PRINCIPAL PERFORMERS are described in *I. Thess. iv.* 10, 2 *Thess. i.* 7, 8, 9, *Matth. xxiv.* 30, 31; and *xxv.* 31, 32, *Daniel vii.* 9, 10, *Jude* 14 to 19, *Rev. xx.* 12 to 15, &c. But as there are some People much better acquainted with the contents of a Play Bill, than the Word of God, it may not be amiss to transcribe a verse or two for their perusal:—

"*The Lord Jesus shall be revealed from Heaven with his mighty Angels, in flaming fire, taking vengeance on them that obey not the Gospel,*" but, "*to be glorified in his Saints.* (*x*) *A fiery stream issued, and came forth from before him; thousand thousands ministered unto him, and ten thousand times ten thousand stood before him; the Judgment was set, and the Books were opened.* (*y*) *And whomsoever was not found written in the Book of Life, was cast into the Lake of Fire.*" (*z*)

ACT FIRST,
OF THIS GRAND AND SOLEMN PIECE WILL BE OPENED BY
AN ARCHANGEL WITH THE TRUMP OF GOD!!!
"FOR THE TRUMPET SHALL SOUND AND THE DEAD SHALL BE RAISED."

ACT SECOND,
PROCESSION OF SAINTS,
In white, with Golden Harps, accompanied with Shouts of Joy and Songs of Praise. (*a*)

ACT THIRD,
WILL BE
AN ASSEMBLAGE OF ALL THE UNREGENERATE. (*b*)
The MUSIC will chiefly consist of Cries, (*c*) accompanied with WEEPING, WAILING, MOURNING, LAMENTATION, and WOE. (*d*)
TO CONCLUDE WITH AN ORATION BY THE SON OF GOD

It is written in the 5th of *Matthew*, from the 31st verse to the end of the chapter; but for the sake of those who seldom read the scriptures, I shall here transcribe two verses:—"Then shall the King say to them on his Right Hand, 'Come ye blessed of My Father, inherit the Kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the World." Then shall he say also unto them on his left hand, "Depart from me, ye cursed into everlasting Fire, prepared (not, indeed, for you, but) for the Devil and his Angels."

AFTER WHICH THE CURTAIN WILL DROP.

———Then! O to tell!
John v. 28, 29 .....Some rais'd on high, and others doo'd to hell!
Rev. v. 9. — *xiv.* 3, 4 These praise the Lamb, and sing redeeming Love,
Luke xvi. 22, 23.....Lodg'd in his bosom, all his goodness prove;
—— *xix.* 14, 27.....While those who trampled under foot his grace,
Matth. xxv. 30. 2 *Thess. i.* 9. Are banished now, for ever from his Face.
Luke xvi. 26 .....Divided thus, a Gulf is fixed between,
Matth. xxv. 46 .....And everlasting, closes up the scene.

"Thus will I do unto thee, O Israel; and because I will do thus unto thee, prepare to meet thy God, O Israel." *Amos iv.* 12.

TICKETS for the PIT; at the easy purchase of following the vain pomps and vanities of the Fashionable World, and the desires and Amusements of the Flesh; (*e*) to be had at every Flesh-pleasing Assembly. "If ye live after the flesh, ye shall die." *Rom. viii.* 13.

TICKETS for the GALLERY, at no less rate than being converted, (*f*) forsaking all (*g*) denying self, taking up the Cross, (*h*) and following Christ in the Regeneration. (*i*) To be

had nowhere but in the Word of God, and where that word appoints.

> "He that hath ears to hear, let him hear. And be not deceived; God is not mocked. For whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap." *Matth. xi.* 15. *Gal. vi.* 7.

N.B. No money will be taken at the door, (*k*) nor will any Tickets give Admittance into the Gallery, but those sealed by the Lamb.

"Watch, therefore, be ye also ready; for in such an hour as ye think NOT, the Son of Man cometh." *Matth. xxiv.* 44.

(*a*) Rev. xix. 16. 1 Tim. vi. 15. (*b*) 2 Tim. iv. 8. Titus ii. 13. (*c*) Rev. xx. 11. Matth. xxiv. 27. (*d*) Rev. x. 6, 7. 1 Cor. xv. 51, 52. (*e*) Heb. ix. 27. Jude xv. Psalm ix. 7, 8. Rev. vi. 17. 2 Cor. v. 10. (*f*) 1 Cor. ii. 9. (*g*) Matth. xii. 36—xxv. 32. 1 Cor. iv. 5. Rom. ii. 12, 16. (*h*) John iii. 3, 5. 1 Peter i. 23. Rom. viii. 14. (*i*) James iii. 14, 15. Rom. iii. 8. (*k*) Luke xiv. 22. John xiv. 2. (*l*) Rev. ix. 1, 2; xix. 20. (*m*) Matth. vii. 11. (*n*) Matth. vii. 15, etc. (*o*) Matth. xxv. 31. (*p*) Matth. vii. 21–2–3; xxii. 11. (*q*) Psalm liv. 20–1. Jerem. xvi. 10. 2 Tim. ii. 19. John x. 14. (*r*) Judges xii. 6. (*s*) Isaiah xix. 18. Zeph. iii. 9. (*t*) Rev. ii. 17. (*u*) 2 Cor. xiii. 5. Gal. iii. 29. Heb. ix. 1–8–9 (*w*) Heb. iii. 17, 18, 19. Rom. xiii. 9. Psalm ix. 17. (*x*) 2 Thess. i. 7, 10. Matth. xxiv. 31. (*y*) Dan. vii. 10. (*z*) Rev. xx. 12, 15. (*a*) Rev. xiv. 2, 3; xv. 2, 3, 4. (*b*) Matth. xiii. 49, 50.; xxv. 32, 41. 1 Cor. vi. 9, 10. (*c*) Luke xxiii. 30; Psalm cxii. 10. Rev. vi. 16, 17. (*d*) Luke xiii. 28; Matth. xiii. 49, 50; Rev. i. 7; Ezek. ii. 10. (*e*) James iv. 4; 1 John ii. 15, 16, 17. 1 Tim. v. 6. Eph. ii. 2, 3. (*f*) Matth. xvii. 3. Acts iii. 19; viii. 18 to 24. (*g*) Luke xiv. 33; xviii 28 to 30. (*h*) Luke ix. 23 to 26; xiv. 27. (*i*) Matth. xix. 28, 29. (*k*) Acts viii. 18 to 24. (*l*) 2 Cor. i. 22. Eph. i. 13, 14; iv. 30. (*m*) Rev. vii. 3. Eph. iv. 30.

LEWIS & Co., Printers, 95, Bunhill Row.

[*Copy of a Leaflet.*]

HUMBLE HOPE SOCIETY,

In Aid of Poor Itinerant Preachers in Country Villages.

INSTITUTED OCTOBER, 1821.

COMMITTEE.

Mrs. ELLMORE, 31, Bankside.
Mrs. JOYCE, North Street School, Finsbury.
Mrs. WILLIAMSON, 3, Broad Street Buildings.
Mrs. WOODCOCK, St. Helen Terrace, Spa Fields.
Miss ADAMAN, School of Industry, Dalston Lane.
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Miss GIBSON, St. Helena Terrace, Spa Fields.
Miss HENDERSON, Rose Street, Covent Garden.
Miss HILL, Homerton Working School, Hackney.

Treasurer :—Mrs. E. EDWARDS, High Holborn
Secretary :—Mrs. CARTER, Wormwood Street.

THE Managers of the above Society, in urging its claims upon your benevolence, are not insensible either to the numerous calls now made on public charity, or to the excellency of their several objects. They would, however, submit to your notice a statement of the origin, design, and present efficiency of their particular Institution, hoping that it will please Him "from whom all good things do come," to incline you to assist in carrying its important object into effect.

The Society owes its origin to the mutual desire of a few friends to evince their sense of obligation to a great and glorious Redeemer, and in some measure to answer the inquiry arising in their hearts, "What shall we render unto the Lord for all his benefits toward us?"—knowing that in His infinite condescension he "despiseth not the day of small things." Their first contributions were of the small sum of one penny per week; and in the further prosecution of their views, they proposed to receive any description of wearing apparel, &c., which might be presented to them.

The design of the Society is, *to assist*, as far as their funds shall enable them, *poor Itinerant Preachers*, of whose character, and zeal in the cause of God, they may have received a favourable report from Ministers and others. Of these worthy men there are many labouring in the villages of our country, who receive no support from any institution; and when the circumstances in life of an Itinerant Preacher—the hardships he is called to endure—and the expenses necessarily attendant on his work, are

considered, surely such appear proper objects of our benevolent assistance; expecially if we ourselves "have tasted that the Lord is gracious." Of the utility of such labourers no conception can be formed, except by those who are acquainted with the state of populous villages, sitting in spiritual darkness, and destitute of the light of the Gospel of God. If any thing further need be said in behalf of these evangelical Missionaries, let it be remembered that they are frequently called on to provide for *very large families;* and that in their journeys from place to place in their Master's work, they have frequently to encounter that severity of weather, which, while it rapidly impairs their constitution, equally tends to destroy their scanty clothing.

The present efficiency of the Society, and the seasonableness of the relief it extends, form the strongest inducement for its support. Of the appropriation of its funds, the following accounts will inform its friends.

Mr. JOHN SLATTERIE, of Marazion, in Cornwall, was the first who derived benefit from it, being recommended to the Society as one whose only inducement in preaching was the glory of God, and the welfare of souls. Mr. S. is in the frequent habit of going to villages 12 miles distant from his home, without any other provision for the day than bread and a few cold potatoes, his hearers being too poor either to buy food, or even candles to light the place where they assemble. Various sums have been remitted to him, amounting, together, to the sum of Twelve Pounds, Nineteen Shillings; besides a quantity of clothing for his family—a wife and four children.

Mr. EDWARD WEBBER, of Mary's Island, Scilly, has been assisted with a hamper of worn clothes, and Two Pounds in cash.

Mr. JOHN PARKINS has received One Pound.

Mr. ISAAC NICHOLS, a most interesting character, nearly 60 years of age, is in a truly affecting situation, as is shown in the following extract from a letter, bearing date March 12th, 1824. "I have not yet received the clothes; they would be very acceptable to me, as my pay is so very small, only Ten Pounds a year; and I have a wife and six children. The oldest child I now have (21 years of age) is very much afflicted with dead fits once a month, and sometimes oftener. My wife has been afflicted 12 years with dreadful wounds in her eyes, and was obliged at length to undergo an operation of having silver pins let in each corner of her eyes. My eldest son was drowned in a boat that upset with four young men in it: he and another were lost." This poor man then proceeds to describe the difficulties he undergoes. He is often drenched with the sea in crossing from one to another of the Scilly Islands, in small open boats, to preach to the poor inhabitants, having no great-coat all the winter. He is often in danger of being drowned,

especially when he goes to preach on the Light-house Island in the Western Ocean, where he is sometimes detained several days, no boats being able to bring him off. Though to one so exercized with poverty this is very distressing (having then to pay for lodging and food), he is enabled, through the grace of God, to count all he can do but little, for the love he bears to his divine Master, and to the souls of those around him.

Mr. J. T. JEFFERIES, another faithful servant of his Lord, has likewise been assisted by the Society with Four Pounds in cash, and clothes for his family, consisting of a wife, and six children under ten years of age. This is a very indefatigable labourer, who has been engaged in the cause of Christ until his constitution is materially broken.

There are other labourers who have been well recommended, but whom the Society has not hitherto been able to relieve.

Having thus stated the commencement of the Society among a few friends; its object—that of assisting poor Itinerant Preachers; and the several instances in which its funds have been usefully dispensed; the Committee beg to state, in conclusion, that Subscriptions and Contributions, from One Penny per week and upwards, and Wearing Apparel of any description, however worn, will be thankfully received, by

Mr. WILLIAMSON, Academy, 14, Bedford Street, Commercial Road.
Miss HILL, Homerton Working School, Hackney Grove.
Mrs. KEMPSTER, Corner of White Hart Court, Bishopsgate Street.
Mrs. HENDERSON, 5, Rose Street, Covent Garden.

—o—

The Committee meet at Mr. Williamson's, 3, Broad Street Buildings, on the first Monday after each Quarter-day, at Half-past Six o'Clock in the Evening, when any friends who may wish to be acquainted with the progress of the Society are welcome to attend.

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George Cokayn.

THE subject of this study, George Cokayn, belonged to a well-known family. He is said to have been descended from the Judge, Sir John Cokayne, of Ashbourne, Derby, whose son, Sir John Cokayne, of Bury Hatley, Bedfordshire (afterwards called Cockayne Hatley) was Chief Baron of the Exchequer in 1401. Chad Cokayn, of Cockayne Hatley, married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Nicholas Luke, of Cople, Bedfordshire ; George Cokayne, of Cotton End, in the parish of Cardington, their third son, married Ann Plomer, sister of the High Sheriff of Bedfordshire, and their nine children were baptized at Cople. There are so many Cokaynes associated with Cople, Cardington, and Cotton End that it is very difficult to be sure of the relationships.

George Cokayn, baptized at Cople on 16th Jan., 1619, was the eldest son of John and Elizabeth Cokayn, and in 1639 a George Cokayn took the degree of Bachelor of Arts at Cambridge. Educated at Sidney Sussex College, he assisted in compiling a Greek lexicon, and in 1646 first appeared in London as a theologian, writing a preface to a volume by Dr. Tobias Crisp, the eminent Calvinist. Two years later Cokayn was minister of Pancras, Soper Lane, London, and he became Chaplain to Sir Bulstrode Whitelocke, M.P.

Cokayn was in charge of the most famous City church during the Commonwealth. Three of the members became Sheriffs of London and two Lord Mayors. The church stood on the north side of Pancras Lane, and the chief entrance was from Soper Lane, now Queen Street, Cheapside. Stow mentions its " rich parishioners " and " liberal benefactors." The church was erected in the 12th century, and had interesting monuments and benefactions. Many important people had been buried within its vaults—John Barnes, Mayor of London in 1370, John Hadley, Mayor in 1379, John Stockton, Mayor in 1470, and Richard Gardner in 1478. The Parsonage House stood in the north-west corner of Pancras Lane, in Queen Street.

Under Cokayn's ministry the small congregation he found there increased in numbers and importance. Independency became a fashion. Army officers, Ministers of State, Members

of Parliament, and civic personages professed Independent principles. Even when Cokayn was ejected, his congregation remained loyal, and a few distinguished persons can be traced in active co-operation with him from 1648 until their deaths. The leading member was Sir Bulstrode Whitelocke, "one of the most interesting as well as amiable characters of the age in which he lived," a student at Oxford under the direction of Laud, a Parliamentary leader, law reformer, who fought with Hampden, and favoured liberty of conscience for all Dissenters. Cromwell sought his counsel. Other members were Alderman Robert Tichborne, Col. Rowland Wilson (Alderman and Sheriff of the City of London), and John Ireton, brother of Henry Ireton, Cromwell's son-in-law. John Ireton was a soldier who came into prominence near the close of the Protectorate.

The church was lighted with candles, and servants and apprentices protected rich members and tradesmen on their adventurous journeys to church. The Prayer Book was not used, but psalms were sung by the congregation, extempore prayers given, and the sermon occupied the greater portion of the time. Here was liberty of conscience, though doctrine was Calvinistic.

On 29th Nov., 1648, George Cokayn, with another minister, preached at St. Margaret's Church before the House of Commons, on their "day of fast monthly." He addressed the men who helped to rule England without a State Church, a House of Lords, or a King, from Psalm 82, verses 6, 7, and 8, pleading for freedom of religious worship. The service occupied between three and four hours, and there were thirty-two separate points in his sermon. He wore the Geneva gown and bands, and his rich brown hair, parted in the centre, flowed down in masses over his shoulders.

Later Col. Rowland Wilson expressed the thanks of the House to Cokayn. On 18th Dec. the House asked Cokayn to preach again, and this time his name was first on the Journals of the House; but he declined and was never asked again.

In 1649 Charles the First was executed. Tichborne attached his name to the death-warrant, but Whitelocke abstained from taking part in the trial.

Whitelocke's Diary for 1653 states that before he became Ambassador to Sweden he went to Bedfordshire, and slept at the house of Mr. John Cokayn. George was a visitor to his father's home, and Sir Bulstrode consulted him about Sweden,

and later entrusted his family to Cokayn's care. On 23rd Oct., 1653, Sir Bulstrode was commended in prayer by Cokayn at his London church in the presence of a great congregation. While in Sweden the Queen asked Sir Bulstrode to teach her ladies of honour the English mode of kissing, and he did so "most readily," to the great satisfaction of the ladies.

Cokayn, a leader of the Independents, forwarded his patron's interests, and when Cromwell was appointed Protector during Sir Bulstrode's absence Cokayn advised him to return home, as some wish "to make a Chancellor whilst you are absent." Sir Bulstrode returned, having arranged a treaty with Sweden, and was elected to Parliament for the City of Oxford, the Borough of Bedford, and the County of Buckingham. At the beginning of September every year he went to Bedfordshire "with a cast of hawks"; his falconer, Abel, refused to become Cromwell's falconer-in-chief except with his master's permission.

In May, 1656, two of Sir Bulstrode's sons were brought from school at Grandon to Mrs. Cokayn's house in Bedfordshire. George Cokayn and his wife went into Bedfordshire and brought up the boys with them to Chelsea. George Cokayn had married Abigail Plott; their three children were John, William and Elizabeth.

In 1656 Sir Robert Tichborne was Lord Mayor of London, and Pancras Church was a civic centre. He was succeeded in 1658 by another member of Cokayn's congregation, Sir John Ireton, another Lord Mayor knighted by Cromwell. It may be interesting at this point to note that in 1657 John Cockayne, of Cardington, was one of the "Commissioners for the publique ffaith," appointed in 1657. "John Cockayne, Esq.," was one of the Justices of the Peace for the County of Bedford in 1656-7.

The Bunyan Meeting Church Book for Dec., 1659, contains the information that the Elders and Deacons were seeking assistance for Bro. Burton (John Gifford was given the living of St. John's Church, and Cromwell decided that John Burton should be Gifford's successor) in caring for the Church and preaching, and it was decided that letters be sent to Mr. Simson, Mr. Jesse, and Mr. Cockin (the name appears in many forms, Cockin, Cookayne, Cokayn) for their advice concerning "an able godly man" to help Mr. Burton. On 25th May, 1660, "it was ordered according to our agreement that our bro. Bunyan be prepared to speake a word to us at the next Church Meeting."

At Newport Pagnell during the Civil War, Private John Bunyan served under Sir Samuel Luke, of Cople, and from 1644–5 was in the Company of Lt.-Col. Richard Cokayn. Bunyan very quickly became a prominent member of Gifford's church, and was well known to Gifford and Burton. Elstow, Cardington, Cotton End, Cople, and Bedford are close together, and in those days the population was smaller, and the " Independents " were smaller still, and probably enjoyed a close communion. It will be remembered that in 1672 a licence was granted to John Whiteman, an Elder of the Bedford church, to preach at George Cokayn's house at Cotton End.

In the Church Book, 1681, in Bunyan's handwriting, the following entries appear: " That the several Meetings that are upheld by the congregation, to witt, Bedford, Kempston, Malden, Cotton End, Edworth, and Gamblingay, be better supplied " ; and " The Church of Christ in and about Bedford to the Church of Christ walking with our beloved Brother Cockain in London " recommends for fellowship Brother William Breeden.

Cokayn was the preacher of Col. William Underwood's funeral sermon in St. Stephen's, Walbrook, in Jan., 1658, and at the gathering of the godly he predicted " the vengeance of the Lord " and " a black and gloomy day."

Within eight months Cromwell died, and then confusion followed. King Charles II, with protestations of religious freedom, was welcomed by the ministers to London, and Cokayn signed one petition. Independency fell, and Presbyterianism and Episcopacy struggled for power. The King showed his hand, and in May, 1660, Sir Robert Tichborne, one of the late King's Judges, surrendered, and spent the remainder of a long life in prison. Sir Bulstrode Whitelocke was pardoned for his treasonable connection with the previous Government upon payment of £50,000. He retired to Chilton Lodge, Hungerford, Wiltshire.

Parliament passed a Bill calling upon ministers to submit to re-ordination, and Cokayn left or was ejected from his church. In 1660 his congregation was scattered to prison and sorrow, and in 1660 Bunyan was cast into a Bedford prison. The sources of our information are no longer Journals of the House of Commons, but spy-books, prison records, and statements of informers.

Cokayn continued to visit the houses of his people, and after his ejectment preached in City churches under the

pastoral care of his friends, for he was a famous preacher, and was always zealous for God's work. The supporters of the Stuarts petitioned for livings and preferments, and ejected men were suspects. Episcopacy was re-established, and its opponents were " fanatics."

After the Fifth Monarchy rebellion, and the troubles caused by Venner's party, there were severe measures against " fanatics " and Independents as breeders of rebellion. George Cokayn signed a minister's petition disavowing all sympathy with Venner. Measures were instituted against Dissenters serving in offices of trust and to secure uniformity of prayer. Spies and informers abounded, and Dissenters were robbed of home and property and put into prison.

On 30th Oct., 1661, information was given against " G. Cokayn for holding weekly meetings at an alehouse in Ivy Lane," and another information is dated 8th Dec. In 1661 Cokayn was still living at the minister's house in Soper Lane, after his ejectment, caring for his people. Sir John Ireton (deprived of his title) was placed in the Tower, and sent to the Scilly Isles ; and returning to London in 1664 was reported as a dangerous fanatic. Cokayn preached in City men's houses, occasionally visited Bedfordshire, preaching in a village near his native place, and at the country retreat of Whitelocke.

In 1662 the Act of Uniformity shook the foundations of civil life, and 2,000 clergy were ejected. In 1662 information was again given against Cokayn. Spies multiplied, gaols were filled, and on Sunday prisoners preached in turn from behind iron rails to crowds of people who blocked up the thoroughfares. In 1663 the emptiness of the churches in the City was evident, and people had forgotten the responses in the Book of Common Prayer.

A State Paper, dated 23rd Jan., 1664, contains the information of Matthew Morgan, of Carrington (Cardington) in Bedford, yeoman : " On Sunday evening, about a fortnight before Michaelmas last, Geo. Cokayn, of Soper Lane, London, was preaching in Mr. John Cokayn's house in Cardington. There were twenty present. The preacher prayed for those in prison ' for the Gospel sake.' " Several times last summer the informant had heard Cokayn pray and preach against the Government, and " about May last at the same place Cokayn said the old King deserved to be beheaded."

At that time John Bunyan was in Bedford Gaol, and George

Cokayn, visiting his home, was conducting services. Cokayn may have visited Bunyan in prison (everything is in favour of such a suggestion), and told him of conditions in the Metropolis. Cokayn returned to London and was soon apprehended, and it has been suggested that his arrest had some connection with his visit to Bunyan; he was released on bail, the bond (£200 by two London merchants) being in the State Paper Office, dated 1st March and signed George Cokayn : it is the only handwriting of his that now exists.

In 1664 the plague appeared, and as many of the newly-appointed clergy fled, the old ejected ministers returned to carry on their work. On 5th Aug. Cokayn preached to about 200 persons in Mr. Blake's house, Covent Garden, when many of " the quality " were present. The informer of this service in the heart of a plague-stricken district described Cokayn as a " Fifth-Monarchy man." The next information describes a meeting of Fifth-Monarchists and those of Cokayn's church at Cokayn's house, Soper Lane, on 26th Oct., 1664; and he is mentioned again on 25th Sept., 1666.

There was a movement to unite the ejected Presbyterians and Independents, for persecution had brought these two great Separatist sections closer together ; but nothing happened. The Great Fire of 1666 cleansed the City of plague, and destroyed Cokayn's church, leaving only a few table tombs in the churchyard. The church was never rebuilt, and the parish of Pancras was added to another. Warehouses now cover the site. The people flocked out of London to Islington, Highbury, and Newington, and Cokayn was kept busy. The Bishop of London took forcible possession of several conventicles in Red Cross Street, that the clergy might have temporary places in which to preach.

Persecution revived, but in 1671 John Moore, a former member of Cokayn's church, was elected Sheriff of London, and Cokayn enjoyed immunity from serious trouble. In March, 1672, Charles II suspended the Conventicle and Five Mile Acts, and licensed preachers and preaching places. Some seven or eight hundred applications are preserved.

John Bunyan applied for a house in Josiah Roughead's orchard, and on one particular sheet are these entries : Mr. James Pearson, of the Congregational persuasion, at the house of Sir Bulstrode Whitelocke, at Chilton Lodge, Wiltshire (Congregational), Mr. John Whiteman, at the house of Mr. George Cokayn, at Cotton End, in the parish of

Cardington, in Bedfordshire. (Congregational), Mr. George Cokayn, at his own house in Red Cross Street, London. Pray deliver these to Nathaniel Ponder (the friend of John Owen, and publisher of *The Pilgrim's Progress*).

In London at that time country lanes extended from Red Cross Street to Bunhill Fields, and the congregation used the minister's home as a meeting house—as the Pilgrim Fathers did at Leyden. A spy-book gives us some of Cokayn's neighbours : Dr. John Owen, and Dr. Goodwin, for Red Cross Street, Barbican, the Artillery Ground, and Bunhill lanes were then thickly occupied by conventicles. In 1672 there was a regular congregation at Cokayn's house, but from 1672–1688 no trace has been found of Cokayn's work, though he would be active in his duties, in visiting the prisons, and in giving refuge to persecuted ministers. During that period Papists were persecuted rather than Dissenters, but during the reign of James II Dissenting preachers were styled "itinerants and wanderers," and Cokayn's life was full of peril.

In 1687 a Declaration of Indulgence gave a new impetus to the Dissenters, and Red Cross Sreet Stocking Weavers' Hall was probably hired for Cokayn's congregation.

Bunyan's immortal work came from the prison on Bedford Bridge, 1675–6. Bishop Barlow of Lincoln ordered Bunyan's release in 1676. He was inspired by John Owen, for Barlow had been Owen's Tutor at Queen's College, Oxford. "A friend of this poor man" (Bunyan) pleaded with Dr. Owen to use his influence with the Bishop. Was that unknown friend Cokayn ? There are many reasons for believing that he was Bunyan's angel. Owen became interested in Bunyan, and when the Tinker went to London to seek a publisher for the story of Christian it was Owen's publisher, Nathaniel Ponder, in the Poultry, near Cornhill (very close to Cokayn's old church at Pancras, Soper Lane) who displayed the first best seller, *The Pilgrim's Progress*, at the Sign of the Peacock. Cokayn might well have been the link between Bunyan and Owen, and the key that unlocked London's door for the Bedford preacher.

"Our beloved Brother Cockaine" was to be Bunyan's comforter in death, as well as his helper in life.

On a wet August night in 1688, John Bunyan, drenched to the skin in his ride from Reading, came to the house of John Strudwick, grocer, at the sign of the Star, Snow Hill, Holborn

Bridge. On 19th August, 1688, Bunyan preached his last sermon (the text being John i. 13) at Mr. Gamman's meeting house near Whitechapel; and during his illness he found sanctuary in Strudwick's home. George Cokayn was Strudwick's pastor and Bunyan's friend, and he tells us of the constancy and patience with which Bunyan met his last sufferings before he followed his pilgrim "from the City of Destruction to the New Jerusalem." On his deathbed Bunyan partly revised his last book—*The Acceptable Sacrifice, or The Excellency of a Broken Heart*—and Cokayn finished the task. This last work of "that eminent preacher and faithful minister of Jesus Christ, Mr. John Bunyan" has a preface by George Cokayn (21st Sept., 1688) "an eminent Minister of the Gospel in London," and Cokayn hopes that "what was transcribed out of the author's heart into the book may be transcribed out of the book into the hearts of all who shall read it." It is quite possible that Cokayn introduced Bunyan into these influential London circles where he gained such fame as a preacher. The Lord Mayor, Sir John Shorter, was one of his constant hearers, for Cokayn was famous when Bunyan was a village lay-preacher. If the *Dying Words of John Bunyan* are in any way genuine, Strudwick or Cokayn would be responsible for preserving them.

Bunyan died on 31st Aug., 1688, having enjoyed the ministries of his "lifelong friend" George Cokayn, in Strudwick's home; the funeral service at Bunhill Fields would inevitably be conducted by Cokayn. The body was laid to rest in Strudwick's own vault, and the tomb to-day is one of our national shrines.

The trial of the seven Bishops, the flight of James, and the coming of William and Mary brought religious toleration, which Cokayn was able to enjoy. He was 71 years old before his church thought of a successor. Paralysed in the lower limbs, he was carried in a chair and preached on Sunday. The church invited John Nesbitt, who had also suffered for his faith, to assist the veteran.

Tichborne, Whitelocke, Milton, and Bunyan were all dead. Milton died in 1674 at a house in Bunhill Row and was buried in the church of St. Giles, which stands at the bottom of Red Cross Street. Cokayn may have attended the service, for they were near neighbours before the Plague broke out. Cokayn lived to see his appeal to the members of the House of Commons for religious and civil liberty answered. He

enjoyed a ministry to a large, unified, and active congregation, and gained many valuable personal friendships.

" One cold winter night, Nov. 21st, 1691," the Rev. George Cokayn, aged 72, passed away. He had spent 42 years with the same congregation. They met at Stocking Weavers' Hall, Red Cross Street, on Friday for the funeral, and the burial register of the Church of St. Giles, Cripplegate, London, has this entry : " November 27, George Cockaine, gent., aged, Tindall's." He was buried at Tindall's ground, or Bunhill burial fields, but the site is unknown. Bunyan and Cokayn were Bedfordshire boys, and in their death and burial they were not divided.

Cokayn had three children : John Cokayn, of Cotton End, who died unmarried ; William Cokayn, of Cotton End, citizen and grocer of London (Strudwick's influence may be responsible for his career) ; and Elizabeth, who married Thomas Lutnam, citizen and haberdasher of London. Cokayn's will was dated 11th April, 1691, and it was proved on 9th May, 1695.

An elegy in his honour begins with this tribute :

> What, still more breaches ! Is Cokayn dead ?
> Who was so desirous the Gospel should be spread.

On the list of church members we read : " Sister Cokaine, Deceased " but no date is given ; her will was proved on 26th April, 1697.

The Red Cross Street Meeting migrated to Hare Court, the land having been chosen by George Cokayn, and in 1692 the Hare Court Church was opened for worship. In 1696 John Strudwick's name appeared first on the list of Deacons, and he died on 15th Jan., 1697, aged 43 years, and was laid to rest in his own vault, where Bunyan's body was buried. His daughter, Phœbe, died on 15th July, 1718, and her husband, the Rev. Robert Bragge, who died on 12th Feb., 1737, were also interred in the same vault.

John Strudwick subscribed £5 to the fund for building the Tilehouse Street Chapel, Hitchin, which was established mainly by Bunyan's influence.

In 1772 a larger church was erected at Hare Court, when Aldersgate Street was on the verge of the open country of Islington, with a genteel though not fashionable population. In 1857 the Hare Court Church moved to St. Paul's Road, Canonbury, London, N.1 ; and in 1870, with Dr. Alexander

Raleigh as minister, there were 997 members, and the annual income amounted to £8,000. Subsequent ministers included the Rev. Henry Simon, the Rev. Dr. Lawson Forster, the Rev. H. Elvet Lewis, and the Rev. Dr. Charles Leach. The Raleigh Memorial, Stamford Hill, and Highbury Quadrant Churches in London all originated from the Hare Court Church.

The vestry still possesses an excellent oil painting of Cokayn. The communion plate, perhaps the oldest service of plate of any Dissenting church in London, comprised four silver dishes with coats of arms, presented by Sir Bulstrode Whitelocke, and one cup with the arms of Sir Robert Tichborne—a parting gift to Cokayn? Another cup was probably Sir Bulstrode's gift. The lips which touched these cups "moved in prayer at the deaths of Cromwell, Milton, and Bunyan," but this silver communion set of seven plates and six large cups was sold for £2,000 when the church suffered financial difficulties.

Dr. John Brown supposed that George Cokayn was responsible for the well-known description of Bunyan's personal appearance, as well as for the tribute to his character and ability. When minister of Bunyan Meeting I was indebted to Cokayn's successor, the Rev. Robert Anderson, for interesting information, and especially for the loan of *The Story of Hare Court*, by J. B. Marsh, the chief source of the information contained in this study.

On 31st Aug., 1928, it was my privilege to give the Tercentenary address from Bunyan's tomb in Bunhill Fields, and George Cokayn, the forgotten Bedfordshire man, was remembered as the friend who comforted Bunyan as he went down into the River of Death—a Hopeful for Christian.

Since then I have made my way from the Metropolitan Railway at Aldersgate, along the street past Barbican to Hare Court, to find the chapel, now occupied by Messrs. Machin and Kingsley, Ltd., 5, Hare Court, the pillars at the entrance suggesting a Nonconformist place of worship. Red Cross Street is about 400 yards away.

The present site of Cokayn's famous Commonwealth Church is almost covered. Pass out of Queen Street, Cheapside, with the Guildhall away on the left, and Queen Victoria Street on the right, and enter Pancras Lane. On the left is a garden plot, with a central oval garden containing two tall trees, and another garden plot with three prominent tombs—all that escaped the Great Fire. There is a commemorative tablet

on the wall—" Site of St. Pancras Church. Destroyed in the Great Fire, 1666," and on the iron gate is an iron tablet dated 1886—St. Pancras, Soper Lane. Down the lane and on the left there is another fragment, with a tablet to remind us of yet another church that was destroyed in the Great Fire.

Pancras Lane emerges into Queen Victoria Street, with a view of the Royal Exchange and Mansion House. Not far away is the Grocers' Hall and the Poultry, where Nathaniel Ponder first issued *The Pilgrim's Progress* at the Sign of the Peacock. There are memories of Cokayn, Bunyan, Strudwick—John Newton and Dr. Joseph Parker—associated with that great centre of London life.

C. Bernard Cockett.

Congregationalism in Ashburton

(*Continued from page* 192.)

Two short pastorates followed the vacancy. Benjamin Byrom was a native of Boston, and a student at Hoxton. His first pastorate was somewhere in Lincolnshire; he came to Ashburton in 1829, and after about a year and a half went to Newport, Mon., where he died. Next came John Knight Field, a native of Devon, and student of Western College. He was ordained at Ashburton in 1830, but left in 1833. He also joined the State Church. He ended his days at Manchester.

William Pollard Davis was a native of Coventry, and a student at Hoxton. He had already held pastorates at Crediton, London, Plymouth, Penryn, and Falmouth when he came to Ashburton in 1833. He remained till 1844, but no specially interesting incidents of his ministry are on record. He removed to London, afterwards to Cawsand in Cornwall, and died at Leamington on 13 March, 1872, at the age of eighty-two.

There was another vacancy of nearly two years; then James Anstis Roberts came from Warminster in July, 1846, and left in July, 1847. He afterwards went to America.

A young man followed who afterwards attained to considerable eminence. This was Samuel Hebditch, a native of South Petherton, Somerset, and student at Highbury. He came to Ashburton on 9 April, 1848, and was ordained on 5 October following. Edw. Paltridge of S. Petherton offered the ordination prayer, J. H. Godwin of Highbury College gave the charge, and Dr. Alliott, Ebenezer Jones of Plymouth, John Pyer of Devonport, and W. Spencer of Devonport took part in the service. The ministry of Mr. Hebditch was attended with a large measure of success. In 1850 the school buildings were erected. In April, 1857, a public census was taken of attendance at all places of public worship; the report for the Congregational Church at Ashburton was—sittings available, 640; attendance, morning 200 adults and 64 children; evening 360 adults and 30 children. (It may be noted that while the statement of attendance rested on actual enumeration, the number of sittings was in many cases a mere estimate, and was often much exaggerated. This was probably the case at Ashburton, as the present number of sittings reported in the Year Book is 450.[1])

Mr. Hebditch removed to Ebenezer Chapel, Woolwich, in

[1] In 1900 it was given as 600.

April, 1853. He was subsequently at Arley Chapel, Bristol, and Clapton, London; and finally went to Adelaide, South Australia, where he died in 1888, at the age of sixty-seven.

Nathaniel Parkyn was a native of Cornwall. His first pastorate was at Exmouth, which he resigned on account of ill-health about 1850 or 1851. After two years at Totnes he came to Ashburton in June, 1853. Again failure of health constrained him to relinquish in May, 1858. After living for some time at Newton he accepted a call to Dartmouth, but a third time ill-health compelled his resignation, and he passed his latter days at Torquay, where he died in 1888.

Marcus Hopwood, who went out from Western College in 1843, and had ministered at Thatcham (Berks.) and Harwich, came to Ashburton in 1859, and left in August, 1863. He died in 1887.

John Gibson, from Australia, came to England on account of his wife's health, and ministered at Ashburton for a few months in 1864–65. The object of his coming not being attained, he returned to Australia.

Mention is made of a Mr. Lockwood, "an elderly gentlemen," who "was here about a year" prior to 1867. He does not seem to have held a regular pastorate.

In January, 1867, Andrew Cooke Moorman, a native of Devonport, and student of Western College, came from Appledore. He was at Ashburton about fourteen years. In 1875 a new organ was purchased, and the old pulpit replaced by a modern rostrum; and three years later the roof was re-slated, the timbers of 1792 being found to be perfectly sound. Mr. Moorman left in March, 1881. He afterwards held a pastorate at Stonehouse in Gloucestershire, and died at Plymouth in 1902, aged sixty-nine.

Thomas Nevitt Oliphant had ministered for two years at Prees, Salop; and about six years at Nelson in Lancashire. His public recognition at Ashburton was on 15 June, 1882, when a new pulpit Bible was presented, subscribed for by the young people. In the following year the trustees acquired the freehold of the schoolroom and yard, and added a vestry, classroom, and offices; and in 1892 there was "a thorough renovation and improvement of the premises." Mr. Oliphant resigned in June, 1895, having been invited to Kirkstall, Leeds.

Harry Jas. Barton Lee, a student of Western College, was ordained at Ashburton in 1896; removed to Exeter (Heavitree) in August, 1900. [Now, 1935, at Redhill.]

Samuel Naish, M.A., LL.D., who was formerly in the Wesleyan ministry, held the pastorate for about two years from March 1901. He then went to Exeter (Friernhay), and subsequently attached himself to the Free Church of England.

James Cullen Hodge came from Wensleydale to Ashburton in 1904, and removed in 1909 to Lenham in Kent, whence he retired in 1911. During his ministry at Ashburton the Manse was purchased, while on 17th November, 1915, during the pastorate of the Rev. Frank Edward Harker (moved to Swindon 1917) the 250th Aniversary of the Church and the centenary of the Sunday School were celebrated. Mr. E. Windeatt, J.P., who presided at the meeting then held, read a sketch of the church's history, from which a great part of the foregoing narrative is derived; and a number of portraits and other pictures relating to the said history were presented.

It is to be regretted that Ashburton has shared the numerical decline that has affected most towns of a similar class; the official statistics for 1900 are 45 church members, 170 Sunday scholars, and 15 teachers; while those for 1916 are 35 church members, 110 Sunday scholars, 16 teachers and two lay preachers. Mention is made in the *Year Book* of 1916 of an outstation at Watergate, commenced in 1837, where there is accommodation for 100 hearers, a small Sunday School of 12 children, and 5 church members. T. G. CRIPPEN.

The returns in the *Year Book* of 1934 are church members, 37 (and 7 at Watergate), 60 scholars, 9 teachers, 2 lay preachers. Subsequent ministers have been J. P. Hocking, 1918–1923, W. Henrik Jones, 1926–1932, and H. F. Hawkes, 1933—.

On the 20th October, 1934, the Rt. Hon. L. S. Amery, P.C., M.P., unveiled the Memorial Window to Peter Fabyan Sparke Amery and John Sparke Amery, who very largely lived for the Old Independent Meeting, Ashburton. Unhappily many of the old records seem to have perished with them. The window is said to date back to 1610, and has for its subject the presentation of the child Jesus in the Temple. It is being inserted at the back of the pulpit, in an original wall of the old building, just above and partly coincident with the old blocked-up doorway made for the escape of the minister in earlier days. We cannot trace from what church building the window originally came, but it is rounded after the Norman style—all we know is that it was bought by public subscription in 1800, the then Duke of Cambridge being one of the subscribers, and it was insured for £1,000. H. F. H.

Benson Free Church.

ON 25th Nov., 1934, the Benson Free Church celebrated its hundredth birthday. It is true that the present chapel dates from 1879 only, and that at that time a new deed of membership was adopted, which put the Church upon a different basis; but there is a real continuity between the Free Church, which then came into existence, and the Congregational Church, from which it sprang.

Nonconformity seems to have originated in Benson in about 1785, when a Mrs. Pricket opened her house for religious services. At first preaching was only occasional, but in 1799 the Congregational minister at Wallingford, the Rev. Joseph Griffiths, began to preach regularly in the building, which is now used by the Methodists, and which was then first fitted up as a chapel. A few years later the Nonconformists opened the first Sunday School in Benson. Until 1834 the pulpit was occupied sometimes by the minister at Wallingford, sometimes by supplies obtained by the people at Benson. In this year the people decided to form themselves into a Congregational Church and to call to the pastoral office Mr. William Oram, a Hackney College student, who for some years had lived in the village and preached regularly in the chapel. Accordingly, on 25th Nov., 1834, a service was held, in which the Congregational and Baptist ministers at Wallingford both took part, and at which, after partaking in the Lord's Supper, Mr. Oram, his wife (formerly a Miss Burgis) and sixteen other persons mutually entered into a "covenant engagement." By the signing of this covenant, which was of the simplest nature, and by which the members "gave themselves to each other in the fellowship of the Gospel," the Church came into existence. It is of local interest to note that five of the original sixteen, apart from Mrs. Oram, were of the family of Burgis. On 1st Jan., 1835, Mr. Oram was ordained, and he remained the minister of the Church until his death in 1849.

From this date onwards the services appear to have been regularly conducted by the Revs. William Harris, C. M'C. Davies and G. T. Carr, successive ministers at Wallingford.

It was on hearing that Mr. Carr was about to leave Wallingford, that, in January, 1878, the Church at Benson decided to sever its connexion with Wallingford and once again to have a minister of its own. The leaders in the new enterprise, which involved the building of a new and larger chapel and the drawing up of a

fresh deed of membership to embrace Free Churchmen of all denominations, included John Burgis, who had become a member of the Church in Mr. Oram's time, William Littleboy, and William Pettit. The new building was opened on 2nd April, 1879, and the Rev. Charles Williams of Shepherd's Bush was invited to become the minister. The call was accepted, and on 29th May of the same year the deed of membership was signed by Mr. Williams, the three gentlemen mentioned above, and fourteen other persons, of whom one, Martha Lewendon, was a signatory of the original covenant of forty-five years before.

Mr. Williams spent twenty-three years at Benson, " where he really became doctor, dentist, lawyer and surgeon to his people " (*C.Y.B.*, 1921, *Obit. Notice*). Since his removal to Nettlebed in 1901, with the exception of short periods during which the Revs. W. E. Rix and E. Legg resided as ministers, and Dr. C. J. Cadoux acted as a regular supply, the Church has been in the charge of Student-Pastors from Mansfield College, Oxford. Among the names of past Student-Pastors are the Revs. H. Gamble, S. M. Berry, W. E. Rix, B. A. Yeaxlee, T. S. Taylor, A. Gaunt, C. H. Dodd, W. S. Bradley, B. R. H. Spaull, N. A. Turner-Smith, and N. Goodall. The present Student-Pastor is the compiler of these notes. We are happy to have still with us as our oldest Church member Miss Emma Burgis, to whose family the Church has always owed so much.

GEOFFREY F. NUTTALL.

Copy of Licence.

These are to Certify whom it may Concerne that at the Consistory Court kept & held at S^{t} Asaph this 2^{d} Day of September 1725. The Now Dwelling house of M^{r} John Kenrick in the Parish of Rhuabon & county of Denbigh was certify^{d}, & Designed to be made use of for the exercise of Religious Worship by Protestant Dissent^{rs} According To the Direction of a statute made in the First year of their M.^{stys} Reigne K. William & Queen Mary, and the s^{d} Certificate was Registred in the Registry of the Consistory Court of S^{t} Asaph the Day & year above mentioned ——

HY HUGHES N.P.

Reg^{tm} Deptum

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