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EDITORIAL

OUR President takes with him the good wishes of all members of the Society as he relinquishes the Principalship of Lancashire College, which he has held since 1922. Characteristically, he is not ceasing work altogether, for he has accepted the pastorate of the church at Cavendish, Suffolk. Dr. Grieve has been very loyal to the Society, and always on the look-out for opportunities to further its interests. We wish for him and Mrs. Grieve many years of healthy, happy leisure, with just as much work as they feel inclined to do. It is a hundred years this year since the opening of the Lancashire College in its Manchester home; it is therefore appropriate that the President should address our Annual Meeting on the subject "Early Years in Lancashire College". The Meeting will be held in Dr. Berry's Room, 22, Memorial Hall, London, on Tuesday, May 11th, at 3 p.m.

We print within an article by one of the oldest students of the College, the Rev. J. P. Kingsland, describing his student days sixty-five years ago.

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Though our last issue carries the date November, 1941, it did not appear until well into 1942. We are glad to be able to print this 64 pp. number, though we fear the paper situation will prevent another number from appearing in the autumn. Nevertheless, the work of the Society is being maintained. There has never been more correspondence than this winter, and many of our members are engaged in research of various kinds. We hope that all are keeping a watch on this paper salvage campaign, which might easily result in the destruction of valuable historical documents. In some areas an expert examines all papers submitted. Recently from Suffolk we were asked if we would care to have an album which had been sent in. It was the ordinary kind of Victorian album, with the usual quotations, but some of its pages contained the signatures of ministers and delegates who visited the Doddridge Museum in Northampton when the Congregational Union held its Autumnal Meetings there in 1851. We accepted the album with gratitude, and it has found a fitting abiding place in Northampton. We hope to print a description of its contents later.

This is a year of ecclesiastical centenaries, and notably for Scotland. The centenary of the Disruption must not be allowed to obscure that of the formation of the Evangelical Union. Of the two events Dr. John Murphy writes in the April *Congregational Quarterly*, and members of the Society may care to be reminded of the article on "The Morisonian Controversy", by the Rev. M. R. Kirkpatrick, in *Transactions*, VIII. 226-236. Prof. Hugh Watt's *Thomas Chalmers and the Disruption* (Nelson, 7s. 6d.) is a stirring account of the life and work of the preacher-reformer who led the Free Churchmen out into the wilderness, which his skill and the devotion and generosity of the people of Scotland soon transformed.

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For Congregationalists there is an even more important commemoration. On April 6th, 1593, Henry Barrow and John Greenwood came to an untimely end; six weeks later the Archbishop of Canterbury saw to it that John Penry was executed with as much secrecy as possible. Today it seems incredible that men of such steadfast courage and loyalty, earnest men making their witness for pure religion, should have lost their lives in this country for the same cause for which pastors are imprisoned in occupied Europe today. There is opportunity for Congregationalists this spring to tell the world that three and a half centuries ago their forefathers were dying for a cause for which Roman Bishops are standing today—the Bishop of Münster almost uses Penry's words in his recently published sermons.

Recently we have spent much time in transcribing the note-book Penry used in the last months of his life. It rests in the Huntington Library, San Marino, California. Why there, of all places, readers may ask? Because the Huntington Library bought the Ellesmere MSS., and the first Baron Ellesmere was Sir Thomas Egerton, Attorney-General and subsequently Lord Chancellor, one of the men responsible for Penry's fate. Apparently members of the Privy Council, Judges, and others kept in their private possession exhibits at the trials in which they were engaged, and Ellesmere kept this note-book. Penry's papers were seized, and, as is well known, his private and unpublished writings were put in as evidence against him. We have copied at the Huntington Library some of the depositions, and this note-book can be identified among the exhibits listed. Other unknown works of Penry are mentioned, and we hope when the war clouds lift that we may have the opportunity to search for them in the Ellesmere Collection.

Passages used in the trial are marked in the margin of the note-book. A note-book kept in prison is not exactly an ideal manuscript to decipher. There are now two photostats in this country,

one in the National Library of Wales, the other in our possession, and thus we have been able to give a good deal of time to it. Sometimes Penry writes with the book upside down; often an item does not run consecutively; sometimes there are fragmentary notes. With patience, however, practically the whole has been deciphered, though when Penry has used Welsh expert assistance has been needed: one baffling word only yielded when a brain wave suggested it was a Welsh word in Greek letters! In due course, the note-book will be published—the precursor, we trust, of the long desired corpus of the writings of Browne, Harrison, Barrow, Greenwood and Penry. Penry was a truly heroic figure, and work on this manuscript has been thrilling indeed. It contains much important information, and confirms the view that there are few men in the history of Wales—or of any land, for that matter—who rank with the young martyr who gave his life witnessing for the truth when only about thirty years of age.

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It is well that even in war-time local historians should continue their work, and from one of Britain's most-blitzed cities comes a readable popular history. The Rev. J. G. Patton was for thirty years minister in Hull, first in Hope Street, and then when the church "moved out" and became Newland. *The Story of Hope Street Newland Congregational Church, Hull* (Brown, 3s.) begins in 1797, and ends only with the present. Perhaps the most remarkable of Mr. Patton's predecessors in the ministry was Henry Ollerenshaw, of whose work from 1856 onward a vivid account is given.

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The large folio manuscript volume recently acquired, and to be presented to the Presbyterian Historical Society of England, contains six Westminster Assembly documents in perfect condition.

1. The Form of Church Government (Sept., 1644), in the handwriting of John Wallis.

2. Petition to Parliament (4 Aug., 1645) for expediting Presbyterian government, apparently in the handwriting of Adoniram Byfield.

3. The Answer of the Assembly to the Reasons of the Dissenting Brethren for not bringing in a model of their way.

4. The Reasons of the Dissenting Brethren against the third Proposition concerning Presbyterial Government.

5. The Answer of the Assembly to the said Reasons.

These three are in the beautiful penmanship of several professional scriveners.

6. The Confession of Faith, in the handwriting of Cornelius Burges, containing several corrections which are referred to in the minutes of Assembly.

The documents are all duly attested, and the volume thus contains the signatures of each of the seven men who held office in the Assembly, Twisse, Herle, Burges, White, Palmer, Roborough, and Byfield.

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The appreciations of the life and work of Bernard Manning heard at the last Annual Meeting are printed within. Since that time Mr. Frank Brittain's admirable memoir of Mr. Manning (Heffer, 7s. 6d.) has been published, the Independent Press has issued a volume of Mr. Manning's sermons, *A Layman in the Ministry* (6s.) and the Epworth Press *The Hymns of Wesley and Watts* 6s.). A new edition of *Orthodox Dissent* is in preparation, and Mr. J. O. Greenwood is completing the *History of the Dissenting Deputies* on which Mr. Manning had been for so long engaged. A second volume of sermons is also a possibility.

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Vol. VI of the *Warwick County Records* (Shire Hall, Warwick, 10s. 6d.) has been issued, and an article thereon has appeared in the *Congregational Quarterly* (XXI, 58-61). Once again the editorial work is a joy to see, and Messrs. Ratcliff and Johnson and the Records Committee are to be warmly congratulated.

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How many of our readers with Forsythia in their gardens know that it gets its name from one of the founders of Kensington Chapel? Mr. F. P. Winterbotham is now re-telling the story of the Chapel in the Church Calendar; in our next issue we hope to print extracts.

Bernard Lord Manning, the Man

I HAVE been asked to say something about Bernard Manning as a man. His worth to us as a historian is to be spoken of by Mr. Matthews. In that respect his work was unfinished—inevitably a fragment, though a brilliant and valuable fragment. Manning died before he was 49, when his powers and resources as a student of history had only begun to bear fruit. But about a man's personality and character there is something by no means fragmentary, something whole and complete, even though he dies young. And I count it a privilege to try to report my impression of that personality and character as it was known to me through a friendship of nearly 30 years.

It is a familiar saying, with some truth in it, that it is dangerous and disappointing to apply any close scrutiny to the private lives and personal relationships of those who attain eminence or fame. And I suppose this is because so often there are mixed in their characters, sometimes indeed contributing to what they achieve, elements of private ambition and certain kinds of selfishness which make them less than lovable. A friend of Bernard Manning has the satisfaction, in speaking of him, of knowing that in him no such elements betrayed themselves to spoil or modify the influence of his life on all who knew him. Indeed my difficulty in speaking of him is to avoid the charge of being extravagant in my praise. I speak of course—and you will remember it—out of an intimate love, but I speak out of fairly close acquaintance with various circles in which he moved, and as one who has had opportunity of knowing how much he meant to many others besides myself. That he had faults not even those who loved and admired him most will doubt, but they were faults which lay between him and his Maker. No one could know him more than superficially without being aware that he had a constant attitude of penitent humility before God. But I dare to express a doubt whether anyone could be found among all who had to do with him who could rise up and say, Here, or here, even in this smallest matter, Bernard Manning did me wrong.

He was a son of the Manse, and it is a tribute to his father and mother and the home they made, that, though that home till past his young manhood was one of almost severe poverty, the ministry was to him, and remained throughout his life, the ideal vocation.

He had a high view of its responsibilities and indeed of its sacramental character. He regarded himself as dedicated to it. He had hoped to enter it. He took pains to qualify himself for entering it in the recognized way, if his health should permit, by becoming an external student at Cheshunt College while he was in residence at Jesus College. However, the lung trouble from which he suffered, as the result of a football accident and subsequent exposure in his boyhood, put out of question the taking of a pastorate. He decided that the best thing he could do was to go on living at Jesus, where he was in turn (coming up from Caistor Grammar School) Scholar, Fellow, Bursar, and Senior Tutor. In spite of his ceaseless activities on behalf of his College, it was possible for him, living as a bachelor Don, to get such periods of rest as his precarious health required. Though he had this physical weakness there was never anyone who was less of a valetudinarian. He scarcely ever gave to those who met him the impression that he was delicate. A number of people who knew him well have said to me, "I always thought he was a strong man". Certainly he did a strong man's work for Jesus College. It would need a Jesus man to tell you what he meant for that Society, both the Senior and the Junior part of it, and any Jesus man you might meet, of the last 20 years and more, would need no pressing to tell you of it. He stood among the first in the senior counsels of the College. Dr. Foakes-Jackson, that distinguished Fellow of Jesus, who died in old age in America only a few days before Manning, said to me some years ago, "You know, I want Bernard [they all called him that] to be Master". I think he never wished to be Master, nor would have allowed himself to be elected. He gloried in his work as Tutor. There were not many undergraduates whom he did not know personally, entering with a sympathy never feigned into their work and their play. The Boat Club, though he could never row, or play any game, was perhaps his special care. Year by year he went to Henley to cheer the Jesus boats at the Regatta. Undergraduates too called him Bernard, and as a token of an admiring love it rather added to than detracted from his dignity and authority among them.

But if his social influence was most conspicuous in the University and College where most of his time was spent, it was equally apparent in the unacademic circles of which his home was the centre. His father was successively minister at Ravenstonedale in Westmorland, at South Bar, Lincoln, at Stoke-on-Trent, at Warminster, and for his last pastorate at Ravenstonedale again. In each of these places Bernard became known and loved as one who entered into the life of his father's flock as one of themselves. He often helped his father by preaching for him. Ravenstonedale,

twined about his heart by boyhood's associations, was his special love. He knew the history of almost every family in that small community, not only with an antiquarian's zeal, but with a genuine affection for living persons.

I am saying nothing about his intellectual powers. More than once since he died I have heard him described, not carelessly, as "the most distinguished Congregational layman". His writing had the precision and clarity which is a mark of sound scholarship, and also an unanalysable quality which makes every sentence readable. I have found myself trying to discover the secret of it. There were touches, often more than touches—crashing strokes—of humour. He could be devastating in written satire, though in talk he was always gentle and kind. It was his intellectual power, in combination with a profoundly understanding heart, that made him to very many their best counsellor. I know I am not the only man who finds himself saying, in times of perplexity, "What would Bernard say?"

Not only in generosity of mind and charity of heart, but in practical kindness he was truly great. There are at least a few, whose stories I know, who would say that by his death they have lost not only their wisest adviser, but one who in their days of direst and most shameful distress stood by them and spent himself for them with an almost incredible recklessness of active generosity.

His close friends know, by an evidence more trustworthy than any that can be derived from his written work, brilliant and moving though that often is, that what made him what he was, beyond all his gifts of mind and disposition, was an inward dedication, renewed in constant reading of the Bible and prayer, to the Lord to Whose service he was vowed. If he had been asked, at any time up to the end, by what power he sought to direct his life and on what he set his hope, he would have said, "*Jesus and the Resurrection*". No man was ever less sentimental in his piety. He was critical of any idealism that lost its footing in practical realities. But very surely his life was hid with Christ in God, and Jesus, the Incarnate Son, Jesus Who died and rose again, was everything to him in religion. In a letter, written to me many years ago (25 Oct., 1920), he said, "I have just discovered why you think I think more of the form and letter and less of the spirit than I ought. It all depends really on my belief in the Incarnation. In the Incarnate Word I value (if I may put it so without being profane) the Revealer more than the Revealed. The Son is dearer to me than the Father. I love the Flesh of Palestine infinitely more than the very God Who inhabited it, than the Spirit Whom the Flesh was made to make real to us. The Flesh, the Body, the Man, Jesus our Saviour, is the whole of my faith, and I cannot care for what

He reveals. I want no more. This bias, if I am not mistaken, affects all my love of the medium which reveals. I do not want to see the Father if I may still see the Son; nor the Word if I may love the Flesh. I don't defend what I feel, but quite honestly and simply that is my religion". Perhaps, later on, he would not have said this in quite the same way. But the quotation indicates the attitude which was characteristic of his faith all through. He was a Sacramentalist, and a realist.

There has gone from us one who was not only an eminent Christian scholar, but a great Christian believer.

H. C. CARTER.

B. L. Manning the Historian

ANY attempt to estimate Manning as a historian is faced with the difficulty that he left no very solid body of published material on which to base a judgment. Diligent search would, I suspect, provide him with a bibliography of some length, but it would be found to register only one single and separate work, and that a short one, published as long ago as 1919 —*The Faith of the People in the Time of Wyclif*—and for the rest to be made up of contributions to composite publications, reviews, and a miscellany of occasional pieces.

We have of course to bear in mind that this does not represent all his service to historical study. He was also a lecturer and tutor in history, and could we consult some of his pupils we can safely anticipate that they would give emphatic testimony to the affectionate gratitude in which they held him as a teacher. But for us that side of his work is an imponderable. Why was it, we wonder, that Manning, who to his other qualifications added such a marked gift for writing, has not to his historical and literary credit something of ampler proportions? Did he intend to make good the deficiency, and has his early death robbed us there, as it has robbed us of so much else that was his to give?

Now to look a little more closely at *The Faith of the People*. It was the Thirlwall Prize Essay of 1917, written when Manning was Fellow of Magdalene. *Felix opportunitatibus* he certainly was, but it is beyond probability that mere chance should have offered him a subject so entirely to his mind. Presumably it was open to him

to choose his subject and he chose this one. It was concerned with religion. For then, and always, as religion was the predominant interest of his personal life so it was of his intellectual pursuits. Also it was concerned with the 14th century, which remained his period, about which he was held to be among those who knew.

The century occupies a middle level. It is certainly below the soaring medieval heights which preceded it, and it certainly does not sink to the sordid banality of the period following. It has for its unquestionable attraction that it was the age of Chaucer, of Wyclif, of the mysterious John Ball, of Langland, of Juliana of Norwich, and of Gower. And, too, we who know how the story went on scan it for light on what has been called the crux of our ecclesiastical history, eager to see who even then, all unwittingly, might be doing the Tudors' work for them; to see anything that goes towards explaining why in the end it was so comparatively easy for Henry VIII to shake the English apple from the Roman tree.

These more general features make a background to Manning's book. The subject being such an extensive one, he had to limit himself to certain aspects of it. Here are some of the heads of inquiry. How was religion taught? What did the ordinary man know of Christianity? What was the influence of Christianity on the daily life of work and home? How did a social problem like that of poverty and a theological problem like that of providence, present themselves to religious minds?

All that Manning has to say about medieval faith and practice is marked by insight and sympathy. Most of all he was impressed by the pre-eminence of Christ's Passion in the thought and devotion of those times. Here are a few *obiter dicta,* found here and there, which may be of more particular interest to this company. To the decay of the Class Meeting in latter day Methodism and the heart-burnings to which it gave rise, he finds a parallel in the popular 14th century preference of preaching to the Confessional, a preference encouraged by the Friars and frowned upon by the bishops and parochial clergy. We are warned against imagining that England had to wait till the Reformation for its knowledge of Scripture; and, too, against supposing that Calvin's lurid emphasis on the doctrine of original sin had no precedents; it was outdone by the medieval picture of an unbaptized child as the image of the fiend. The medievalism of the Romantics comes in for a little chastening. "Catholic England may have been 'Merrie England', but if some of the merriment existed because of the Church, at least as much existed in spite of it. . . . In 14th century religion we can find the forerunners of Mr. Stiggins as well as those of Mr.

Chesterton". Sabbatarianism was not a Puritan invention. It had its counterpart, not only among the Lollards, but among most of the orthodox teachers of those days. "The Church was obliged to tolerate after many protests what it never sanctioned".

It is not for me to pronounce a verdict on the value of Manning's work. Let us hear the Faculty, as it is represented by the *English Historical Review,* where the book was noticed by Dr. Watson, late Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the University of Oxford. "Mr. Manning", he wrote, "has given a great deal of information and arranged it clearly and attractively. . . . The book is marked by good sense and sympathy, a thoughtful and useful contribution to an important subject". Bear in mind that the *Review* is a donnish journal, and that the academic mind is under severe restraint in using anything like floral decoration, then you will realize how warm that praise is.

Dr. Watson throws out some suggestive comments, one of which I will venture to dwell upon for a moment, more particularly as it concerns not only the men of the 14th century but also some of us of the 20th. The writers on whose evidence Manning relied were most of them clerical. A question then arises touching the nature of evidence from that quarter. What sort of description of the religion of his time is a clergyman likely to give when he writes about it? Or perhaps we should rather say, what will he imply, more or less indirectly, for his description is in all probability subsidiary to some other interest which he has primarily in view. Certainly he will not, or would not in the 14th century, provide the detached and unprejudiced survey which will enable a future historian without further demur to weigh the days under consideration in his scales of comparative religion, and report on them relatively to other times, before or after. He may, on the one hand, represent things—church practice or daily conduct or whatever his theme—not as they for the most part are, but rather as they are ideally meant to be, and perhaps are among a minority of choicer spirits. Or, on the other hand, he may tend to describe things as worse than they are, when compared to what he believes they ought to be, and what he wants his readers to make them. How far then is his estimate of the unchanged to count or be discounted? Again, how far is his advocacy of change to be registered as more than a desire for change, felt by a writer or two, at a time when writers were but few, speaking for some indeterminate number of his own order, and for certain of the laity, some of them to be classed as clerically-minded? Or, on the other hand, is this advocacy of change to be taken as evidence of change? To put it bluntly, how many people take any notice of what a parson

says of this sort? As we know, ministerial exhortation is one thing, lay practice is largely another. Outside the narrow circle of the zealous few we are soon met with a sea of faces, a few of them angry, a few of them incredulous, the vast majority of them blankly unresponsive. Our expanding question has brought us to the enigma of the few and the many, which I had better leave to the theologians and the ministerial men of action.

Let me rather say something of Manning's other writings. Of the more strictly historical there remain to be mentioned his two essays in the *Cambridge Medieval History* (Vol. VII), one on Edward III, the other on Wyclif. Here I speak with a due sense of ignorance. Indeed, since open confession is reputed to be salutary, I must admit feeling relieved that I finished with History Schools before the Cambridge volumes were published, otherwise I might have been under obligation to forgo the contented ignorance I now enjoy of all but a very few of their pages. Dr. Johnson, whose estimates of historians, it will be generally acknowledged, originated from the more obscurantist region of his massive intelligence, found most to his satisfaction a production of which he said, "it has such a stability of dates, such a certainty of facts, and such a punctuality of citation". No doubt the Cambridge volumes have that order of merit, but it does not make them exhilarating reading. We were encouraged to hope for something immeasurably more than that. Lord Acton, inaugurator of the undertaking, when in exalted mood he viewed the landscape o'er, wrote of Universal History as "not a burden on the memory but an illumination of the soul". Yet the Cambridge volumes are what they are. It turned out to be with this as with other glowing visions of prophetic minds. When the day dawns for us to draw cash on them, we find that meantime something has happened on the exchange, those on whom we banked have gone off the gold standard, and we have to take payment in a depreciated currency.

"A composite and somewhat mechanical work", is Professor Powicke's verdict in his review of this particular Cambridge volume. Manning's contribution he comments on as signalized by its "competent ease", a phrase which very happily describes something characteristic of all Manning's writing. Here are a few sentences from the close of the essay on Wyclif:

> On the political side his teaching heralded the modern State freed from the Church's co-operation and competition. But it is better to see Wyclif in relation to his own times. He is indeed less the prophet of the future than the conscience of his own generation. . . . In the last ten years of his life Wyclif gave expression to feelings, doubts and hopes gathered from

> many quarters and shared by many of his contemporaries. The Church of the fourteenth century was feeling after something nearer to the historic origins of Christianity, something with less legalism and more conscience, something which put religion again into direct and obvious touch with the heart and will, a new exposition of the *Caritas* which, as Wyclif said, is in one word the whole law of God.

There are some other publications of Manning's to be mentioned besides those which belong to him as a professional historian. One of these, published in 1929, is *The Making of Modern English Religion,* further entitled, "an historical impression of certain religious forces in modern English history". It consists of the substance of four lectures given in 1927 under the auspices of the Student Christian Movement, designed for students who had no historical background for their thinking: people who therefore might be in some measure under the delusion that the past was over, or that there is no time like the present: people who might know a few facts of ecclesiastical history but knew them only in "disconnection dead and spiritless". No doubt most of you are familiar with this book. How admirable some of it is! I think especially of the chapter on Calvin. If history is to be popularized without being cheapened or distortingly simplified, this is clearly how to do it. It is a type of work for which there is always need, and we had hoped for more of it from Manning, for few if any of his contemporaries were qualified for it as he was.

Lastly there is his volume of collected addresses published in 1939 as *Essays in Orthodox Dissent.* Some of these were given before the Assembly of the Congregational Union, and you must have heard them. If so you cannot but recall the speaker's verve, his lucidity, the ease with which he handled his knowledge, setting some apt fragment of it in a strikingly appropriate context. We recall his wit, his combativeness, for he was what our fathers called a smart disputant: those lively sallies with which from his post somewhere on the right wing he threw a hand-grenade or two at the intelligentsia on the left, laying himself open, it might be, to the charge of showing more petulance than was quite decorous, as if yielding unduly to the intellectual's anti-intellectual irritation. But it was only his fun, and more often than not it was very good fun. Dull, he could never have been that. After one of these papers it was as inevitable to call him brilliant as it was to call Aristides just. But there was more to it than that. The stream which sometimes showed a flashing surface, had also its depths—earnestness, conviction and devotion to the faith which he loved to name, with the unabated force of the epithet, evangelical.

I will not go into any details about these papers. Let us keep in the open ground of generality, and pose a perennial and always thought-provoking question, What do we learn from the study of the past? Which of our faculties does it enrich? What patiences or impatiences does it encourage in us? What beliefs or scepticisms does it foster?

"The main value of history is for the heart. It keeps the heart tender, as only a study of our poor humanity can". That is Manning's answer, enunciated in the former of the above mentioned volumes, and amplified in what is commonly regarded as the most impressive of his later published papers—*The Witness of History to the Power of Christ*. There he writes:

> The more successful a historian is in appreciating the medley of motives, passions, ambitions, hopes, loves, and fears of men the more (I believe) does he come to feel affection for his subject. A little history may make a man cynical, but give him plenty and the hardest heart must break. The observer of men—and that is all that a historian is—comes to love the human scene.

This is not quite what our acquaintance with some of the most eminent historians would lead us to anticipate. We do not hear it from so accomplished a *moqueur* as Gibbon; nor from Macaulay, there is no tenderness about his political prejudices; nor from Acton, that stern custodian of the Ten Commandments, for whom the purpose of history is "to develop and perfect and arm conscience". Once more the doctors disagree. They always do. In this instance, however, there is more excuse for them than is apparent in some other walks of the mind; for of historical study it is true, in a more complicated sense than the phrase immediately suggests, that a man gets from it largely what he brings to it. Personality will out. Those who want objective uniformity will go but little better than empty away.

Of all this Manning was of course very well aware. Note his carefully stressed "(I believe)". But he seeks to make his thesis more than a purely individual one by calling in two famous witnesses to support it. One is Carlyle, pleading with us on behalf of the men and women of the French Revolution, to think tenderly and kindly of them all, for did it not go, on the whole, hard with all of them? Carlyle in the amiable *rôle* of a preacher of kindliness brings to mind a perhaps hardly relevant sarcasm of Burke's at the expense of those who are "good with little self-denial, in the business of all times except their own". But we had better put Carlyle himself also under the historian's protecting wing, for did not it go, on the whole, hard with him also?

Manning's other witness is Virgil:

> the historian's poet, greatest perhaps of historians, too, as he tells the moving story of Troy that was, Carthage with its present passions, and Rome that is to be. . . . He loves the human scene and describes it as only a lover can . . . moved by the strange pageant of human life to a strange idealism.
>
> Thou majestic in thy sadness
> At the doubtful doom of human kind.

But we have not yet done with this thesis of Manning's. He unfolds it further and discovers in it some confirmation of Christian belief concerning the ultimate mysteries of God and man. Here the preacher and the scholar meet, and it is noteworthy that they do. To an exuberant church historian who hailed him as an ally, Ranke replied, "You are in the first place a Christian: I am in the first place a historian. There is a gulf between us".

Manning was not of that school. He did not read any such sharply defined dichotomy in or into the Christian scholar's situation. On the contrary, in him the Christian and the historian, so far from watching one another for jealously suspected encroachments, were comrades in and helpers of one another's insights and beliefs. Let the concluding words of his paper be also the concluding words of this tribute to Manning's historical work:

> History provides a temper and a mood in which I find it natural to believe that God does indeed reveal Himself in Very Man, and that this vast human spectacle is a glass through which I see darkly the love of God in Christ Jesus our Lord. I find in history a suggestion and a witness that Christ our Lord is the Power of God and the Wisdom of God.

A. G. MATTHEWS.

A unique copy of a Work of Thomas Cartwright?

IN the McAlpin Collection in the Library of the Union Theological Seminary, New York, is a copy of a work thus described in the *Catalogue,* I. 119:

CARTWRIGHT, Thomas. Two very / Godly and comfor- / table Letters, written ouer / into England. / The One To A God- / ly and zealous Lady: wherin the / Annabaptists errour is confuted: and / the sinne against the Holye Ghoste / plainly declared. / The Other An / answer to a Godly Merchants / Letter: written for his comfort, / being greeued with the heauye bur- / den of sinne: wherin is declared the / true confession of sinne. / Written by T. C. /

At London / Printed by Edward Allde for / Edward White. / 1589. / Colophon: At London. / Printed by Ed- / ward Allde for / Edward White, and / are to be solde at the / little North doore of S. / Paules Church at the / signe of the / Gun. / (lace ornament) 12.9 x 7 cm. (1,112) p.

Perfect: 5 sigs. in 12s. with first and last two leaves blank. Dated: From Copyn Hauen in / Denmarke the 3. of / Februarye. / If you write againe to me / write to Geneua, for thi- / therwards by Gods grace, / I intend to goe shortly. / Yours in the / Lord. T. C. /

"Unique": C. A. Briggs. Cf. DNB. 9: 229b.

It is bound up with another work, described I. 128:

The / TREASVRE / of the Soule. / Wherein wee are taught how / in dying to Sinne, we may attaine / to the perfect loue of God, / and our Neighbour, and conse- / quently vnto true blessed- / nes and saluation. / Many yeares since written in the / Spanish tongue, and now newly / translated into English. / By A(drian) P(oyntz) /

I. Timot. 1 . . . (7 lines).

London / Printed by John Wolfe. / 1590. / Colophon: At London / Printed by Ed- / ward Allde for / Edward White, and / are to be solde at the / little North doore of S. / Paules Church at the / signe of the / Gun. / 12.9 x 7 cm. (6), 179 p.

This entry is misleading. It should read:

I Timot. 1 3 lines, *Gal.* 5. 3 lines
London. Printed by John Wolfe. 12.9 x 7 cm. (6) 179 p.

That is to say the words from "Colophon" to "Gun" should be deleted. They refer to the *Two very Godly . . . Letters,* and rightly appear in the description of that work. There is no colophon to *The Treasure of the Soule* as it now appears bound up with *Two very Godly . . . Letters.* There may have been, as *The Treasure of the Soule* ends on middle page 179 (H 9 *recto*): H 9 *verso* and H 10 are blank, H 11 and H 12 have been cut away, and may have contained a colophon. The next page is blank except for Sig. A,

this preceding A 2, the title page of *Two very Godly . . . Letters*. The copy evidently belonged to Thomas Vincent; it has his name and also an entry to say Mary, daughter of Thomas and Mary, was baptized 7 May, 1678. This is probably Thomas Vincent (1634-1678), an ejected minister. See *D.N.B.* and Matthews, *Calamy Revised*. The translator addresses his Preface to his uncle, Richard Saltonstall, Alderman of the City of London[1], and his wife, Susan, and says the treatise was written 160 years previously by an unknown author.

The two questions that arise in connection with *Two very Godly . . . Letters* are: (1) Is the copy "unique"? (2) Were the letters written by Thomas Cartwright? It may be well to outline the contents of the letters first, and then to endeavour to answer these questions.

The first letter, printed in black letter from A 3 *recto* to B 12 *verso* begins:

> Madam, where as it pleased your good Ladyship to require me to writ unto you my minde, concerning the true sence and meaning of this place of *S. Paule* in (Heb. 6^{4-6}).

The writer answers "The errour of the Nouations and now of the Anabaptists" and on B 1 *recto* says:

> Wherefore, bothe the *Nouacians* and the *Annabaptist*, grounding them selues uppon these two places of holy scripture, will plainelye pronounce thee to be a reprobate, and that thou art dispatched, and utterlye cast awaye from all hope of saluation.

There are no personal allusions in the letter, and nothing which could not have been written by Cartwright.

Letter II opens with this four page Preface in roman type:

> The grace and peace of God, bee giuen unto you, thorough Iesus Christe etc. Whereas in your last Letters, to mee moste Trustye and assured Freende, you instantlye desired me to write vnto you. what I have read and learned in holye Scripture, touchinge *The Confession of Sinnes*. Truelye Sir this your reasonable request, I woulde, if I were able right gladly satisfie.
>
> But as you know, I am farre vnable to pen this matter according to the woorthinesse therof.
>
> Neverthelesse, when I consider with my selfe, how muche I am bounden to you, for your louing kindnesse dayly shewwd to my poore kinsefolke and freendes in *England*, I can-not but thinke it to bee my bounden duetye somewhat to gratifye you againe. And albeit that ignoraunce, rudenesse of stile, and lacke of learning plucketh mee backe from the handling of this matter, yet the consideratione of youre greate discretion and gentlenesse pricketh me forwarde to attempte

[1] For Saltonstall see *D.N.B.* A wealthy London merchant and Collector of Customs for the port of London, he became Lord Mayor and Parliamentary representative for the City. He was a Merchant Adventurer, and "was frequently abroad at Hamburg, Stade, Emden, and other places". His wife was Susan, d. of Thomas Pointz [Query—Any connexion of A(drian) P(oyntz)?].

what I can doe therein. Certes, I nothing doubte, but that you will gentlye accept my simple rudenesse, good will, and endeuour in this behalfe, not lesse than if the matter were Gloryouslye garnished with Eloquence, and set foorthe with the most profitable perswasions of the freshest Philosopher or Rethoritian in bothe Vniuersities in *England*. I truste you will credite and inbrace the truethe though it bee neuer so basely and homelye written or declared vnto you. For the trueth shall abide and flourish, when al profane painted perswasions, and fond pharisaicall phantasies shall vanish awaye, and be scattered abroad as drye dust before a whirle wind. Wherfore to keepe you no longer from this matter, I shall by Gods grace, so breefelye as I can declare vnto you, what I have learned & read in holye scripture, concerning this article, of confession of sinnes. And that is this that followeth.

The treatise (in the main in black letter) follows. Scripture mentions (*Neh.* 9) a "generall confession":

C. 2. *v.* Would God that this example of publique Confession of sinnes, were well practised through out all Christendome, namely at this day, seeing that the plagues of God doo dayly increase more and more upon us, our sinful lives & abhominations iustlye deseruing the same and much more.

There are three other kinds of confession:

(1). Secret. Unto God only.
(2). Open Confession before men.
(3). Private and Secret unto man.

(1) is essential and should be constant. If we confess . . . God forgives (*I John* 1). Thus David (*Ps.* 51); the publican (*Luke* 18) and the Sinful Woman (*Luke* 7).

(2) springs from (1): it glorifies God, moves hearers to abhor sin. *Cf.* Paul *Acts* 22^{16}, *I Cor.* 15, *I Tim.* 1.

C. 7. *v.* This example of Saint Paule verye fewe of the Papistes in Englande haue followed, unlesse it were by constrainte, for fear of bodilye punishment. And therefore for my parte I suspect them to remaine Papistes still in their heartes. For if they had unfainedlye abhorred Papistrye, they woulde after this example of *S. Paul* with al their harts, have confessed themselves to be deceiued . . .

(3) "Priuat confession of sin is needful to many for knowledg, counsell and comfort"—first for direction and comfort of man's own conscience, and then to the neighbour he has offended. It is needed first because many are so ignorant, and therefore should "hunte and seeke out some discrete and learned minister of Gods worde". This means that priests should have a knowledge of God's Word.

C. 9. *r.* But alas for pitie, the spirituall sheepeheardes in many places of the world, and speciallye in *England* are verye rude, unlearned, and unable to teache other men, because they themselues lacke the knowledge and righte understandinge of the holye Scriptures. For how should they teach others, beeing unlearned themselues? Doubtelesse it hath beene hearde of, in not a fewe places of *England*, that the Parishioner hath beene

It is very strange that the sheepe should have more wit & learning, than the sheep-heard.

better learned in holye Scripture than the Parson or Vicar, which thinge is muche to be lamented. Is it not a greate shame, yes, it is utterlye against nature, that the sheepe should be wiser and better learned then the sheephearde. But no men are so much in this behalfe to be blamed, as the Byshoppes: partelye for admitting such doltishe dodipoles[1] to the office of the ministrye: and partelye for the instituting to fat beneficies, and to the cure and charge of Christian soules, so many unlearned Idyotes, which neither can nor will feede them with the Spirituall foode of Gods Woord. . . Our Lord redresse this matter. Amen.

It is needed second for counsel of the ignorant and superstitious, worried about vows, meats, *etc.* Men spare no labour to secure their rights in business, why not in things of the mind and soul? They should consult the best learned and "discretest" ministers of the Word: "He that is wise will be counselled" (*Prov.* 22). We should "consulte with our souls phisition".

C. 12 *verso* An Example.

Example. If a young man beeing sore tempted unto Whordome, and manye times ouercome of his temptation, hath yeelded and giuen him selfe ouer onto the Deuill for that time, committing the very act of filthie Whordome and adulterye: If he (I saye) upon the consideration of his own damnable

D. 1. *r.*

state that he standeth in, would goe unto a discrete, godlye, and well learned Preacher of Gods Worde, and plainelye utter unto him his abhominable deedes in generall wordes, and aske his best counsell and aduise therin. Truly this Preacher would firste declare unto him by Gods Woord, what great daunger of eternall damnation that he then stoode in, and plainly tel him that God saithe in the Holye Scripture. . . . That neyther Whoremongers nor adulterers shall inherite / the Kingdome of

D. 1. *v.*

God: And that God thretneth to ludge and condemne both Adulterers and fornicatours. And so grounding him selfe uppon the Scriptures and suche like, thereby beating into his Conscience, the feare of God, he woulde bid him in any wise earnestlye repente him selfe of his greate sinne, and commit him self by earnest, faithfull, and continuall Prayer, to the mercye of God in Christe Jesu. And in any wise without any delaye, refuse that filthie and detestable fashion of liuing, or else, though he seemed neuer so much outwardli in this miser-

D. 2. *r.*

able worlde / to flourishe, yet should he continually liue without the favor of God, and under his great wrath and vengeance, not beeing in that state the seruante of God. but the diuels slave & bondman, out of Gods Kingdom, subject to etternall death and damnation.

How a great sinner should use him self to recouer the fauour of God D. 2. verso

This thing earnestly heard, diligently waied, and deepelye from the verye hearte considered: If this sinner were one of Gods flocke, at the hearing of this terrible sentence of the Lawe, hee would tremble & quake for feare, wail and lament his horrible and detestable state, crye and call / in cessantly for the unspeakable mercye of God in Christe Jesu, trusting by his onelye meanes to obtain and get again the fauoure of God, which thorowe his carelesse disobedience he had lost.

[1] Variation of "doddypoll", a blockhead, fool, now obsolete. See *N.E.D.* for examples.

And further, he woulde humblye desire Counsell, which way he might best hereafter auoid this horrible crime of filthy whordome and adultery.

Preseruatives against whordome

Then his discreete ghostelye father would exhorte him, in anye wise with al his due diligence, daily and continuallye to practise these wholesome preseruations and moste present remedies against whordome. That is to say

D. 3. r.

1. Firste, to eschue idlenesse, and alwaies be occupied in some honest labour and busines.
2. Then to auoid al occasions of euill, all suspect houses and wanton company.
3. Againe, to beware of filthye communication, wanton songs & histories of baudry & neither speak nor heare suche filthynesse.
4. Further, to use sobrietye and temperaunce in the use of meate, drinke, sleepe and apparell.
5. Moreouer, to be daily conuersante, with suche persons, as are bothe chaste, honest, vertuous and godly.

D. 3. v.

6. Beside this, to remember dayly what painefull passion and death, Christ suffered for our sinnes, and filthy affections.
7. To consider also the certaintie and suddainnesse of death, and what a straite account and reckoning must be giuen of euery idle worde: much more of filthye actes and uncleannesse.
8. But speciallye to use daylye faithfull and feruent suite, Praier and supplication unto God, for the gratious gifte of chastity and cleannesse of heart.

D. 4. r.

9. And finally, if these be practised, and will not serue nor suffise, for the auoyding of Whordome, then in any wise to take a wife, for when all other remedies faile, this with the practising of the other will serue. For this is the most present medicine, and naturall remedy that God hath properly ordeined, to cure the disease of filthye concupiscence, whordome and adultrye, after the doctrine of S. *Paule*, who sayeth: *To auoyde Whordome, let euerye man take his owne wife, and euerye woman her own husband.*

1 *Corin.* 7.

This third kind of confession is necessary for the comfort of weaklings, lest they despair. *James* 5 enjoins confession one to another and prayer one for another: *Matthew* 18 says if two shall agree it shall be done, and speaks of the power of two or three gathered in Christ's name: "Are not the weak-faithed person and his curate two or three with Christ?" *James* says "Confess one to another"; confession can be made to any man, "'as unto a Preeste or unto mine own curate", but he must be learned in the Scriptures, and there is none so meet as

D. 7. v.

thine owne Curate (if he be no Papist, neither of corrupt judgement in the Scriptures, but be honest, discreete, & well exercised in Gods holye Woorde. For he is appointed of God to be heardman of thy soul. . . . .

D. 8. r.

For what other thing is the priuate absolution of the preest, but a priuate or secret preaching of Christ's Gospell. . . .

D. 9. r.

Another kinde of priuate Confession . . . is the confession of reconciliation.

Quotations from the Fathers in roman type follow.

E. 5. *recto* returns to black letter with "Open Confession before the whole congregation is . . . now lamentably out of use".

E. 6. *r.* But Whereas in the latter ende of your letters, you instantlye desired me to write unto you, what I thinke of the eare Confession, / that is so straitlye commaunded among the papistes . . . I thinke it bringeth manye a simple soule to the hazarde of damnation.

"Abuses of eare Confession" follow:

It is commanded of necessity.
It is bondage to number your sins . . . leads to concealment which makes the unlearned think he is in fear of damnation.
It establishes wrong standards: "the eating of an egge upon a Fridaye" is esteemed a greater offence than blasphemy or slander.
It makes the ignorant think Confession and not the death of Christ blots out sins, and that Penance and Fasting are due satisfaction for sins.

E. 8. "Whiche thinge oughte to make all the *Babilonicall* Bishoppes ashamed (but that they are past all shame already) because they suffer Gods people to be so drowned in ignoraunce, that they cannot discern the commaundements of God, from the dirtye dregs of Papisticall traditions. [Amid all these forms of Confession] the prowdest Papiste of them all, cannot finde in holye Scripture these wordes or sentences: *To his owne Curate whatsoeuer he is*: *all Sinnes particularlye*: *all circumstances*: & such like trash. For all these are nothing else but Pedlarye patches of Papistrye. Which I pray God maye bee purged againe, and banished out of *Christendome*, and that shortlye.

E. 9. *v.* Thus muche haue I written unto you of the Confession of sinnes, to declare unto you my conscience and simple Judgmente therein, according to your requeste in your Letters, written unto mee by NICHOLAS NERIN, from *Roane* in Fraunce, the eight day of JANVARIE. And if you accepte of my rude writing and collection in this matter: I shall by the

E. 10. *r.* Grace of God doo mine endeuour likewise in other matters of holye Scripture, to shewe you heareafter my small and slender knowledge and iudgement. Thus the liuing God increace in you dayly more & more, faith, charitie, meakenesse, godlinesse and pacience. Amen".

Then the ending "From *Copyn Hauen* in *Denmarke* the 3. of Februarye. *If you write againe to me write to Geneua, for thitherwards by Gods grace, I intend to goe shortly. Yours* in the *Lord.* T. C.

So much for the contents of the letters. To turn to the queries.

(1) Is the copy unique? For the present the description must stand. There is no copy in the Huntington, Sterling, or Widener Libraries, in the Library of Congress or the Folger. Mr. William A. Jackson of Harvard tells me he knows of no other copy. There is no copy in the British Museum, the Bodleian, the Cambridge

University Library, Dr. Williams's Library, the Lambeth Library, Rylands Library, the National Libraries of Scotland or Wales, or the New College Library, Edinburgh.

I have just discovered, however, a reprint of the first letter in the British Museum. It appears in this work:

AN
EXCELLENT
Treatise touching the resto
ring againe of him that
is fallen:

Written by the worthy, Saint / *Chrysostome* to *Theodorus* a friend / of his, who by leud liuing, was fallen / from the Gospell; fit to read for reclai/ming their hearts which are / in like case.
Englished (*out of an auncient Latin translation, written in Velume*) by R. W. With an annexed Epistle of comfort / from one friend to another, wherein the / Anabaptists error of desperation is / briefly confuted, and the sinne against the holy Ghost plain/ly declared.
Hebrews 3[13].
Exhort one another daily, while it is called / today.
London

Printed for *I. Helme,* and are to be sold at bishop at S. Dunstans Church.

(No date on title page, but on the title page of the Epistle of Comfort, page 157, the date is 1609).

A—A 5, 1—204.

A 1 *recto* is the title page, A 1 *verso* "Of the profit of this treatise".

A 2 *recto*—A 5 *recto* Epistle Dedicatorie. Rob. Wolcomb to Master John Kempthorne, Esquire.

A 5 *verso* blank.

1—132 *Of the restoring again.*

133—138 (G 2 *recto*). To the Reader. R. Wol.

G 2 *verso* blank and unpaged.

139—155 "Sentences collected out of the fathers workes . . . "

156 Blank.

157 The *Epistle of Comfort.* (157 title page; 158 blank; 159-191 text; 192 blank).

193—196 Daniel IX in Metre.

197—204 Prayers Against Despair, For Morning, For Evening.

The Preface, in italics, reads thus:

> Of the profit of this Treatise
> The prince of Surgeons, Phoebus sonne,
> In curing famous was:
> Machaon and his brother too,
> By art brought much to pas.
> The best of these in festered sores
> Did all, and could no more:
> To soule of man corrupt by sinne,
> Their skill denied a dore.
> But heere behold 'gainst dreadfull crimes
> A soueraigne medicine lies:
> A Moly, Panaceia Sweete,
> To him that upward sties.
> If fallen down thou feele dispaire,
> Read through this pamphlet small:
> It Theôn cheiras, powerful salue,
> In such assaults maist call.
>
> R. W.

It . . . idolatries I Peter 4^3.

The twenty four-line stanzas,

> The prayer of Daniel turned into metre and applyed vnto our time.

are as bad as any of the doggerel of the time, as these two, Daniel $9^{15 \text{ and } 16}$, may serve to indicate:

> Our sinnes and eke our fathers faultes
> This day to passe hath brought.
> That all which border vs about
> They set vs cleane at nought.
> Now then (O Lord) hide not thy face
> Oh heare thy seruaunts cry.
> Behold thine house sometime full rich
> How wast it doth nowe lie.

There is nothing unusual about the three prayers.

The Dedicatory Epistle is addressed to:

> the Worshipfull and his special good friend, Master Iohn Kempthorne Esquire, R. W. wisheth in this life prosperous successe in all affaires, and in the life to come a crowne of glory.

Wolcomb speaks of Kempthorne's:

> ardent zeale in Gods truth, and maruellous affection towardes the true professors thereof . . . your Worship, vnder the wings of whose tuition, these my slender labors might safely be shadowed, from all the malice of spitefull reproouers and taunty carpers.

He calls himself "a tender suckling and nouice in good letters," and says he had translated Chrysostom for his own use, and was then urged to publish, and now dedicates it as a widow's mite.

Kempthorne was probably John Kempthorne, an attorney of Modbury, Devon, the father of Sir John Kempthorne (1620-1629), Vice-Admiral. (*D.N.B.*).

Robert Wolcomb of Devon (Foster, *Alumni*), *cler. fil.*, Matric. Exeter College, 1584, aged 16, B.A. 1589, was Vicar of Chudleigh, 1600. His Puritan inclinations were maintained by his family, another Robert, who matriculated at Oriel in 1650, being ejected from the rectory of Moreton Hampstead in 1662.

The British Museum contains two other works by Wolcomb: (1) *The State of the godly both in this life and in the life to come* (1606), a funeral sermon (11 November, 1605) preached at Chudleigh for Lady Elizabeth Courtney; (2) *A Glasse for the Godly* (1612), "Containing Many Comfortable Treatises to perswade men from the love of this world. . . . Full of spirituall comfort for all".

Here is the title page for the *Epistle of Comfort*:

AN EPISTLE
OF
COMFORT
From one Friend to ano
ther, wherin the Anabaptists
error of Desperation is briefly
confuted, and the sinne a-
gainst the Holy Ghost
plainly declared.
Whereunto is added certaine
effectuall Prayers
Ornament.
London
Printed for John Helme
1609.

It begins (*cf. sup.* page 2):

Syr, wheras it pleased you to require mee to write unto you my mind, concerning the true sense and meaning of this place
Heb. 6. of Sainte Paule in his Epistle to the Hebrewes. It can not be that they which were once lightned, and haue tasted of the heauenly gift, and were become partakers of the holy Ghost, and hauing tasted of / the good word of God, and of the power of the world to come, if they fall away (and as concerning themselues, crucifie the sonne of God afresh, and make a mocke of him) that they should be renued againe by repentance.

The error of the Nouations & now of the Anabaptists.

Syr, Many in time past, and at this preesnt day, mistaking this text and not truely understanding it, haue bene and are encombred with the Nouations error, which is, that after man by baptisme and the holy ghost is regenerated, and hath tasted of the grace of God, and hath embraced Christ and his holy word, if he fall to sin againe, he is without remedy of saluation.

Undoubtedly this is a very damnable error, enough to bring all them that /

The Letter ends: "Yours at commaund to his power. T. C.

Giue all honor laud and praise to God onely. I Tim. 1.

This indicates that there are some differences, though as I have no full copy of the McAlpin volume before me, I cannot speak with confidence. The original is addressed to "a godly and zealous Lady" by T. C.; Wolcomb's edition, though still with T. C.'s initials, is "from one friend to another", and "Madame, where as it pleased your good Ladyship to require me" becomes "Syr, Wheras it pleased you to require me". Unhappily, Wolcomb was not thorough in his revision, for on page 181 he has left, "Wherefore good Madam". There are probably other differences, an indication of which is that whereas my note of the McAlpin copy (B. 1. *recto*) reads:

> Wherefore both the Nouacians and the Annabaptist, grounding them/selues uppon these two places of holy Scripture, will plainlye pronounce thee to be a reprobate . .. .

Wolcomb reads:

> Wherefore, the Anabaptists grounding upon these scriptures will plainely pronounce thee to be a reprobate.

When the British Museum secures a photostat of the McAlpin volume collation will be possible. Meanwhile the marginal references in the 1609 edition may be useful:

> *Heb.* 6; The error of the Nouations & now of the Anabaptists; *2 Petri* 1; *Pro.* 2-4; *Ezech.* 33; *Esa.* 55; *Iere.* 3; *Iere.* 8; *Zacha.* 1; *Apoc.* 2; *Luc.* 15; *Luc.* 22; *Iohn* 3; *Aaron; David; Manasses;* The sinfull Corinthian. *I Cor.* 5; *I Cor.* 2; *Peter; Mat.* 16; *I Iohn* 5; *Mat.* 26[1, 2, 3, 4]; *Mat.* 17; *Heb.* 6; It is not all one thing to fall, and to fall away; A prouerbe; Who falleth away fro christ; *I Tim.* 1; *II Tim.* 4; *Mat.* 10; A good & generall rule to be noted; *Ion.* 3; A condition; *Luk.* 22; *Mat.* 9; Question; Answere; *Mat.* 12; Three sortes of sinnes, Sinne Blasphemy, Blasphemy against the spirit; Sinne; Blasphemy; *II Tim.* 2; *II Iohn* 5; *Luk.* 23; *Act.* 3; *Act* 7; Blasphemy against the spirit; Coniectures are vncertaine; *Luk.* 23; *Tim.* 1.

(2) Was Cartwright the writer of the letters? There were, of course, other notorious T. C.'s. Remember how Martin Marprelate ridiculed "profane T. C.", Thomas Cooper, Bishop of Winchester: whose *Admonition to the People of England* appears next to the present work in the McAlpin catalogue. We have no knowledge of Cartwright in Copenhagen, though he travelled so much on the Continent that it is quite probable he went there. From Dr. A. F. Scott Pearson's biography we see him within fifteen years in Geneva, Rouen (1572), Heidelberg, Basel, Middelburg, Antwerp, and Flushing. The reference to Rouen at the end of Letter II makes us note Rouen (1572). If the letters had been dated it would have been helpful. Though published in 1589 they may have been written much earlier.

That Cartwright had much to do both with godly and zealous ladies and with godly merchants is well known, and there is abundant evidence that he advised them in matters of theology and of conscience. The modern note in his treatment of sexual temptation is striking, and we are not aware of a parallel in his published works. It may be urged that a man of Cartwright's intellectual attainments—he had been Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity at Cambridge, and was the recognized leader of the Presbyterian-Puritans—would not make the profession of ignorance in Letter II. But such a pose of humility was conventional, and many examples could be furnished. That Cartwright himself employed it may be seen from an autograph letter in the Huntington Library, which offers another illustration of his correspondence with laymen on theological matters[1]. Francis Hastings (*D.N.B.*), brother of the Earl of Huntingdon, was closely connected with the Puritan group of ministers (see, *e.g.*, A. F. Scott Pearson, *Thomas Cartwright*, 69, 71-2). He studied at Basel (1579), and Cartwright was in communication with him as late as 1598 (Pearson, *ut sup.*, 384). In 1587 he submitted to Cartwright a religious treatise for comment and criticism. Cartwright's reply is a letter of 2¼ folio pages, dated Milke St. London 19 May 1589, which is catalogued in *The Huntington Papers* (pp. 83-84) under the title: "A Criticism of a religious treatise written by Francis Hastings and submitted to Thomas Cartwright". Cartwright's notes on the treatise are prefixed by these words:

> According to your request I have red over your Christian Treatise wherein I finde matter of thankesgiving unto the Lord for your sound knowledg of our holy religion, and that the blameless walking in the same for which you are commended proceedeth not from an imitacion onely of those whome you esteme of the better sort but (as yt owght) from a certen and ruled knowledg out of the word that the same is acceptable unto God in Jesus Christ. And notwithstanding that I am not so meet a censurer of other mene's writinges that have more need to have myne owne censured of such as you whome I know to be friendes unto the trueth, yet therein also have I obeyed yowr desire in setting down wherein I thowght yowr judgment (folowing others ether in their writinges or speakinges) might seem somewhat too swarve.
>
> I was at yowr lodging yesterday myself to have delivered yt and withall to have given the reason of these my scribled and ragged notes, thereby the rather to have heard from you in defense of your own that whereby I might have profited. But fearing least in in often coming I might misse of you as I did, I have with your treatise sent you my notes, wherein when you have red my readiness to doe thow the service I can conveniently for my place, I am content you make waste paper of yt.

[1] For another, containing a similar expression of humility, see the letter to Michael Hickes, 20 Sept., 1595 (Strype, *Whitgift*, III. 316-7).

> And so with my humble commendaciones I moest humbly recommend you unto the generous keeping and blessing of the Lord in Jesus Christ.

This note may stimulate search for another copy of the work, as it may also enable those with intimate knowledge of Cartwright's writings to prove or disprove his authorship.

Dr. A. F. Scott Pearson, the biographer of Cartwright, has read this article, and sends this additional note:

> In seeking to determine the year in which Cartwright may have written the letter to a godly merchant, I make a review of the Puritan leader's whereabouts in the February of nearly a score of years before the letter was published, 1589. He was probably in Warwick in that month during the period 1586-1589, in Middelburg in the second months of the years 1578, 1579, 1580, 1583, 1584, 1585, in Antwerp in the second months of 1581, 1582; he was in Heidelberg in Feb. 1574, 1576 and probably Feb. 1575; we are not sure where he was in Feb. 1577, but he was in Basel at the end of 1576 and appears in Middelburg Sept. 1577. In Feb. 1573 he was in England. In Feb. 1572 he was in Geneva or on his way to Rouen, where—as I discovered a few years ago—he was staying in March 1572. This survey takes into account all the years from 1572 to 1589. Now what of the 3rd Feb. 1571 as the date of the letter? Cartwright was deprived of his Cambridge Professorship in Dec. 1570; then he appears in Geneva in June 1571. Probably he left England at the end of 1570 or the beginning of 1571, taking ship for Copenhagen, where on the date of the letter he says: "If you write againe to me write to Geneva, for thitherwards by Gods grace I intend to goo shortly". The sentiments expressed in the letter are not incompatible with the opinions of Cartwright on the subjects in question expressed in his later works, *e.g.*, his *Confutation of the Rhemish N.T.*, although they are couched in different language and a more lucid and attractive style.
>
> ALBERT PEEL.

Congregational Commonwealth Incumbents

ONE of the many analyses to which *Calamy Revised*[1] invites the student is a consideration of the Congregationalists among the ejected ministers, their antecedents, the effect of their work, and how they came to be ejected at all. Their very existence within the Established Church at once reveals the ambivalence of Congregationalism, so fascinating to the historian of piety, so fatal to all attempts at a uniform classification. Our denominational histories begin with Browne's anti-parochial conception of the "gathered church", and proceed to cry bitterly over ejections from parochial livings less than a hundred years later. It is true that the Established Church became between 1640 and 1660 something different from what it had been and would be again: episcopacy was gone, the Prayer Book was gone too. Yet there was still the parochial organization on a geographical basis, still the state connexion, which might enable an aggrieved parishioner to sue the parson before a secular court of law. There is no denying that the holding of livings by Congregationalists was strictly anomalous, and almost bound to cause misunderstanding. It was a course not a few declined to adopt. On the other hand, unless holding them by birthright or by an illumination given in youth, men come to new principles gradually, especially to a full realization of their implications. Some of the men of whom Calamy records "His judgment was Congregational" were probably still only in the period of transition during the Commonwealth, feeling their way, and were helped to know their minds by the Act of Uniformity itself.

Of the 2,080 names (1,909 genuine cases of ejection) which find a place in *Calamy Revised*, only 189 (171 genuine) were certainly Congregationalists. It is a very small proportion, less than 10 per cent, but they were an important minority, as the Dissenting Brethren had been in the Westminster Assembly, and as the younger Independents would be on the non-subscribing side at Salter's Hall[2]. These men also were not old. The age of over 100

[1] *Calamy Revised*, by A. G. Matthews, is the authority for practically every statement in this paper after the opening paragraphs, unless another reference is given.

[2] *cf.* A. Gordon, *D.N.B.*, art. Thos. Ridgley.

of them is known, at least to within a couple of years, and th dates of their birth cover every year from 1606 to 1633, as well a some years before and some after this period. In 1662 they wer thus of all ages, with the majority between 29 and 56. Eight wer born in 1626, the greatest number in any single year; at thei ejection these would be only 35 or 36, though this would seem olde in the seventeenth century than today.

Of these 189, eighteen[3], Calamy's editor confesses, were not, i fact, ejected. That he was weakening his case by their inclusio can hardly have escaped Calamy, which makes it the more interest ing, from the point of view of Congregationalism, that he di include them. In some cases, *e.g.*, Samuel Lee*[4] and Philip Nye* he may well have erred in all good faith, believing that they hel livings which they did not hold. One, John Wigan, he admit (though erroneously) was only a candidate for the ministry. Th others include John Collins*, Samuel Eaton*, Increase Mather* John Owen*, Jeremiah White*, and Samuel Winter*[5], men s prominent that they could hardly be omitted. Eleven of thes eighteen were of sufficient eminence to be included in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, a proportion much higher than that pre sented by the number of those actually ejected who receive suc recognition (53 out of 171). This goes to show that the outstandin Congregationalists tended to remain outside even the Cromwellia Establishment. Some had held benefices earlier, *e.g.*, John Owen who became Vicar of Coggeshall, Essex, *after* John Cotton's *Keye* had converted him to Congregationalism; but even of these Le had accepted a living only unwillingly under pressure from Crom well, and had resigned it; while others, including Ichabo Chauncey*, Mather and White, had never been beneficed. Thei inclusion *quand même* in Calamy's list is telling.

The 171 names which remain may themselves be divided int three categories, according as their holders were ejected from: (1) parochial livings, whether rectories, vicarages or curacies, (2) town lectureships, preacherships or chaplaincies; (3) academi positions in university or school. The second and third types o office were clearly more loosely attached to the State Church tha were the livings: they carried with them no cure of souls as did th parishes. Lectureships "sprung from a desire to promote spiritua

[3] Counting Peter Sterry*, whom Matthews adds, as his earlier office o chaplain to Cromwell was the same as that of White, whom Calamy includes.

[4] All names thus asterisked are the subjects of an article in the *D.N.B.*

[5] Winter was ejected from the provostship of Trinity College, Dublin, bu did not suffer any ejection in England.

edification by means extraneous to the parochial system, and . . . practically anticipated . . . the principles of voluntaryism"[6]; they could also be considered in a missionary light, bridging the gap which was the weakness of the conception of the "gathered church", and thus be held to be compatible with Congregational principles. Nor could any valid reason be advanced why academic posts should not be held by Congregationalists. Between them these two types of office account for 41 names, 13[7] of them academic: of these, eight were ejected from the University of Oxford (including the Presidents of Magdalen and St. John's, the Camden Professor of Ancient History, and a Canon of Christchurch), two from Trinity College, Cambridge, and three from Eton (including the Provost and Vice-Provost)[8]. Seven of the thirteen (5 Oxonians, 2 Etonians) are in the *D.N.B.*, again a high proportion. The 28 remaining names are those of 18 lecturers (including John Flavell* at Dartmouth and Christopher Nesse* at Leeds), 6 preachers (including William Bridge* at Yarmouth, Theophilus Gale* at Winchester Cathedral, and John Rowe* at Westminster Abbey), 2 chaplains, the Master of the Savoy (William Hooke*), and an assistant minister. Ten of these 28 are in the *D.N.B.* As with the men not ejected, some of them had held benefices earlier, but several had never done so. Thomas Goodwin*, the ejected President of Magdalen, had definitely resigned his vicarage (Holy Trinity, Cambridge) on becoming Congregational (again through Cotton's influence); and other cases of the same thing may be presumed.

We now come to the ministers who are our immediate concern, *viz.*, the 130 who were actually ejected from livings in the Established Church. It might be expected that they would appear only in certain districts, much as the few Baptists ejected tend to appear in the Marcher Counties. This is not so, however. They appear throughout the whole of the country, from Cornwall to Northumberland and from Cumberland to Kent; the only counties not represented are Westmorland, Lincolnshire, Leicestershire, Rutland, Warwickshire, Huntingdonshire, Herefordshire, and Surrey[9].

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[6] J. Stoughton, *Religion in England*, I. 46.

[7] Counting Ralph Button*, whose canonry at Christchurch was evidently academic rather than ecclesiastical, since he was never in orders; and Lewis Du Moulin*, Camden Professor of Ancient History, an addition by Matthews.

[8] Of the 29 men ejected from schools other than Eton none appears to have been a Congregationalist.

[9] For practical purposes Monmouth is excluded from the survey of *Calamy Revised*, as being predominantly part of a Welsh diocese in the seventeenth century.

This is not to say there are not areas where Congregationalists were thicker on the ground than in other districts; Norfolk and Suffolk together account for 30 of the 130 names (15 each); no other county has so many, Gloucestershire coming next with 10, then Devon with 8 and Cumberland with 7. London provides 8, all but two of whom are in the *D.N.B.* A consideration of these districts will give some idea of the situation.

In *Norfolk* much "Established" Congregationalism can be traced to the influence of two particular churches, those at Norwich and Yarmouth. In 1636 William Bridge* had been deprived by Bishop Wren of the rectory of St. George Tombland, Norwich, and went to Holland. Here he fell in with such other exiles as Hugh Peters* and Samuel Ward*, who converted him to Congregationalism[10]. On his return to England in 1642, he retained his principles and in 1643 became pastor of a Congregational church formed at Norwich, a section of which, with Bridge still as pastor, was formed in 1644 into a separate church at Yarmouth[11]. Bridge never again held a benefice, but accepted the office of one of the three[12] Town Preachers at Yarmouth, from which he was ejected. He remained pastor of the Yarmouth Congregational church until his death in 1671. His successor as pastor of the church at Norwich was Timothy Armitage*, who never held a living and died as early as 1655, being followed by Thomas Allen*.

Allen is one of our men, as he also held the rectory of St. George Tombland (Bridge's former benefice), from which he was ejected. He too had been in exile, both in Holland and in New England, where (like so many others) he had come under Cotton's influence. From this Norwich church came Thomas Lawson*, who joined it in 1649, was dismissed from it in 1655 to that at Denton (probably as pastor), where he was also Rector, and later became a member (not pastor) of that at Market Weston (afterwards Wattisfield), from the rectory of which he was ejected. From the Norwich church, again, came John Money, who was dismissed from it in

[10] For the non-Separatist type of Congregationalism traditional among the exiles in Holland and later in New England, *cf.* P. Miller, *Orthodoxy in Massachusetts*, 81f. 105. For the Dutch Reformed Church's antagonism towards the exiles, *cf.* D. Nauta's inaugural lecture, *De Nederlandsche Gereformeerden en het Independentisme in de Zeventiende Eeuw;* and for the influence on them of Remonstrant principles, *cf.* D. Nobbs, *Theocracy and Toleration.*

[11] There was a Brownist church in Yarmouth as long before Bridge's time as 1624; *cf.* J. Browne, *Congregationalism in Norfolk and Suffolk*, 74 foll.

[12] Another of these, also ejected, was Job Tookey, who in 1652 became 'teacher' of the Yarmouth Congregational church.

1652 to be pastor of the church formed at Wymondham, from the vicarage of which he was ejected[13].

The church at Yarmouth also provided men for Norfolk benefices. From this church John Green, who had been admitted to membership in 1655, was dismissed in 1659 to that at Tunstead, of which he became pastor in January, 1660, and where he also held the vicarage from 1657 till he suffered ejection. From it, again, came John Reyner, who was ejected from the rectory of Rollesby[14].

Doubtless others besides these five were influenced by the Norwich and Yarmouth churches, which had a benevolent oversight over the younger churches and often received messengers from them seeking advice. Calamy's attribution to them of the Congregationalism of Samuel Habergham, pastor of the Congregational church at Syleham and Wingfield, Suffolk, and ejected from the vicarage of Syleham, could probably be repeated for others:

> coming into a Country where he saw the most Part of Professors inclin'd to the Congregational Way, he struck in with them. It was in these Parts were the celebrated Fifteen Churches (and there were so many at least of that Way) upon the Coasts of Suffolk and Norfolk, that receiv'd their Direction and Encouragement from Mr. Bridge of Yarmouth, and Mr. Armitage of Norwich.

It is the more interesting that these two churches did not discourage their members from combining a parochial living with the pastorate of a "gathered church", inasmuch as at Yarmouth even the Town Lectureship held by Bridge was found to be not without its difficulties. Sore grief and displeasure was officially expressed in 1646 that he should gather a church in Yarmouth, and for three months he forbore to receive any into church fellowship; then, when "the church gave the town notice that they would no longer forbear the duty of admitting into fellowship", a majority of the

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[13] It may be conjectured that this also was the "one of the churches in Norwich" where was preached the sermon which led to the conversion to Congregationalism of Edward Barker, ejected from the vicarage of Eye, Suffolk.

[14] Other ministers who were at one time members of this influential church were John Oxenbridge*, the ejected Vice-Provost of Eton; and Thomas Taylor, one of those included by Calamy though not in fact ejected, who was pastor of the Congregational church at Bury St. Edmunds. Robert Otty, who was ejected from a lectureship at Beccles, Suffolk, owed much to Bridge's encouragement, though we are not told he was a member of Bridge's church. John Leverington, who was among those in 1644 dismissed from the Yarmouth church to the newly formed church at Norwich, may be conjecturally identified with the John Leverington ejected from the vicarage of Neatishead with Irstead, Norfolk, but is not reckoned among the 130 Congregationalists.

corporation voted this "a disturbance of the peace and government of the town"[15].

In *Suffolk* the leading Congregational churches were those at Ipswich and Bury St. Edmunds, but these do not seem to have sent their members out to hold Congregational pastorates together with parochial benefices, as did the churches at Norwich and Yarmouth. The ministers of the two Congregational churches at Ipswich, Robert Gouge* and Benjamin Stoneham, held livings, the former the rectory of St. Helen's, the latter the curacy of St. Peter's, and both were ejected; but the Bury church had a more Separatist complexion from the first. Katherine Chidley[16], the "old Brownist", as "Gangraena" Edwards calls her, and her son[17] were among the eight signatories to the covenant at Bury (1646), in which they declared themselves "convinced in conscience of the evil of the Church of England . . . and being fully separated"[18]; consequently their minister, Thomas Taylor, was never beneficed, and was not likely to encourage such a procedure. This is not to say there was no warmth of fellowship among the Suffolk churches. At the ordination of Taylor over the Bury church in 1656, messengers were present from the two Ipswich churches, from Sudbury, where Samuel Crossman* (the author of the hymn "My song is love unknown", and the one Congregational conformist) was both pastor and Vicar, from Syleham and Market Weston (mentioned above), as well as from other churches which like itself were "fully separated"[19].

One would like to know more of the many other clergymen-ministers in this county, such as John Clark of Beccles; John Manning, minister of the Congregational church at Walpole and later of that at Swefling (afterwards Rendham), and ejected from the vicarage of Sibton with Peasenhall; his brother Samuel Manning, who succeeded him at Walpole, and was ejected from the rectory of Cookley with Walpole, but remained pastor of the Congregational church at Walpole; Samuel Petto*, a strong supporter of lay-preaching, who was ejected from the rectory of South Elmham St. Cross, where he was probably also pastor of a Congregational church; and Thomas Spurdance, ejected from the rectory of Rushmere, and pastor of a Congregational church at Henstead, which in 1658 was reported as "neither seeking communion with others

[15] J. Browne, *op. cit.*, 218.

[16] She wrote in 1641, in controversy with Edwards, a *Justification of the Independant Churches of Christ.*

[17] He wrote to Cromwell in 1651, "Separation is of such antiquitie, necessitie, utilitie, puritie, and permanencie . . . ": J. Nickolls, *Original Letters*, 59.

[18] J. Browne, *op. cit.*, 394.

[19] *ib.*, 398.

nor they with it". In Clark we have another example of the difficulties a benefice might present to a Congregationalist. He seems to have held the pastorate while he was Lecturer at Beccles, but to have resigned it when he accepted the rectory, Robert Otty, a foundation member, succeeding him in the pastorate. Clark evidently retained his principles as Rector, for complaints were made that he "did not minister sacraments to all and sundry"; but it appears that he held unusually strict views, for even among the Congregationalists there was no administration of either sacrament till Otty's time[20].

It is evident that these ministers who were ejected were in no way lukewarm Congregationalists, who did not know quite where they stood. Of the 30 ejected from livings in Norfolk and Suffolk as many as 15 in 1672 took out licences in the county as Congregationalists (including three who preferred the name Independent), a high proportion; for at least two ministers had died since 1662, at least two others had emigrated to Holland, while others, who did not avail themselves of the Indulgence, are known to have been ministers of East Anglian Congregational churches at that time. In Norfolk the Old Meeting at Norwich and the Congregational and Unitarian churches at Yarmouth still flourish, as does their offshoot at Wymondham; the church at Denton is now small. Another ancient Norfolk church is that at Guestwick, where Richard Worts combined the pastorate with the rectory of Foulsham with Themelthorpe, from which he was ejected. In Suffolk also a number of Congregational churches continue the labours of the ejected ministers. Besides Ipswich (Congregational and Unitarian) and Bury may be mentioned Beccles, Bungay, Rendham, Walpole and Wattisfield. Probably nowhere else has there been so much Congregational continuity since the days when Cromwell drew from this district[21] the Independent Ironsides who made some conscience of what they did; and the indigenous air of East Anglian Congregationalism may well owe something to the number of cases in which during the Commonwealth the pastorate of a "gathered church" was combined with a living in the Establishment.

The smallness of *Cumberland* and its proximity to Scotland and Scottish Presbyterianism make it surprising that of the 20 ministers ejected in this county as many as 7 were Congregationalists. In 1651 Thomas Larkham*, whom we shall meet again in Devon, a

[20] *ib.*, 461.

[21] "The preponderance of the East Anglian element among the pioneers of the (Franciscan) movement" (F. S. Stevenson, *Robert Grosseteste*, 42) and Milman's description of Franciscanism as "the democracy of Christianity" (*Latin Christianity*, VI, 40; quoted by Stevenson) may be recalled, and compared.

returned exile from New England, was in Cumberland in the fulfilment of a military appointment; and it seems to have been through his vigorous personality that in that year a Congregational church was formed at Cockermouth, with his son George as pastor. George also held the curacy of Cockermouth, and was ejected from it. George Benson, later ejected from the vicarage of Bridekirk, was a foundation member, and with Thomas Larkham laid hands on George Larkham, as did Gawen Egglesfield, later ejected Rector of Plumbland (he unfortunately had to be excommunicated by the Cockermouth Congregational church for a 'foule miscarriage'). Comfort Starr, who was pastor of a Congregational church at Carlisle and ejected from the curacy of St. Cuthbert's there, was also connected with the Cockermouth church, where his wife was a member and his son was baptized. Congregationalism in the county was greatly strengthened by the accession of Richard Gilpin*, great-nephew of Bernard Gilpin*, "the Apostle of the North". How he came to hold Congregational principles is uncertain; Alexander Gordon says, "it seems that Gilpin would have preferred the Presbyterian system"[22], had it been adopted in Cumberland, and he took out a licence as a Presbyterian in 1672. The fact remains that while still a preacher at Durham Cathedral in 1649 he had administered the sacrament to a small congregation in Durham, and that at Greystoke, where he held the rectory from about 1652 till his ejection, "his parish was organised on a congregational model, having an inner circle of communicants and a staff of deacons"[23]. A third Congregational church was formed at Melmerby (afterwards Kirkoswald) in 1653, among the foundation members being William Hopkins, later ejected from the rectory of Melmerby, and Simon Atkinson, later ejected from the vicarage of Lazonby[24].

All the seven Congregational ministers ejected in Cumberland were thus originally connected with only three Congregational churches, and it does not appear that Atkinson, Benson or Egglesfield formed Congregational churches in their own parishes. The population of Cumberland was much sparser than that of East Anglia; and Presbyterian principles (if not the Presbyterian system) would be stronger. Thus George Larkham was ordained "by the imposion of the hands of three ordained presbyters then present (called by the church to that worke for feare of offending the godly brethren of ye Presbyteriall way"); and George Benson, when admitted to the office of a teaching elder, was not ordained,

[22] A. Gordon, *D.N.B.*, art. Rich. Gilpin.

[23] *ibid.*

[24] George Nicholson, one of those included by Calamy but not in fact ejected, succeeded Hopkins in the pastorate at Melmerby.

"because he had been before ordained by the bishops, and the church was fearfull of iterating his ordination, least they should have offended, though they, in their judgement were satisfied they might"[25].

Of these seven ministers all took out licences in 1672 except Hopkins, but Benson, Gilpin and Starr had left the county, and Larkham was licensed as a Presbyterian[26]. All the Congregational churches, however, continued to exist. Cockermouth[27] and Carlisle still flourish; Greystoke is now Presbyterian; Melmerby (Kirkoswald) is represented by Parkhead, the building unfortunately now being closed.

In *Devon* the situation was more as in Suffolk, in so far as the Congregational churches arose largely in independence of one another. That only 8 Congregationalists were ejected out of a total of 121 (as against 30 out of a total of 139 in Norfolk and Suffolk together) shows the relative strength of Presbyterianism in this county. A Congregational church was formed at Tavistock by Thomas Larkham*, whom we have met at Cockermouth, and who was ejected from the vicarage of Tavistock. Another, not formed till 1658, was at Bideford, where William Bartlet* combined the pastorate with the rectory, from which he was ejected. Bartlet had held his principles at least since 1647, when he published his *Model of the Primitive Congregational Way* ("nicknamed Independency"), but how he came to them is not clear; he had not been in New England, as Larkham had. According to Calamy Bartlet's son John, who was ejected from the vicarage at Fremington, was also Congregational, as were Thomas Powel and Thomas Wellman, ejected from the curacy of St. Sidwell's, Exeter, and from the vicarage of Luppitt respectively. Among the signatories of the Address of Devon Congregational ministers to Charles II in 1660 were two men who later suffered ejection from the vicarage of Tiverton: John Chishul, who held the Pitt portion, and Theophilus Polwhele*, who held the Clare and Tidcombe portions. Nathaniel Mather*, another returned exile from New England and of a famous Congregational family, was ejected from the vicarage of Barnstaple.

Of these eight, all but Larkham, who was dead, Chishul, who left for Middlesex, and Mather, who again emigrated, took out Congregational licences in 1672 in the county, and their labours are

[25] Cockermouth Church Book, cited by F. Nicholson and E. Axon, *Older Nonconformity in Kendal*, 107.

[26] It is curious to find him called a Brownist as late as 1692; Dearham Parish Register, cited by B. Nightingale, *Ejected of 1662 in Cumberland and Westmorland*, 693.

[27] *cf.* W. Lewis, *History of the Cockermouth Congregational Church.*

still continued by the churches at Barnstaple, Bideford, Tavistock (Congregational and Unitarian), and Tiverton. Other Devon churches now Congregational may claim foundation by ejected ministers; but either these ministers did not become Congregational till after their ejection, or else they did not become so at all, the churches, originally Presbyterian, becoming Congregational, just as in Cumberland we noticed one Congregational church which has become Presbyterian.

Gloucestershire is interesting as presenting a highly conscious and organized Congregationalism which did not last. As remarked, there were more Congregationalists ejected in this county than in any other except Norfolk and Suffolk, and the proportion of Congregationalists among the ejected (10[28] out of 52) is almost exactly the same as in Suffolk (15 out of 79). In 1656 the Gloucestershire churches sent a remonstrance to Cromwell against his assuming the kingship, an interesting indication that they were politically alert and as radical in their politics as in their religion. The signatories to this letter included the following pastors of Congregational churches, who were also incumbents and later ejected: William Beale, Rector of Stow on the Wold; Francis Harris, Curate of Deerhurst; Carnsew Helme, Vicar of Winchcomb; Anthony Palmer*, Rector of Bourton on the Water; and William Tray, Rector of Oddington. William Becket, member of the Winchcomb Congregational church, later ejected from the curacy of Compton Abdale, and John Wells, who combined the pastorate of a Congregational church at Tewkesbury with the vicarage, from which he was ejected, signed another letter to Cromwell about the same time. These churches, though, so far as appears, arising in mutual independence, were thus evidently known to one another and desirous of acting in concert. The Winchcomb, Oddington and Tewkesbury ministers were also among those who as early as 1653 held a public dispute on the question of admission to communion with Clement Barksdale*, the sequestered Vicar of Winchcomb, who spent the Commonwealth in retirement at Hawleing near by. There was also a Congregational church at Gloucester, with James Forbes*, ejected from the rectory of St. Mary de Crypt, as pastor; among its members was Edward Fletcher, ejected Rector of Bagendon, in whose property near Little Cloisters, Gloucester, the church appears to have met.

Somewhat detached from these Cotswold Congregational churches was one at Bristol, whose pastor, John Knowles*, ejected

[28] Stephen Ford*, a *protégé* of Thankful Owen*, can almost be counted an eleventh; for Chipping Norton, where he was ejected from the vicarage, is only just over the Gloucestershire border, nor was any other Congregational incumbent ejected in Oxfordshire.

from the rectory of St. Werburgh's, had been in New England. He and Forbes[29] were present at the Savoy Conference of 1658, but it cannot be to them that "Established" Congregationalism owes its introduction to the county, since it was already fully confident by the time of the dispute with Barksdale in 1653. Bristol had been a centre of Nonconformity since the days of the Lollards, and Baxter's experience of the strong Puritan feeling in Gloucester[30] may be recalled. A connexion may also be sought through the Baptists who "abounded in Gloucestershire"[31], though only one of them, Paul Frewen, the pastor of the Baptist church at Dymock, held a living (the vicarage of Kempley) and suffered ejection. Anthony Wood says that Palmer of Bourton was "anabaptistically inclin'd"[32].

Despite the labours of these ten ministers, only the Gloucester Congregational and Unitarian churches can claim continuity with them. Forbes remained at Gloucester, and took out a Congregational licence in 1672; but Beale, Helme, Knowles, Palmer and Wells all left the county for London, while Fletcher had died, and presumably their churches fell away. Harris[33] took out a Congregational licence at Painswick, and Tray is found ministering at Nailsworth, at both of which places churches continue; Becket took out a licence at Winchcomb, but there was evidently a later break in the history here, for the present church claims only a nineteenth century foundation. At once brilliant and transient, the Commonwealth Congregationalism of Gloucestershire deserves an investigation to itself.

No other county provides a sufficient number of ejected Congregationalists (there were only 6 in all Yorkshire) for it to be worth while to consider them as a geographical unity; but among them were not a few ministers of eminence and interest. The London ejected Congregationalists include Joseph Caryl*, one of the Dissenting Brethren at the Westminster Assembly[34]; the Arminian John Goodwin*, another of those who owed their Congregationalism to Cotton; and Nathaniel Holmes*, who as early as 1643 had joined Henry Burton* in gathering a church. Those in Yorkshire

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[29] Forbes was also a Preacher at Gloucester Cathedral, Knowles at Bristol Cathedral.

[30] *Reliquiae Baxteriannae*, I. 41.

[31] A. Gordon, *D.N.B.*, art. Anth. Palmer.

[32] Palmer's influence may remain in the Bourton Baptist church, which was sufficiently live to engage the pastoral energies of the hymn-writer Benjamin Beddome* for more than fifty years (1740-95).

[33] Harris's influence may remain in the custom still in practice at Deerhurst, now excessively rare in the Church of England, of sitting at communion.

[34] As was William Greenhill*, ejected from the vicarage of Stepney, Middlesex.

include Christopher Marshall*, of Woodkirk, yet another of Cotton's *protégés,* who at one time counted the Quaker James Nayler* among his church members; and Henry Root, of Sowerby, who baptized Archbishop Tillotson. One of the most interesting characters is William Dell*, who resigned the Mastership of Caius in 1660 and was ejected from the rectory of Yelden, Bedfordshire. He was a radical Independent, who combined a Quaker-like distrust of an academic training for the ministry with pioneer views on university extension.

The conflict likely to arise within the dual function performed by the men under consideration has already appeared from time to time, and other examples may be given. It is true that it was not only Congregationalists who refused to administer the sacrament to all and sundry. When Abraham Pinchbecke was Rector of Mashbury, Essex, in 1654, he wrote to Baxter that he did not intend to administer the Lord's Supper as there were no fit recipients. In 1657 he went to St. Paul's, Covent Garden, to assist Thomas Manton*, who had become Rector in 1656; and, according to another letter to Baxter, it was not till 1658 that the Supper was administered there after seven or eight years' intermission. Neither Manton nor Pinchbecke were Congregationalists. Consequently an attribution of Independency in Walker's *Sufferings of the Clergy* on the score of a refusal to administer the sacraments is not treated as in itself proof of Congregationalism. Congregationalists, nevertheless, would be likely to prove stricter than their Presbyterian brethren. Francis Holcroft*, for instance, who was ejected from the vicarage of Bassingbourn, Cambridgeshire, and from a Fellowship at Clare, is described by Calamy as "Much against holding any Kind of Communion with the Parish-Churches; fell in with the Old Brownists, and was angry with his Dissenting Brethren that were more Catholick-spirited". Again, when Baxter went in 1662 to live at Acton, Middlesex, where first Philip Nye* and then Thomas Elford, both Congregationalists, had been Rector, "there remained but two Women in all the Town, and Parish, whom they had admitted to the Sacrament whereof One was a Lady that by alienation from them turned Quaker, and was their great Patroness. . . . This rigour made the People think hardly of them". The suggestion that some people became Quakers on a "sour grapes" principle is diverting; but it is not unlikely that, while the refusal to administer the sacrament to all and sundry was usually owing to a high Calvinist notion of the holy community, some radical Congregationalists, who did not go the whole way towards Baptist or Quaker principles, yet went so far as to depreciate the sacraments. Knowles, for instance, in earlier days when at Colchester, "forsook lecture and town and all, rather than he would receive the communion"; Richard Lane, a Congregationalist ejected from the

vicarage of Northbourne, Kent, baptized no children; Dell was charged with having neglected the sacraments for twelve years at Yelden, and in his *Doctrine of Baptisms* he seems to have set aside water baptism altogether[35]. Sometimes parishioners claimed what they considered their rights. In 1658 Thomas Palmer, the Congregational Rector of Aston on Trent, Derbyshire, was prosecuted at Lincoln for refusing the sacrament to his parishioners, and it appears that he was not the only one then prosecuted. The case evidently caused some excitement, for Bankes Anderson, the Congregational Mayor's Chaplain at Boston, together with the Mayor and about twenty other ministers, signed a petition against the prosecution.

It is to be borne in mind that the Commonwealth Congregationalism described above is by no means the whole of it, nor perhaps even representative of the whole, since (with the exception of Bury St. Edmunds) only those churches whose pastors were incumbents have come under mention. The eighteen Congregational ministers included by Calamy but not ejected may be recalled as a reminder of the church life outside the scope of this paper; and the fact that not a single Congregationalist was ejected from a Lincolnshire living must not be taken to mean that no Congregational church existed between Scrooby and Boston, but only that none of the pastors of any such churches were incumbents[36]. If not in Lincolnshire, certainly elsewhere in many counties Congregational churches were formed, still in complete separation from the Establishment. Some, like that at Bury St. Edmunds, still flourish. Some, like that at Nailsworth, where was "ameeting for some years of apeople called puritants, or Jndependants, a seeking people to know the way of truth"[37], or at Leominster, Herefordshire, where was "a great Meeting of ye Peopel Caled Jndependats"[38], had a break in continuity, so that the present churches claim a later foundation. Some, like those listed by Browne for East Anglia, have become extinct. The relation of "Established" Congregationalism to "Separatist" Congregationalism still needs investigation; the present paper seeks simply to provide evidence of the nature, problems and extent of the former, to which several of our present churches owe their origin.

GEOFFREY F. NUTTALL.

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[35] J. Stoughton, *op. cit.*, II, 255, n.

[36] Yet in fact no Lincolnshire Congregational church seems to claim a seventeenth century foundation save Stamford, where three Presbyterians were ejected. It looks as though the early "Separatist" Congregationalism of Lincolnshire proved less sturdy than the later "Established" Congregationalism of East Anglia.

[37] *First Publishers of Truth*, ed. N. Penney, 106.

[38] *ib.*, 116.

The Throckmorton Trotman Trust 1664–1941

(Concluded)

By the courtesy of the Clerk of the Haberdashers' Co. I have been allowed to examine not only the *Manual for the Private Use of the Court of Assistants* (last ed., 1902) but also the MS. volume of Alphabetical and Chronological Schedule of Deeds, Papers, Writings, begun 12 Sept., 1756, and still in use. From these and from Herbert's *History of the Twelve Great Livery Companies of London* it is possible to trace Trotman's bequests to the Company, though sometimes the stream flows underground.

The Company received £2,000 from the Executors in 1663[15] and £2,000 in 1669. As the Hall and adjacent premises were burnt down in the Great Fire[16], they used the capital "for that purpose", allocating the rents of tenements near for the service of the Charities, and *not* purchasing lands. In 1732 they conveyed several tenements to Trustees for this specific purpose.

In 1668 the £400 for the School was received. Land near Bunhill was bought for £180, and a school built costing £380. In 1671 the Company built a schoolmaster's house at their own charges (£363). From his salary of £70, £30 was deducted for rent and £10 for repairs.

Herbert's account (1837) of Trotman's School in Bunhill Row reads:

> For the daily education of one hundred boys, sons of parishioners of St. Giles, Cripplegate and St. Luke, Old Street, elected by the court of wardens. They are admitted at 7, and discharged at fourteen years of age, and instructed in reading, writing, and arithmetic.

Among the documents is "A Bundle of Petitions of Boys from Bunhill School from 1781 to 1790", which I have not examined.

In 1881 the premises were sold to the Metropolitan Board of Works for £7,017 3 per cent Consols, afterwards invested in freehold ground rents, and the School was moved to 80 City Road.

In 1899, however, it was closed by order of the Charity Commissioners, and a pension of £50 to Mr. Lebon, the schoolmaster, was sanctioned. Finally by a Board of Education Scheme for the educational Charity, dated March, 1912, the income is applied in

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[15] Probably an error for 1665.

[16] As again in December, 1940.

Senior and Junior Exhibitions for boys resident in the administrative County of London, with a preference for those resident in the parishes of St. Giles, Cripplegate, and St. Luke's, Old Street.

At one stage, probably 1756, there is a statement to show that the rents of the houses allocated to the Charity produced £159 5s. 0d., leaving £9 5s. 0d. for repairs, taxes, and other charges after these payments.

	£
Master at Bunhill School	30
Tuesday afternoon Lecture	20
Sunday morning Lecture	20
Clerk and Sexton	4
To those that take pains about the premises	6
Candles	4
Poor of Cripplegate	16
Poor at Cam	30
Lecture at Dursley	15
Poor of the Company	5
	150

That such execution of the Will was not reached at once may be gauged from a Bill in Chancery, 14 July, 1701, "the Attorney-General at the relation of the Inhabitants of Cam in Gloucester against the Company for a legacy of £30 a year left by Mr. Trotman and the arrears to secure the payment thereof".

Subsequent difficulties are suggested by an "Undertaking by Candidates for the Lectureship to perform the duties in person" (Dec., 1795) and an Order of the Charity Commissioners (no date in the Schedule but between documents dated 1859 and 1867) "for the delivery of a Lecture *once a week* (my italics) at St. Giles, Cripplegate".

The 1902 *Manual* gives a list of payments showing that on 10 Nov., 1887, the incumbent of St. Giles, Cripplegate, refused to allow the Lecture to be given there, and that therefore it had been transferred to Allhallows, Lombard Street. This list reads:

	£
Lectures at Allhallows Church, Lombard St. ...	50
Clerk and Sexton at Allhallows Church, Lombard St.	8
Parish of Cam	30
Lectures at Dursley	15
Parish of Cripplegate	16
Five poor of the Company	5
Clerk of the Company	6
	130

In 1937 the Charity Commissioners sanctioned a new Scheme of Administration for the non-educational parts of the Charity, authorizing the Company to divide the income thus:

6/120	The Company for expenses of administration.
5/120	Poor of the Company.
40/120	A lecture every Sunday evening in the Parish Church of St. Peter, Hoxton, or in some other Parish Church.
2/120	Clerk of Church where lecture is preached; if no Clerk, to Parochial Church Council for general expenses.
2/120	Sexton similarly.
4/120	Parochial Church Council for expenses of lighting and heating.
16/120	"Joint Estate Trustees of the Charities called The St. Giles' and St. Luke's Joint Parochial Charities in the Parishes of St. Giles, Cripplegate, in the City of London, and St. Luke, Old Street, in the County of London".
30/120	Trustees of "the Charity of Throckmorton Trotman in the Parish of Cam".
15/120	Lecture on market day at Dursley.

Cam. There are still Trotmans resident in Cam, and the local tradition is "There have always been Trotmans in Cam". "The Steps" is the name of a farm in Cam. Almshouses were not built there, but the money given to the poor of the parish. Apparently the Trust is now administered by two persons appointed by the Cam Parish Council. There is an annual distribution of money, preference being given to widows, and also, under the "Hicks-Trotman Charity" an annual distribution of bread to 240 residents of Cam who will fetch a loaf.

Dursley. The bequest for the Dursley Lecture has followed the same course as that for the Lecture at St. Giles, Cripplegate. At some time it was attached to the parish church, and the *Report* of the Commissioners appointed to inquire concerning charities is that the Lecture was preached as directed every market day, and payment made to the curate, the rector then being non-resident. There is now no market, but the Foundation Deed of St. Mark's Church requires a sermon to be preached every Wednesday evening. This requirement has, with some intermission, been regularly complied with, and this sermon is deemed as meeting the direction of Trotman's Will.

The Merchant Adventurers. About the bequest to the Merchant Adventurers searches to date have proved entirely fruitless.

It will be seen that in almost every way care has been taken to carry out the intentions of the testator. There is, however, one important exception. If students for the ministry in which Throckmorton Trotman believed still receive assistance from his benefaction, other parts of his Charity have gone the way of many during the centuries. It may be, of course, that the Lectures which have been delivered through the years at Dursley, St. Giles, Cripplegate, Allhallows, Lombard Street, and St. Peter's, Hoxton. have been Puritan Lectures such as Mr. Trotman desired to establish. But we have our doubts. And it may be that in the distributions to the poor of the various parishes all care is taken to include those whose religious beliefs are most akin to those of the testator. It would be interesting to learn.

ALBERT PEEL.

John Ray, Naturalist. By CHARLES E. RAVEN, D.D. Cambridge Press. 30s.

If you look in *Calamy Revised* you will find the name of John Ray. But how many members of this Society, how many Nonconformists, ever think of this naturalist as one of the greatest of their number? The *D.N.B.* calls him "the greatest naturalist with one possible exception that England has ever produced", and Dr. Raven quotes Sir Albert Seward's verdict:

> Ray set truth above tradition and had the courage of his convictions. We do homage to him as one of the founders of modern science; we think of him as a prophet and preacher of the new gospel in an age when the dawn was beginning to break after a long night of comparative darkness. He stands as a beacon set on a hill penetrating the mists of ages with shafts of light, giving warmth to the hearts and stirring the imagination.

Dr. Raven's judgment also serves to be on record:

> His greatness is that in a time of tradition and universal turmoil he saw the need for precise and ordered knowledge, set himself to test the old and explore the new, and by dint of immense labour in the field and in the study laid the foundations of modern science in many branches of zoology and botany. He studied, corrected and collated the existing litera-

ture; he collected, identified, investigated, described and classified mammals, birds, reptiles, fishes and insects, cryptogams and all known plants; he contributed richly to the advance of geology and made observations in astronomy and physics; he was a pioneer in the study of languages and first revealed the importance of dialect and folk-speech; he did as much as any man of his time to develop a new understanding and interpretation of religion; more perhaps than any man he enabled the transition from the medieval to the modern outlook. That he could do so is due not only to his own genius and opportunities, but to the character of his inheritance and the circumstances of his upbringing.

Ray, the son of a blacksmith, was born in 1627. He found his way to Trinity College, Cambridge, and became a Fellow, teaching both Greek and Mathematics before Cromwell died. As he had always intended to give his life to divinity, the Restoration placed him in a quandary, but he accepted Charles II's professions of "indulgence" and was ordained. The Act of Uniformity was too much for him, and he forfeited his Fellowship. While he remained a bachelor, and while his friend and partner in naturalist researches lived, he was not uncomfortably off, but afterwards, when four children arrived and he was stricken with long illness, it must have been hard to keep the wolf from the door. But through poverty and pain he carried on his work, refusing preferment when offered, and sending out from his little house in Essex a stream of notable, if financially unprofitable, books, which were pioneers in their fields, embodying in skilful fashion the fruits of almost unparalleled industry.

Nature, to Ray, was a revelation of God to man, and he saw nothing out of harmony with his profession in the detailed study of God's work. Finally, in *Wisdom of God*, he issued a book—on which Paley afterwards largely drew, and without adequate acknowledgment—which can still be read with interest and profit.

Few readers will be able to read all Dr. Raven's biography as it ought to be read, for how many have the required knowledge of plants and birds, animals and insects, fossils and words, philosophy and theology? But all will be grateful to the Master of Christ's for a book which is a model: well produced, with notes at the foot of the page, full indexes, and handy epitome, and written withal with an enthusiasm which warms the reader. Like John Ray before him, Dr. Raven is a fine type of Christian humanist.

EDITOR.

Lancashire College Sixty-Five Years Ago

I ENTERED Lancashire College in January, 1878. William Redman, from Leeds, was the only other candidate for admission and was accepted at the same time. I was some months over twenty-one years of age, for, to my regret, my father had refused to let me continue at school after I was sixteen, and had apprenticed me to a large spinning and weaving mill in Bradford. The loss of the best five years of my youth for study was a handicap during my Arts Course which I never succeeded in overcoming. I had had no time to continue my studies after I left school: I had to be at the mill at 6 a.m. and did not get home until about 6.30 p.m. The immediate consequence of this was that I was too "rusty" to take the London Matric. at the end of my first six months at College, and had to take another year in preliminary studies. I matriculated in the summer of 1879 and was one of the six students who passed—and the only occasion, I think, in the history of the College when six students passed. During these eighteen months I was under the tuition of Dr. Hodgson and only took one class at Owens College (it had not then become a University). This was in English language, Professor Toller being the lecturer.

The extensive alterations and enlargement of the College were still in progress when I entered, and it was some months before they were completed. I think the Principal had got into his new house on the west wing, and the Matron had taken possession of his old quarters on the east wing; but the new central block did not come into use until the next session.

The surroundings of the College have completely changed. Manley Park was, I think, in the market owing to the failure of the Manchester merchant, Sam Mendel, but the mansion and the beautiful grounds surrounding it had not been interfered with; the park, which extended along the south side of the College and was hundreds of acres in extent, was a large open space with no sign of cultivation.

Whalley Range was a very select suburb and continued to be so for many years after I left. It was only after the commencement of this century that the very strict building tie began to be infringed. At the end of the road which runs from the College into Upper Chorlton Road there was a toll-gate which effectually prevented through traffic. I do not know when or why it was removed.

I may further mention that the Midland Railway from the Central Station through Chorlton-cum-Hardy was made during the first years of my College course, and I often visited it while it was in progress. Chorlton was then a small village unvisited by the modern builder. Wilbraham Rd. existed but was not made up, and not a single house had been built along all its length from Chorlton to Withington. I often cycled along its cinder footpath. I was the first to bring a bicycle to College—a high machine, of course, for 'safetys' had not then been invented. This bold step was considered a great innovation and there were some doubts about its permissibility, but it was not long before my example was followed.

On the first night of our appearance in the dining hall Redman and I had to undergo the ordeal of initiation. The first part consisted of our being ordered to stand on the table and give an account of ourselves—where we

were born, what schools we had been at, whether we had been in business, we had done any preaching, *etc.* A fire of questions—many of them irrelevant—constantly interrupted our attempts to satisfy curiosity, and after that a song or recitation was demanded. I think I recited "The Heathen Chinee," with was greeted with much ironic applause. This was only the first stage. The subsequent proceedings varied and were sometimes very rowdy. They included a march round the corridors and often certain ordeals more or less severe. I have forgotten the details in my case, but I remember that when I retired for the night I found that my bedroom had been interfered with—not in the best of taste!

There were between forty and fifty students when I entered. The numbers increased after the alterations to nearly sixty, but decreased considerably before I had finished my Arts Course. The reasons for this decrease were various. I can remember some men who were evident misfits; one who was obliged to give up the idea of the ministry because his father's business urgently required his assistance; one who quietly disappeared after falling in love with a young lady in the while-you-wait boot trade; one, an excellent fellow who could not reach the educational standard required, was well worthy of a place in the ministry; subsequently, as a baker, he did fine religious work. One was dismissed in disgrace because he had said nothing in his application of the fact that he had been dismissed from Airedale College. The fact was discovered because he came face to face with Dr. Fairbairn in the corridor when the latter was the guest of Dr. Scott.

During all my years at College I occupied the same study. Redman for some time had the next one on the right, close to the door into the Principal's house. He moved because, though the room is a good size, the window is very badly placed. The study next to me on the left was occupied by Websdale, and the one next to that by Kilpin Higgs, who subsequently married my sister. A little further down was one occupied by Samuel Pearson, with whom I was on very friendly terms and who made me acquainted with several interesting books which I might otherwise have missed. He was my senior by, I think, a couple of years. He came to my room one Monday morning with a very long face and said to me:

"Kingsland, I wish you would look at my head. I was staying with old E—— at D—— yesterday, and this morning, being late for breakfast, I was combing my hair in a great hurry and I broke a tooth of the comb in my head, and it is there now."

There, sure enough, was the comb tooth, which had run right in under the scalp, though the end protruded slightly. The wound had bled, but not continuously. With the aid of a pair of pincers I was able to grip the end of the tooth and to pull it out. It was a highly successful operation; the wound healed well, and Pearson suffered very little inconvenience. It so happened that the very next Sunday I was sent to D——, and, as was almost invariable, went to dine with "old E——," a rich cotton spinner, who left £80,000. He was not a good conversationalist, and to break a somewhat long silence at dinner I told him about Pearson. He listened in silence, and when I had finished asked one, and only one, question: "Was it my comb?"

Of my other friends at College I must mention Charles Clay, who came, like myself, from Bradford; Darlow, who came later for the theological course, having previously taken his degree; and William Thomas, who in subsequent years was a very good friend to me. I must mention William Evans also, though my friendship with him was not very close until after he had settled in Oldham. Ferguson and Richard Barker I must also include, for with the former I was sufficiently friendly to spend an Easter holiday at his home in

Preston, and with the latter I subsequently spent a fortnight in Birmingham. Edwin Tongue took more interest in my literary efforts—chiefly poetical—than any of my other friends.

Richard Barker was the most eccentric man in College; indeed, I cannot remember any one else who deserved that epithet. When he first came he larded his conversation with frequent quotations from Latin classics, but this was soon laughed out of him. He substituted a very free use of swear words, always quoting Shakespeare, quite illegitimately, as his authority. He was frequently the subject of practical jokes, which he took very good-naturedly. But his experiences in College did very little to modify his eccentricities, and they proved too great to allow him to succeed in the ministry.

Our staff at the time of my entrance consisted of Dr. Scott, Dr. Hodgson, and Dr. "Sandy" Thompson, who was minister of the Rusholme Rd. Congregational Church, and only taught Hebrew. Later, Lyon Turner was added to the staff. With the two latter I had no classes during my Arts Course and only one with Dr. Scott. After passing Matric. I took classes for 1st B.A. at Owens—Greenwood for Greek, Wilkins for Latin, Ward for English Literature, and a professor whose name I forget for mathematics. I was taught principally by Dr. Hodgson to the time of taking Matric. He was very genial and we all liked him. He had rather remarkable mesmeric gifts. We had no evidences of them in our classes, though I was told that occasionally—quite unconsciously—he had mesmerised people while he was preaching. But on one occasion, when he had invited some of us to his house, he mesmerised one of us, a Welshman, and succeeded in making him preach part of a sermon in Welsh.

Miss Rutherfoord was the Matron during the whole time I was at College She was a friend of ours (previously she had been a teacher in a school in Bradford) and this aroused some jealousy. Though it added to the pleasure of my College life, and I frequently visited her, I do not think that she showed me more favouritism than she did to two or three others (I must confess that she had favourites) and on more than one occasion we had rather serious differences. She was a good manager and kept the servants well in hand, but she had qualities which prevented her from ever becoming a universal favourite.

It may not be generally known that until some months after my entry we had a butler. He became rather more than Miss Rutherfoord could manage, for, apart from other difficulties, he was occasionally "in liquor." So she dismissed him, and from that time we only had female servants. My chief recollection of him is of an occasion when he had forgotten to put spoons on the dinner tables. The dexterity and rapidity with which he made good the mistake was surprising, and elicited loud applause from "the house," of which Dr. Scott, who was present, gave a smiling approval; but I cannot assert confidently that I am interpreting the smile correctly.

A Mr. Goodyear appeared on the scene after the alterations had been completed. I think he came at first to arrange the library in the new Assembly Hall but he stayed on, and in addition to library work undertook a number of miscellaneous duties. I think he retained his connexion with the College until his death. I always found him very friendly and pleasant.

The chief event which occurred during my Arts Course was the grand bazaar held in a large hall in Oxford Street not far from Mosley Street. It was an effort in which nearly all the churches in Lancashire (except those in the neighbourhood of Liverpool, which organized a separate bazaar for the same purpose) took part—the aim being the liquidation of the large debt caused by the enlargement of the College. It was kept open for a week and was a great success. It was attended by crowds of people, one great attraction

being a fine band, whose playing of "The Lost Chord" was so good that it was repeated every day. There was a large number of stalls, and we students had one, a photograph of which I still possess; I think nearly all the students and young ladies who acted as attendants at the stall appear in it.

The bazaar was sufficiently attractive to make it necessary for a warning to be issued against pickpockets. I had my silver badge stolen from the lappet of my jacket before I had worn it two days. The bazaar greatly increased the interest of the churches in the College: the Annual Days had large attendances during the remainder of my course.

We had several missionary students. Of these Newell and Marriott went, I think, to the South Seas and did good work. Penry, almost a giant, though Clay nearly equalled him in height, met with a fatal accident while he was on his way up country to his station in Africa. Cupsey disappeared under mysterious circumstances in London, and I never heard if the mystery was cleared up. Will Thomas went to Nyasa, but was invalided home after a short time with malaria, from the effects of which he suffered for many years.

I did not see much of Bennett though I met him occasionally in the Matron's room. He was my senior in the house by a year or two, and he went to Cambridge for his last year. The chief thing I remember about him—apart from his most kindly disposition—is the extreme difficulty he experienced in writing a sermon for Sermon Class. I have often wondered whether he succeeded later in writing a passable sermon! It seems as if preachers, like poets, are born and not made; but I think that more help could be given in the construction of a sermon than we received in Sermon Class. We read a sermon in turn, and then it was criticized by the members of the class and by the Principal. I derived very little help from this, but much more benefit from listening to Dr. Maclaren, which is not surprising. Help might be given in the art of constructing a sermon: in the selection of "heads" from texts, in the use of illustrations and in the important matter of delivery. It is as difficult to write a good sermon as it is to write a good short story, and some excellent men can never acquire the art; but a good deal can be taught.

I have already mentioned Professor Lyon Turner. He came the year I commenced my Theological Course and gave instruction in philosophy and Church history. As a man he was excellent, but as a teacher he was not a success, and his students adopted the extreme course of sending a letter of complaint to the Committee. This was signed by all but three of those who attended his classes. The House Committee summoned us before them. I believe we made out a good case, and the Committee was impressed; but the professor remained. Looking back on the incident after more than fifty years I am still unable to say with certainty whether we were justified. There are many College and University lecturers who are quite incapable of giving interesting lectures. It is useless to protest, at any rate in the case of the Universities. But the lectures can be cut, or attended and ignored. This was not possible at Lancashire College. A satisfactory compromise could probably have been effected by the appointment of a tutor, and I should have been very glad of one during my Arts Course; but in my time such an arrangement had not been thought of.

"The House" consisted of the entire number of the students, and always "sat" in the dining hall, usually after supper, but occasionally also after dinner. The senior student took the chair, and rules of debate were more or less strictly observed. But we never debated serious subjects. The matters brought forward generally related to grievances, sometimes in connexion with the domestic arrangements, sometimes in requests for books which had been borrowed without leave. Often members would rise and indulge in rambling

remarks on any matter which happened to suggest itself and which afforded an opportunity for indulging in facetious remarks about individuals or incidents. I remember, for instance, that on the evening of the day on which the bust of Mr. Hadfield was put up in the entrance hall Darlow rose to a point of order in the midst of a discussion in which just a little heat was developing and urged that a quieter tone should be adopted, "because," he said, "we have already had one *bust up* to-day." The Debating Society, which was entirely separated from "the House" was held in the Common Room. We also had some competitions in poetry and story writing, in which I was more than once successful; but the competition I encountered was not severe.

We were able to raise a quite good cricket team and played a number of matches every summer—chiefly with clubs connected with churches in Manchester. One of the most interesting return matches was with a team from Zion Congregational Church in Stretford Rd. The father of Lord Simon was the pastor, and invariably played. I can well remember John as a boy of about thirteen or fourteen who, with his mother, came frequently to watch the play.

An accident occurred to Dr. Scott on one occasion when we were at a practice game on the College ground. A batsman skied a ball just as Dr. Scott appeared with one or two friends, and the Dr., as it came in his direction, tried to catch it. Of course we left him to it, but unfortunately he misjudged the catch, and the ball, instead of falling into his hands, fell and hit him fairly in his upturned face. He escaped serious injury, but not a serious loss of dignity.

We also had a good football team and played many matches—both Rugby and Association. At a game on a very wet ground I contracted a very severe—indeed almost fatal—attack of rheumatic fever. This entailed a lengthy absence from College which ruined my chances—never very bright—of taking a Degree.

The fives court was a welcome addition to our recreations and some of us became very keen players. The cinder tennis court was not quite a success; it had not been laid carefully enough to ensure a hard smooth surface. We had a chess club with several good players for part of the time, but it was dissolved for lack of support.

We had to provide our own tea, coffee or cocoa, and to brew it—at first with hot water from kettles boiling on the fire; later gas-heated urns were provided. Of course we also had to provide any luxuries for ourselves such as jam or marmalade. Ham was invariably the meat provided for breakfast. I do not remember any occasion on which fish was served—either for breakfast or for dinner. I found the diet very monotonous, and suffered severely from indigestion. This was particularly due to the fare provided for supper—a glass of milk, bread and cheese, and treacle; as nearly five hours elapsed between tea and supper that did not sufficiently meet the needs of hungry students, nor improve digestions. I hope that even in these times of rationing the students are able to enjoy a more varied diet.

The doors of the College were locked at ten p.m. and the keys entrusted to the proctor, who was always one of the senior students. By giving our names to him we were allowed to stay out till eleven. I was quietly informed that a certain window in the basement, though barred, had a space wide enough for a man to squeeze through, and an investigation proved that this information was correct. It was further hinted that this window was sometimes made use of, but I never obtained any definite information on that point.

It is unnecessary for me to record the names of all the men with whom I had friendly relations during my College Course, but I must add to those I have already mentioned 'Bob' Sutton and Ross Murray.

Sutton was my senior in the house by three or four years, but he was a great friend of my future brother-in-law, Higgs, and also a prime favourite of "Fanny" (as Miss Rutherfoord was invariably called: not of course in her hearing), who undoubtedly would have liked to marry him, though she was at least twice his age. So I saw a good deal of him, and can testify to his solid worth. He was not a brilliant scholar, and, so far as I remember, never played cricket or football. but he was well liked, and his influence in the house was good. When he left College he settled at Openshaw (I think his only charge) and by steady work succeeded in building up a strong church and gaining great influence in the neighbourhood.

Ross Murray—also somewhat my senior in the house though younger than I—had a room on the east wing, and I was unable to see as much of him as I should have liked while we were together in College; for he was well worth knowing. He had a quiet steadfastness of character with which I was in deepest sympathy, and fine intellectual gifts. His appearance was very youthful, for he was rather short, and slightly built, and had light curly hair. He took an excellent place at Owens in English literature. Shortly after leaving College and, I think, before he settled at Stockport Rd., on the strength of a strong recommendation from the University (as Owens had then become) he was invited to give a series of lectures at a ladies' school. He told me that his youthful appearance produced something like consternation in the head-mistress when she saw him—perhaps justifiably—for the young ladies soon agreed to call him their "golden-haired darling." My friendship with him continued and deepened while I remained in the North, and was subsequently renewed when I returned and he became Secretary of the Manchester and Salford Forward Movement.

During the early part of my Arts Course I was one of a batch of four who went alternately to a mission station at Kearsley. We always had to walk to Victoria Station, for the tramline had not been laid, and there were no early buses from Brooks's Bar. Hardly any other opportunities for preaching were available until I began theology, though during the long vacations an occasional engagement might have been obtained if it had been convenient to remain in Manchester or the neighbourhood. During my last two years we had very good "lists", and I was "out" nearly every Sunday. The churches I "supplied" were chiefly in Lancashire and Cheshire, but I occasionally went further afield—to Bradford, Rotherham, Sheffield and Leicester. I formed a warm friendship with several members of the Church at Cheadle Hulme where I preached a good many times. Of no other church have I such pleasing memories.

At the morning service of the church at Bootle, the Order of Service which was handed to me had three prayers, the almost invariable custom in our churches at that time being to have only two. I decided to recite from the Prayer Book the General Thanksgiving as this additional prayer. To my surprise, and very nearly to my utter confusion, the congregation immediately began to follow me. I had not been told that this prayer was invariably made use of and was always repeated aloud by the congregation. By a curious coincidence I had followed the usual practice; but as I was giving the prayer from memory it might easily have entirely upset me.

At Queen Street, Oldham, I made the mistake of preaching a sermon which I had already preached on a previous visit. It was due to a fixed idea that I had not preached that sermon, but another with which I was equally familiar, although almost at the last moment before I rose to preach the disturbing thought came to me that I might be making a mistake. I had no means of deciding, for I had neither manuscript nor notes: a good memory enabled me

to "read from the brain" after I had delivered a sermon two or three times. No comment was made at the time, but about four years afterwards a deacon of the church accused me of preaching twice from the same text. He was in the habit of marking in his Bible both the texts and the name of the preachers. I had to admit that he was right, but I defied him to say if it was the same sermon.

Curiously enough, R. W. Dale made the same mistake two or three years afterwards when he preached on a special occasion at my brother-in-law's church at Hanley. He had given the same sermon previously at an anniversary. But that sermon had been remembered, and Dr. Dale's mistake aroused considerable comment. Mine evidently shared the fate of the great majority of the thousands of sermons which are preached every Sunday.

I was involved in two other mistakes for which I was not responsible. I was put down on the List one Saturday very near Christmas for Ancoats in Manchester, and, with Dr. Scott's consent, went to spend the Saturday night with friends at Eccles. On going in to Ancoats on the Sunday morning I found to my surprise Le Quesne, one of our missionary students, prowling round the chapel. It turned out that Dr. Scott had found it advisable to alter the List, and to put me down for Newton-le-Willows. He had sent me a post card which ought to have arrived on Saturday evening but which did not arrive until the Monday morning.

In the second case I was sent to Kendal and on arriving found that an Airedale student had already turned up. The Secretary had written to both colleges but had not made it plain that while one letter was only an enquiry the other was a request that a student should be sent. The difficulty was settled satisfactorily by the Airedale student going to a branch station.

Two other incidents are perhaps of sufficient interest to be recorded. At a certain church I found a copy of the Revised Version in the vestry after the Evening Service, and I remarked to the deacon in attendance that I was sorry I had not found it earlier as I should like to have read from it; to which he replied: "I am obliged to keep that out of the pulpit, for there is a man in the congregation who gets up and walks out when he hears that read." Is there not a somewhat parallel story of a man who, when the "larger hope" was being proclaimed from the pulpit, got up and stalked down the aisle muttering, "I must have my eternal damnation"?

Shortly before I left college I went as a candidate to preach at Gallowtree Gate Church, Leicester. It has long since disappeared, but at that time it was in a fairly flourishing condition, and some prominent Congregationalists were connected with it. I was met at the station by a gentleman of so undistinguished an appearance that I rather hastily concluded he must be the chapel-keeper. He was not; he was one of the deacons, and the Mayor of Leicester!

It is easy to see when one looks back on one's college years from the standpoint of old age that some of the arrangements in the routine were far from satisfactory, and that some of considerable importance were entirely absent. I have made some reference to the domestic arrangements, and have also stated the need which I felt for a tutor during my Arts Course; I was informed some years ago that this need had been supplied. I have also stated the need for instruction in elocution: this was partly met in my time by a course given by an elocutionist, which I was unable to attend through illness. But there was a far more serious need which, I rejoice to know, has been satisfactorily met. I refer to the fact that one of the class-rooms has been turned into a Chapel. Some of us during our senior years realized the need for some help greater than that supplied by the morning and evening prayers to enable us to maintain a healthy spiritual life and to improve the tone of the College,

which we could not regard as satisfactory. So we organized a weekly prayer meeting. It was not largely attended, and it far from sufficed. I regret that we did not realize that a College Chapel was desirable—indeed a necessity—if a devotional spirit is to be sustained in students whose time and thoughts are so largely devoted to intellectual studies. I greatly rejoice that this urgent need has been supplied.

There is one further need which, after some hesitation, I have decided to mention. My hesitation is partly due to the fact that I do not see how, in our Congregational system, it can be satisfactorily met. But it is due also to the fact that I may have been exceptional in feeling so strongly the need of it. Moreover, I can only record it as a personal experience, and I am afraid I have already made too full a use of the first personal pronoun. I left college feeling, in spite of the six and a half years which I had spent there, that I needed to acquire some experience in the management of church affairs, and some *guidance*, before I undertook the charge of a church. In other words, I felt that I needed to hold for a time a subordinate position—roughly equivalent to a curacy—under an experienced minister. I had some thoughts of asking Dr. Finlayson, of Rusholme, if he would accept me in that capacity, but for various reasons did not act on the suggestion. The chief of these was that shortly after I left College I was seized with a great urge to write, the result being that during the next three years, while fulfilling numerous preaching engagements, I devoted myself to the writing of *Man and His Environment*, and remained without pastoral charge until I went to Bangor in 1887.

I greatly enjoyed my college life, and feel that I owe a great debt to L.I.C. for the valuable training I received there; for the experience I gained and for the friendships I acquired. I must also acknowledge the debt of gratitude I owe to Dr. Scott for his kindness in securing my entrance into college in rather difficult circumstances, and for his interest in me during my sojourn there. I fear that I greatly disappointed him by failing to win academic honours, and also subsequently by my failure, while he lived, to achieve any success in the ministry. But I venture to hope that if in the "regions beyond" he has been able to follow my somewhat unusual career up to the present time he will not now be disappointed.

I can testify as true, in this the eighty-seventh year of my age, the words which Robert Browning puts into the mouth of Rabbi Ben Ezra:

> Grow old along with me!
> The best is yet to be.
> The last of life, for which the first was made:
> Our times are in His hand
> Who saith "A whole I planned,
> "Youth shows but half: trust God: see all, nor be afraid!"

J. P. KINGSLAND.

Selina, Countess of Huntingdon, has received notice in more than one recent account of early Methodism, but the Rev. F. F. Bretherton has done good service in devoting the sixth Wesley Historical Society Lecture to her (Epworth Press, 1s. 2d.). In this booklet of 48 pages the salient factors of her career are well shown, the rise and progress of the work to which she devoted herself are described, and testimonies to her character collected. Here is Doddridge's: "I think I never saw so much of the image of God in a woman on earth". G. F. N.

Lyon Turner's *Original Records*

NOTES AND IDENTIFICATIONS III.

THIS third list of attempted identifications of the Nonconformist lay conventiclers of 1669 and 1672 presents further evidence of the continuity of Nonconforming piety in the seventeenth century. *Calamy Revised* has been the chief standby throughout. Nightingale's *Lancashire Nonconformity* yielded less than was expected, but the *History* of Thomas Ellwood and the *Diaries* of Philip Henry threw light on many names. The list includes several Baptists and Congregationalists, who signed letters from their churches to Oliver Cromwell during the Commonwealth. In William Ayrs, of Rickmansworth, Herts., and John Gratton, of Monyash, Derbyshire, it is interesting to find two men who took out licences as Baptists, but who later turned to Quakerism. Gratton had begun as a Presbyterian, and is a late example of the Commonwealth type who, "having passed up and down, hurried here and there" (Howgill), finally found peace among the Friends. In Sam. Jeake we have the town clerk of Rye, a place troubled a hundred years before by "a smale secte of purytanes" (*cf.* G. Parsloe, *The English Country Town*, 70 f.). The Bury family still support the church at Darwen for whose worship Henry and William Berry had their house licensed; and the name of Butler still predominates at Ashby St. Ledgers, in Northamptonshire, where (if not at Ashley) William Butler took out a licence.

Were we Roman Catholics, we should doubtless show more interest in what Fr. Bede Camm likes to call "forgotten shrines"; why should we limit our attention to Scrooby Manor House? Among the houses which were licensed for Nonconformist worship in the days of persecution and which still stand, the following may be mentioned:—Newton Hall, Stonegrave, Yorks. N.R.; Geesings (*hodie* The Gesyns), Wickhambrook, Suffolk, where Samuel Cradock had his academy; Wootton Court, Wootton, Kent; Court Lodge, Lamberhurst, Kent; Blackbrook, Westmeston, Sussex (now a farm); Batchley House, Milford, Hants., rented by Edward Currell, 'who hath been distracted', for a 'very small' sect of 'Frewillers', 'the meanest people'; Quemerford Tything, Calne, Wilts.; Ferne House, Berwick St. John, Wilts. (now inhabited by the Duke of Hamilton, while the descendants of Thomas Grove, who had Ferne House licensed, have moved to Sedgehill Manor not far away); Seymour's Court, Beckington, Somerset (now a farm);

Whatcombe House, Trusham, Devon (*hodie* Whetcombe Barton); and Milton, Christchurch, Monmouthshire. Richard Frankland's house (*hodie* College Fold) at Rathmell, Yorks., W.R., has been rebuilt, but over a window there is a dated stone (1686, with the initials of Frankland and his wife), which is illustrated in Nicholson and Axon's *Older Nonconformity in Kendal;* there is a picture of the present house as a whole in H. McLachlan's *English Education under the Test Acts*. For assistance with this list of houses I must thank Mr. P. A. Spalding, of Churt, Surrey.

The number in parentheses following each name and address is of the page in *Original Records,* Vol. II to be supplied unless otherwise indicated.

GEOFFREY F. NUTTALL.

ABBREVIATIONS.

C.R.: *Calamy Revised*, ed. A. G. Matthews.
D.N.B.: *Dictionary of National Biography*.
Ellwood: *History of Life of Thos. Ellwood*, ed. C. G. Crump, 1900.
Henry: *Diaries and Letters of Philip Henry*, ed. M. H. Lee, 1882.
Nickolls: *Original Letters*, ed. J. Nickolls, 1743.
Nightingale: *Lancashire Nonconformity*, by B. Nightingale.

ANDERTON, Thos., Samlesbury, Lancs. (671); Thos. Anderton, yeoman, of Rivington, Lancs., bequeathed money for dissenting purposes (Nightingale, II. 92 ff.).

APPLEBY, Christ., Tunstead, Norfolk (894); signed letter to Cromwell fr. ch. here (n.d.) (Nickolls, 159).

AY(E)RS, Wm., Rickmansworth, Herts. (883); 'an apothecary and barber, being acquainted with divers of the gentry in those parts'; a Friend by 1683 (Ellwood, 198).

BAKER, Wm., North Petherton, Som. (1103); perh. the Wm. Baker given by Cal. as ej. fr. Bath, Som.; *cf. C.R.*

BARKER, Jn., Lichfield, Staffs. (746); mercer and school trustee (A. G. Matthews, *Congreg. Chs. of Staffs.*, 91, n. 1).

BASNET, Jn., Coventry, Warws. (795); prob. rel. to Sam. Basnet, ej. here-from (*C.R.*).

BEARD, Jn., Whitchurch, Salop (735); excommunicated (Henry, 232).

BELLAMY, Edm., Sibton, Suffolk (915); signed letter to Cromwell fr. Suffolk chs., 1653 (Nickolls, 95; again, 156).

BENION, Robt., Alkington, Whitchurch, Salop (735); excommunicated; 'troubled bec. his house a licenst house' (Henry, 232, 263).

BERRY, Hy. and Wm., Darwen, Lancs. (672); their house still in possession of Bury family, members of Lower Chapel, Darwen, 1891 (Nightingale, II. 244, with illustration).

BOLSTER, (Jn.,) North Cheriton, Som. (1119); taught grammar school at Stoke Trister, Som., 1665 (Wells Dio. Registry MS., quoted *C.R.*, 37).

BROOKE, Wm., Fillongley, Warws. (793); should be in heavy type; *C.R.*, as Brooks.

BROWNE, Mr., Andover, Hants. (1037); should perhaps be in heavy type; *cf. C.R.*, Brown, Thos.

BUCK, Thos., Ashfield, Suffolk (919); signed letter to Cromwell fr. Suffolk chs., 1653 (Nickolls, 95).

BURDETT, Wm., Lullington, Derbyshire (713); perh. rel. to Sir Thos. Burdet, of Foremark, Derbyshire, to whom Thos. Calvert, ej. fr. York Minster, was chaplain (*C.R.*).

BURDETT, Wm., Mowsley, Leics. (770); signed letter to Cromwell fr. ch. at Gumley, Leics., 1652 (Nickolls, 81).

BURY, Edw., Stoke upon Tern, Salop (736); should be in heavy type, as 743; *C.R.*

BUTLER, Wm., 'Ashby St. Legers', Northants. (807); uncertain whether Ashley (ch. formed 1672), as I. 578, 583, and *C.R.*, or Ashby, as I. 585, *i.e.* Ashby St. Ledgers (ch. not formed till 1845, but Butlers predominate); Haselbech, Northants fr. wh. Cal. gives Butler as ej., equidistant fr. Ashley and Ashby St. Ledgers.

CAFFIN, (Matt.,) Horne, Surrey (1017); *D.N.B.*, as Caffyn; *cf.* also A. Gordon in *Christian Life*, XIV. 582; XVII. 531.

CARTE, Jn., Dronfield, Derbyshire (701); should be in heavy type; *C.R.*, as Cart.

CAVE, Jn., Theddingworth, Northants. (764, 768); Jn. Cave, of Weekley, Northants., gent., m. at Newton, Northants., 1685, Eliz., dau. of Strickland Negus, ej. fr. Irchester, Northants. (*C.R.*).

CHAPPELL, Sam., Donyatt, Som. (1115); arrested at conventicle at Capt. Cheek's, nr. Charmouth, Dorset, and sent to Dorchester jail 1666 (*C.R.*, 456).

CLARKE, Jn., Aston Cantlow, Warws. (798); prob. son-in-law of Rich. Swynfen, ej. fr. Mavesyn Ridware, Staffs. (*C.R.*).

COCKAYND, Fran., Chaddesdon, Derbyshire (706); prob. the Cockain ej. fr. Castle Donington School, Leics. (*C.R.*).

COMBE(S), Sam., Tisbury, Wilts. (1063); for family of Combe of Tisbury, see *Wilts. Notes & Queries*, VII. 433-444, 499-511; VIII. 63-73, 100-109.

COX, Jn., Market Drayton, Salop (736); Ph. Henry preached here to 'an incouraging Auditory, several Persons of Quality' (Henry, 256).

COX, Mr., Hertford (880); perh. son-in-law of Jn. Yates, ej. fr. Cheshunt, Herts. (881; *C.R.*).

DAWLEING, Sam., Westerham, Kent (998); signed letter to Cromwell fr. ch. here, 1653 (Nickolls, 97).

DEAKEN, Sam., Romford, Essex (931); should be in heavy type; *C.R.*, as Deacon.

DELAMAINE, Edw., St. Mary Cray, Kent, & Burbage, Wilts. (1008, 1074); bro. of Alex. Delamaine, Muggletonian (*D.N.B.*).

DE LA MARCH, Chas., St. Peter Port, Guernsey (1194); should be in heavy type; *C.R.* (the member of the Westm. Ass. was John).

DIXON, Isabella, Whitehaven, Cumberland (640): perh. rel. to Thos. Dixon, min. at Whitehaven *c.* 1708 (*D.N.B.*).

DONKINSON, Jn., York (646); should prob. be in heavy type, as identical with Jas. Duncanson (648), or with the Dunkinson given by Cal. as ej. fr. Sand Hutton, Yorks.; *cf. C.R.*

FETTIPLACE, Chas., Esq., J.P., Lambourne, Berks. (944); 'a very great name in Oxfordshire and Berkshire up to the seventeenth century' (F. D. Mackinnon, *On Circuit*, 123, with ref. to J. R. Dunlop, *The Family of Fettiplace*); Edw. Fettiplace of Farnham, Berks., was a delegate of Univ. Visitors to Ch. Ch., Oxon., 1647 (M. Burrows, *Reg. of Visitors of Univ. of Oxford, 1647-58*, 486); Giles Fettiplace of Coln St. Aldwyn, Glos., became a Friend (W. C. Braithwaite, *Second Period of Quakerism*, 586).

FOWLER, Geo., Walsall, Staffs. (747); prob. son-in-law of Nath. Mansfield ej. fr. Willesley, Derbyshire, who lived latterly at Walsall (*C.R.*).

GODDARD, Jn., Berwick Bassett & Winterbourne Monkton, Wilts., & Marshwood, Dorset (1057, 1136); for pedigree of Goddards of Berwick Bassett, see Burke's *Commoners*.

GRATTON, Jn., Monyash, Derbyshire (701); converted to Quakerism, 1670 *D.N.B.*

HAMERSLEY, Thos., Cheddleton, Staffs. (753); signed letter to Cromwell fr. ch. at Berryhill (Stoke), 1652 (Nickolls, 82; *cf.* Jn. Gratton, *Journal*, 105 ff.).

HARRISON, Edw., Petty France, London (989); signed letter to Cromwell as Anabaptist min. in London, 1657 (Nickolls, 143).

HAW(ES), Alice and Eliz., widows, Wokingham, Berks. (947); Rowland Stedman, ej. therefrom, left two books to Eliz., 'as a Testimony of my acknowledgement of her love and care of my welfare dureing my Residence there' (*C.R.*); Edw. Perkins, *inf.*, mentions sister Margaret Haws (*C.R.*).

HAYNES, Sim., Bolnhurst, Beds. (856); in prison with Jn. Bunyan, 1668 and 1672 (B. Quaritch, *Catalogue No. 594*, 10; *cf.* J. Brown, *J. Bunyan*, 176 f.).

HAYNES, Wm., Kington, Worcs. (786; not Warws., as 802, where entry erroneously repeated); 'messenger' at Bapt. ch. at Tewkesbury, Glos., 1655 (Tewkesbury Bapt. Ch. MS.).

HAYWARD, Thos., Pencombe, Herefs. (778); signed letter to Cromwell fr. Herefs. chs. *c.* 1653 as Havard (Nickolls, 122).

HENNEALSE, Capt., Ellesmere, Salop (734); host to Ph. Henry and others (Henry, 127, as Heneage).

HODGES, Widow, Shipton Moyne, Glos. (817); widow of Thos. Hodges, R. of Shipton Moyne, and mother of Wm. Hodges, *sup.* (*C.R.*).

HORD or HURD (Edw.,) Otley and Pudsey, Yorks. (649 f., 659); should be in heavy type; *C.R.*, as Ord.

HUDSON, Jn., Stafford (743); ironmonger, host to Ph. Henry (Henry, 239).

HUGHES, Jn., Orleton, Herefs. (777); signed letter to Cromwell fr. Herefs. chs. *c.* 1653 (Nickolls, 123).

HUGHES, Jn., Wrexham, Denbighshire (1198); Ph. Henry preached here (Henry, 254).

HUGHS, Chas., Abingdon, Berks. (942); perh. rel. to Wm. Hughes, ej. fr. Hinton Waldrist, Berks., who removed here temporarily (*C.R.*).

HURRION, Jn., Sibton, Suffolk (914 f.); prob. father of Jn. Hurrion, Indep. min. (*D.N.B.*; C.H.S. *Trans.*, XIV. 94 foll.).

JOAKE, Sam., Rye, Sussex (1031); town clerk of Rye; detained in London as Noncon. preacher 1682-7; *D.N.B.*, as Jeake.

JORDAIN, Jas., Higham, Suffolk (910); perh. 'my Nephew Jorden, who carries on those young men I have with me in their Greek and Latin' (Sam. Cradock, ej. fr. North Cadbury, Som., in letter of 1674 describing his academy at Wickhambrook, Suffolk, quoted *C.R.*).

KAY, Rich., Bury, Lancs. (673); of the most prominent family in the congregation (Nightingale, III. 159); Jn. Kay, inventor of the fly-shuttle, b. at Bury 1704 (*D.N.B.*).

KEITCH, Hy. and Jos., Soulbury, Bucks. (838 f.); prob. rel. to Benj. Keach, Bapt. min., b. at Stoke Hammond, Bucks. (an adjacent parish) and impris. for preaching at Winslow, Bucks., 1664 (*D.N.B.*).

KILLAM, Thos., Balby, Yorks. (669); an early convert to Quakerism, and a man 'of staunch service and ripe judgment' (W. C. Braithwaite, *Beginnings of Quakerism*, 369 *et al.*).

KING, David, Kingsland, Middlesex (958); perh. son of Hez. King (950; *C.R.*).

LAMB, Nath., York (647); should be in heavy type; *C.R.*
LANGSTON, Jn., Spittlefields, London (987); ej. (not fr. Ipswich, as G.L.T., but) fr. Ashchurch, Glos.; *C.R.*
LAUNDY, Rich., Bolnhurst, Beds. (860); in prison with Jn. Bunyan, 1672 (B. Quaritch, *Catalogue No. 594,* 10).
LAWTON, Jas., Stockport, Cheshire (694); should be in heavy type; *C.R.*, as Laughton.
LYON, Mary, Prescot, Lancs. (676); Jn. Lion erected school in chapelyard at St. Helens, parish of Prescot, 1670 (Nightingale, IV. 131).

MALDEN, Jn., Nantwich, Cheshire (695); should perhaps be in heavy type; *cf. C.R.*
MARCHANT, Thos., St. Sampson's, Guernsey (1194); should be in heavy type; *C.R.*
MARTIN, Stephen, East Grinstead, Sussex (1027); should be in heavy type; *C.R.*
MELLER, Robt., Ipstones, Staffs. (753); uncle of High Constable of the Hundred; d. 1684 (Jn. Gratton, *Journal,* 105 ff.).
MILLER, Hy., Aldborough (rather than Alburgh, as G.L.T.) and Wickmere (adjacent to Aldborough), Norfolk (898, 902); Jn. Miller signed letter to Cromwell fr. ch. at Alby (adjacent to Aldborough and Wickmere) (n.d.) (Nickolls, 157).
MILLER, Jn., Cranbrook, Kent (1007); signed letter to Cromwell fr. ch. here, 1653 (Nickolls, 96).
MONKE, Thos., Barton and Wing, Bucks. (838 f.); publ. *A Cure for the Cankering Error of the New Eutychians,* 1673 (*D.N.B., s.v.* Matt. Caffyn).
MONTAGUE, H(y.), Wokingham, Berks. (947); should be in heavy type; *C.R.*
MORRIS, Thos., Ashby Parva, Leics. (771); signed letter to Cromwell fr. ch. at Busswell, 1652 (Nickolls, 81).

NEWBY, Rich., St. Martin-in-the-Fields, London (968); Mary, dau. of Christ. Nesse, ej. fr. Leeds, preaching in this parish 1684, m. Wm. Newby, of Hoddesdon, Herts. (*C.R.*).
NICHOLSON, Giles, Kirkoswald, Cumberland (639); not ej. (*pace* G.L.T.); *C.R.*, as George.

OWEN, Jn., Wolsingham, Northumberland (632); ej. (not fr. Stannerton, as G.L.T., but) fr. Stamfordham, Northumberland; *C.R.*, as Owens.

PACKFORD, Thos., Finstock, Oxon. (820); should be in heavy type; *C.R.*, as Paxford.
PASTON, Edw., Kingswinford, Staffs. (749); should be in heavy type; *C.R.*
PERCHARD, Dan., St. Sampson's, Guernsey (1194); should be in heavy type; *C.R.*
PERKINS, Jn., Shalton (prob. Sheldon), Warws. (801); should perhaps be in heavy type; cf. *C.R.;* committed to assizes, 1665 (*C.R.*, 566).
PHEASANT, Mrs., West Langton, Leics. (763); Jn. Jennings, *sup.*, was her chaplain (*C.R.*); *cf.* Mrs. Pheasant, Birchmore House, Woburn, Beds. (851), to whom Fran. Mence was chaplain (*C.R.*).
PINCHBECK, Matt., Great Dunmow, Essex (923); Abr. Pinchbecke, ej. fr. St. Paul's, Covent Garden, London, had been R. of Mashbury, Essex, in 1654, and retired to Braintree, Essex (*C.R.*).
PLANT, Thos., Little Moorfields, London (988); publ. *A Contest for Christianity* in controversy with Thos. Ellwood (Ellwood, 190).
PRICE, Edw., Hereford (780); signed letter to Cromwell from Herefs. chs. *c.* 1653 (Nickolls, 123).

REEVE, Wm., Bourton on Dunsmore, Warws. (801); should perhaps be in heavy type; *cf. C.R.*, as Reeves.
ROGERS, Robt., Wappenham, Northants. (808); should be in heavy type; *C.R.* (Robt. Rogers II).
ROGERS, Robt., Oxford, and Hungerford, Berks. (829, 944); ej. (not fr. 'Silsam', Oxon., as G.L.T., but) fr. Deane, Hants.; *C.R.* (Robt. Rogers I).
ROW, Nath., Cranbrook, Kent (1007); signed letter to Cromwell fr. ch. here, 1653 (Nickolls, 96).
RUELL, And., North Hayling, Hants. (1043); should be in heavy type; C.R., as Rowel.
RUSSELL, Wm., Rowley Regis, Staffs. (750); prob. bro.-in-law of Wm. Turton, *inf.* (*C.R.*).
RUSSELL, Wm., Chalfont St. Giles, Bucks. (843); meeting 'holden' at his house, 'called Jourdon's', disturbed (Ellwood, 174).

SALTER, Geo., Farnham Royal, Bucks. (843); for his 'life-long battle with the priest of Farnham Royal' and his many imprisonments, see Ellwood, 146 n.
SA(U)NDERS, Thos., Ilmer, Bucks. (842); 'professed the truth; but his wife, whose name was Damaris, did possess it'; his goods distrained for refusing to swear, 1671 (Ellwood, 50 f., with n. 2).
SAVERY, Jn., Ash, Kent (999); M. Savory signed letter to Cromwell fr. ch. at Ashford, Kent, 1652 (Nickolls, 96).
SAYERS, Thos., Southampton (1042); should perhaps be in heavy type; *cf. C.R.*
SEABORNE, Thos., Hereford (779); signed letter to Cromwell fr. Herefs. chs., 1653 (Nickolls, 92).
SEWARD, Hy., Leominster, Herefs. (777); signed letter to Cromwell fr. Herefs. chs. *c.* 1653 (Nickolls, 123).
SHEPHEARD, 'one', Gillingham, Norfolk (898); should perhaps be in heavy type; *cf. C.R.*, as Shepherd.
SKEY, Thos., Tewkesbury, Glos. (821); signed letter to Cromwell fr. ch. at Stow-on-the-Wold, Glos., *c.* 1653 (Nickolls, 146).
SMYTH, Edw., Mount Sorrell, Leics. (767); signed letter to Cromwell from ch. here, 1652 (Nickolls, 82).
SOUTON, widow, Montague Close, London (977); Hy. Staples, ej. fr. South Stoke, Sussex, had a widowed dau. Sarah Sowton, 1686 (*C.R.*).
SPATEMAN, Jn., Esq., Roadnook, Derbyshire (710); Sam. Oldershaw, ej. fr. Cole Orton, Leics., was his chaplain (*C.R.*); Jn. Oldfield, *sup.*, married into his family (*C.R.*).
SPEARE, Robt., Broomfield, Som. (1125); should be in heavy type; *C.R.*, as Speere.
STABLES, Sam., Calverley, Yorks. (649); should prob. be in heavy type; *cf. C.R.*, where 'Chappleton' is presumably Chapeltown, Pudsey.
STANLEY, Jn., Tideswell, Derbyshire (701); not Thos. Stanley, ej. fr. Eyam, Derbyshire, as G.L.T., but his son (*C.R.*).
STANNARD, Jn., Bury St. Edmunds, Suffolk (917); Jer. Stannard signed letter to Cromwell fr. ch. here (n.d.) (Nickolls, 155).
STEVENS, Rich., Denbury, Devon (1163); prob. rel. to Jn. Stephens, ej. fr. East Ogwell, Devon (*C.R.*), who signed ordination certificate of — Stephens, of Holne, Devon (*C.R.*, 385) (all three parishes being near one another).
STOOKE, Jn., Whatcombe House, Trusham, Devon (1162); bro. of Wm. Stooke, *sup.* (should be in heavy type, as 1161) (*C.R.*, as Stuke).

TAYLOR, And., York (658); found locked up in a closet at a 'tumultuous meetinge', fined £50 and sent to Ousebridge jail 1684 (*C.R., s.v.* Ral. Ward).

TAYLOR (Robt.,) Bristol (818); friend and connexion of Wm. Voyle, *inf.* (*C.R.*).

THORP, Rich., Hopton, Yorks. (653); identical with Rich. Thorpe of Dewsbury (661); *C.R.*

THURLOW, Rich., Cambridge (863, 868); Stephen Scandrett, ej. fr. Haverhill, Suffolk, preached here and was fined £10 (*C.R.*).

TOMLINSON, Wm., Burton-on-Trent, Staffs. (not Derbyshire, as G.L.T.) (713); signed letter to Cromwell fr. ch. here, 1655 (Nickolls, 135).

TOOP, Mrs. Joan, Maiden Newton, Dorset (1131); Mark King, *sup.*, d. at house of John Toope, Maiden Newton (*C.R.*).

TOPPING, Thos., Deane, Lancs. (673); befriended Hy. Newcome (Nightingale, V. 84).

TRAILL, Robt., Cranbrook, Kent (995); *D.N.B.; C.R.*

TREISE (not Froise, as G.L.T.), Wm., Bodmin, Cornwall; should be in heavy type; *C.R.*

TREWREN, Thos., Ovingham, Northumberland (634); should be in heavy type; *C.R.*, as Trurant.

TYLER, Jn., Henley-on-Thames, Oxon. (830); signed letter to Cromwell fr. ch. here, 1653 (Nickolls, 95).

WARDE, Sam., Derby (706); son-in-law of Jos. Swetnam, ej. fr. All Saints, Derby (*C.R.*); perh. rel. to Noah Ward, ej. fr. Derby School (*C.R.*).

WARHAM, Rich., Badsworth, Yorks. (657); should be in heavy type; *C.R.*, as Whearam.

WATKINS, Giles, Cirencester, Glos. (825); signed letter to Cromwell fr. ch. here *c.* 1653 (Nickolls, 124).

WHYTON, Jos., Mayfield, Sussex (1028); should be in heavy type; *C.R.*, as Whiston.

WILTON, Wm., Bruton, Som. (1088, 1119); should perhaps be in heavy type; *cf. C.R.*

WINBON, Jn., Bury St. Edmunds, Suffolk (917); should be in heavy type; *C.R.*, as Wenbourn.

WOLPS, Fran., Ellesmere, Salop (734); m. Ph. Henry's servant Beatrice Rees (Henry, 266, as Wolf; 260, as Woofe).

WOODYAT, Jn., 'Bylefield', Herefs. (779 f.); signed letter to Cromwell fr. Herefs. chs., 1653 (Nickolls, 92).

WRIGHT, Thos., Burton-on-Trent, Staffs. (744); signed letter to Cromwell fr. ch. here, 1652 (Nickolls, 81); not the Thos. Wright, ej. fr. Kinnersley, Salop (as G.L.T.), who d. 1667 (*C.R.*).

WYATT, Geo., Brailes, Warws. (803); impris. for not paying tithes, 1660 (W. White, *Friends in Warws.*, 35, as Myatt).

YARRINGTON, Mrs., Bordesley Heath, Warws. (791); perh. wife of And. Yarranton, engineer and agriculturist, implicated in Packington's Plot 1661 (*D.N.B.; Rel. Baxt.*, II. 383, as Yarrington).

YATES, Thos., Whitchurch, Salop (735); Ph. Henry preached here (Henry, 255).

GEOFFREY F. NUTTALL.

THE LEVELLERS AND RELIGION.

The *Harleian Miscellany*, IV, 543-50, reprints a 16 pp. 4to, printed in London in 1659 with the title, *The Leveller: Or, The Principles and Maxims concerning Government and Religion, which are asserted by those that are commonly called 'Levellers'*. Here is part of the section on religion:

> Thirdly, Levellers say, that there are two parts of true religion: the first consists in the right conceptions and receptions of God, as he is revealed by Christ, and sincere adorations of him in the heart or spirit; and the expressions or declarations of that worship outwardly, in and by the use of those ordinances that are appointed by Christ, for that purpose. The second part of it consists in works of righteousness and mercy, towards all men; done in obedience to the will of God, and in imitation of his justice and goodness to the whole world.
>
> The first part, being wholly built upon the foundation of revealed truths, doth in its own nature absolutely exclude all possibility of man's being lord of his brother's faith; unless the understanding or faith of a magistrate could constrain the faith or understanding of others, to be obedient to his, or rather to be transformed into the likeness of his. And therefore therein every man must stand or fall to his own master; and having done his duty, rightly to inform his neighbour, must give an account to God, of himself only.
>
> But the second part of religion falls both under the cognisance or judgment of men, and the law-makers' or magistrates' power. Christ hath taught his followers to judge of men's religion by their works: 'By their fruits (saith he) ye shall know them, for men do not gather grapes of thorns'. Whosoever, be it a court, or an army, or a single person, pretend to religion, and yet remain treacherous wherein they are trusted, and continue the breach of their promises, and are not conscientious to do to others, as they would that they should do to them; but can, without regard to justice, seize by force of arms upon the people's rights, due to them by God's law of nature, and their ancestors' agreement; and subject their persons and estates, to their wills or their ambition and covetousness, and make themselves great by oppressions out of the people's purses: those men's religion (men may clearly judge) being vain by the Scripture's judgment; yea their prayers and their preaching, as abominable in God's eyes, as were the fasts, new moons, and sabbaths of the Jews (which were then also God's ordinances), whilst their hands were defiled with blood and oppression, and the works of righteousness and mercy neglected.
>
> It properly belongs to the governing powers, to restrain men from irreligion in this second part of religion; that is, from injustice, faith-breaking, cruelty, oppression, and all other evil works, that are plainly evil, without the divine light of truths that are only revealed: and it is the duty of governing powers, to compel men to this part of religion; that is, to the outward acts of justice and mercy; for the inward truth of men's religion, even in these, is beyond the magistrates' power or judgment.

CHIPS FOR FUTURE HISTORIANS

From Augustine Birrell, *Things Past Redress.*

At Cambridge, 1869-72.

> I suppose it was in my Father's mind that on Sunday morning I should attend a well-known and historically interesting independent Chapel in Cambridge, and I did attend it once or even twice, but finding it out of the current of my thoughts, I quickly formed the habit of not going there any more.

Bristol, 1905.

> Nonconformity counted a great deal more in Bristol than it had done in my time in Liverpool. My old Cambridge friend, the Rev. Arnold Thomas of Highbury Chapel, cut a greater figure on the Downs than the Bishop of the diocese.

E. A. Payne, *Studies in History and Religion*, 123n, quotes Alfred Marshall, the economist:

> I know a good deal of the habits of the rural population within an old man's cycle ride of Cambridge, say an area of about 600 square miles. I doubt if there is any rural population on the continent of Europe, unless it is Scandinavia, which is so prosperous, so happy, or so much given to thoughts and emotions larger and higher than those of merely local life. I attribute this chiefly to the Nonconformist Chapels, with whose theological views I have nothing in common, but which I believe give an individuality and a holy sanction to the inner life of even the fourteen shillings a week labourer, that is very rare elsewhere.

From the Minutes of Kensington Chapel.

1798 May 7. Monday Evening. The Monthly Prayer Meeting of the Society which was instituted in 1795 for sending Christian Missionaries to Otaheite, Africa, and other distant places, was holden, by rotation, in Kensington Chapel this Evening. This Society is composed of a number of serious persons, Ministers and others, of different Denominations, in England and Scotland, who, besides their Monthly Prayer Meetings, have Annual Services in London.

> The Prayer Meeting of the Society began at ½ past 6 o'clock. The Rev. Mr. Knight prayed, after singing a hymn then the Revd. Mr. Humphryes of Hammersmith prayed—The Rev. Dr. Haweis, Rector of Aldwinkle, and Senior Minister of Spafields Chapel &c preached from Isa. 51[9], "Awake, awake, put on strength, O arm of the Lord". The Revd. Mr. Reynolds, of Camomile Street Meeting, London, concluded with Prayers. The Rev. I. Lake, Minister of the Chapel, gave out the Missionary hymns, which are sung upon these occasions, from the desk. A considerable number of persons from neighbouring Congregations, as well as several Ministers, attended; and the people in general, seemed much pleased with the services of the Evening, and the occasion of their assembling together.

Lord Cockburn of Edinburgh in 1845.

> A congregation, neither Catholic nor Episcopalean, but worshipping according to the forms of the Church of Scotland [has] given £200 for an organ, to be set up and used in an Edinburgh meeting-house. The people who have sense and spirit to do this are a congregation of Independents who assemble near the College, and are presided over by Mr. Alexander, an able, excellent, and eloquent man—no inconsiderable fact in the progress of Scotland.

HISTORY OF AMERICAN CONGREGATIONALISM. By GAIUS GLENN ATKINS and FREDERICK L. FAGLEY. Boston: Pilgrim Press. $2.00.

We hope that copies of this very cheap volume will make their way to Britain, despite the irritating restriction which prevents publishers sending more than two copies of any work at one time. Our ignorance of the Congregationalism of the United States from, say, 1630 to the first meeting of the International Congregational Council in 1891 is almost total: few there be who can trace its story, even among those who know something of its outstanding personalities. This book therefore helps to fill a gap. Its Appendix, "Creeds and Covenants", ought to be one of the set books in Congregational Theological Colleges, while all College Libraries should see that the section (Dr. Fagley's) on the emergence of a national organization, with its manifold ramifications, is available for reference.

The combination of the two authors in a volume of this kind is interesting. Dr. Atkins is known in this country as a preacher and teacher of insight, with a pen capable of turning a fine sentence; Dr. Fagley has been the power behind the scenes in the General Council for many years, an administrator who has gained the confidence and affection of his brethren. Though neither would call himself a professional historian, they have together produced a useful piece of work in which brilliance shades off into industry, commentary into compilation.

Some criticisms must be offered. The main problem in a work of this kind is that of proportion, and it must have been hard to determine how much space to allot to pre-*Mayflower* days, and then what events to choose in that long and involved story. There, we think, Dr. Atkins's lack of equipment is most obvious: it is clear, and not surprising, that his extensive reading has not included much work done on 16th century ecclesiastical history during the last generation. Thus we have mention of the Marprelate Tracts without any reference to William Pierce's reprint or his *Introduction*, of John Smyth without reference to Dr. W. T. Whitley's definitive edition of his works.

The volume lacks any full account of the life of the local church for most of the period: a picture of an American Congregational Church, its worship and its administration, its local influence and its relation to its youth, about 1700, would have been useful and would have lent colour to the book. There is, however, a full list—and a very interesting one it is, compiled by Prof. H. H. Tweedy—of hymns written by American Congregationalists.

On some minor points we find our authors baffling. What, *e.g.*, have they in mind in this affirmation:

> Andover Theological Seminary and Harvard Divinity School were thus pioneers in a method of theological education new not only to the United States but to Protestantism.

Andover was founded, we believe, in 1808, Harvard in 1819. What was their "method" not employed in Academies and Colleges in England long before then?

Then, on pp. 188-9, a reference to the Happy Union of 1691 is followed by this comment:

> This agreement had little influence in the church life of England, as the nonconformists after the Restoration were under increasing pressure and were soon suppressed.

But the Restoration and the Clarendon Code were 30 years before the

Happy Union, which took place after the Toleration Act. And "soon suppressed"? Whatever does that mean?

On p. 287 we have an unhappy conjunction of two Hookers in the same paragraph. We are told that "the leaders of the New England churches profited by the writings of Richard Hooker, Barrowe, Greenwood and many others" (a strange association), but that Cotton and Hooker developed the "middle way" between Independency and Presbyterianism: this, of course, is Thomas Hooker.

We have "Janes" for "James" on p. 107, 1913 for 1813 on p. 148n, and we have made many additions to the Index.

These criticisms only qualify our gratitude for a volume which should do much to lighten our darkness on this side of the Atlantic: we would even presume to say it will do the same in Congregational circles in the United States. It remains now to persuade Dr. W. W. Rockwell to employ his learned leisure in a book which will incorporate his phenomenal knowledge of the life of the local churches.

EDITOR.

The First Churchwardens' Book of Louth, 1500-1524, transcribed and edited by the Rev. Reginald C. Dudding (University Press, Oxford, 15s.), describes, "in the simple and prosaic terms of those who do the work," the building, between 1500 and 1515, of the wonderful spire at Louth. Here is an entry for a "2 sonday after" Christmas:

> T Garbara watchyng kyrke be 4 nyghts 8 d. 1 day wirkyng 4 d. Childe bishop 6 d. Will Claxby 1 loke to north kirke dore and cay 16 d.

The historical articles in the *Baptist Quarterly* for October, 1941, are "The Preaching Baronet" (Sir Egerton Leigh), by Dr. L. G. Champion; "The Tune Book of 1791", in which Dr. W. T. Whitley explains what lies behind the names chosen for many of the tunes; and "Robert Hall of Arnesby: 1728-1791", by the Rev. G. W. Hughes. In the number for January and April, 1942, the Rev. E. A. Payne describes "Two Dutch Translations by Carey", discovered in the Angus Library at Regent's Park College; Dr. Whitley discusses "General Ludlow's Baptist Comrades"; Dr. H. S. Curr writes on "Spurgeon and Gladstone", reprinting some letters between them from Spurgeon's *Autobiography;* and Mr. J. E. Compton describes the place of Colchester in the Baptist Missionary Movement.

In the *Journal* of the Presbyterian Historical Society of England (May, 1942), Dr. S. W. Carruthers presents a statistical examination of "The Scripture Proofs of the Westminster Confession", and Mr. R. S. Robson records the history of "Presbytery in Newcastle-on-Tyne".

The *Transactions* of the Unitarian Historical Society (October, 1942) contains "New Light on an old Unitarian Circle" (Christopher Crell of Poland and his English friends) by Dr. H. McLachlan; further extracts from "The Seddon Letters" by the Editor; and a note on "Dr. Martineau and the 'Ten Services'" of *Common Prayer for Christian Worship* (1862), by Mr. A. Elliott Peaston.

GEOFFREY F. NUTTALL.

Congregational Historical Society

Statement of Receipts and Expenses for Year 1941

Receipts	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Balances brought forward—		
Current Account	96 14 8	
Capital Account	26 4 0	
		122 18 8
Subscriptions—		
Current year	36 1 9	
Arrears	11 5 0	
In Advance	4 5 0	
Capital Account	10 0 0	
		61 11 9
Interest on Investment		1 10 0
		£186 0 5

Expenditure	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
1940 Issue of *Transactions*—		
Printing	33 15 0	
Envelopes and Postage	1 13 6	
Editor's Expenses	14 9	
		36 3 3
Treasurer's Expenses—		
Rubber Stamp	5 9	
Receipt Book	1 6	
Envelopes for 1941 *Transactions* ..	5 3	
Postage for 1941 *Transactions* ..	1 0 5	
Postage on Receipts, etc.	18 11	
		2 11 10
Expenses of Rev. C. Surman		5 0 0
Editors' Expenses, 1941 ..		1 16 3
Balances carried forward—		
Current Account	103 6 11	
Capital Account	36 4 0	
Cash in hand of Treasurer	18 2	
		140 9 1
		£186 0 5

Year Ending 31*st December,* 1942

Receipts	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Balances brought forward		
Current Account	103 6 11	
Capital Account	36 4 0	
		139 10 11
Subscriptions—		
Current year	30 8 9	
Arrears	2 10 0	
In Advance	10 0	
Capital Account	10 0 0	
		43 8 9
Interest on Investment		1 5 0
		£184 4 8

Expenditure	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Printing 1941 *Transactions* and Index ..		43 19 10
Hire of Hall for Meeting		1 1 0
Balances carried forward—		
Capital Account	46 4 0	
Current Account	92 19 10	
		139 3 10