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The Hubbard-How-More Church.

From Gould's copy of *Stinton's Repository*. Text of 1699 by John Webb, junior. Notes of 1712 by Benjamin Stinton, of 1910 by W. T. Whitley.

THIS church was confounded by Neal with Jessey's, though a most cursory reading will show the difference. They both existed in the seventeenth century and admitted of Mixed Communion; Samuel How had to do with both, but otherwise they had no connection and little resemblance. All Congregational historians till quite lately were misled however by Neal, and only Wilson recognized the difference.

The main narrative is avowedly extracted from the church book in 1699. But prefixed to this is an introductory summary; eight side-notes are added; and twelve lines of epilogue carry on the story to the dissolution of the church in 1705. These additions may all be due to Stinton himself.

One side-note conjectures that the writer of 1699 was "old Mr. Webb." We naturally think of that John Webb, shoemaker, who on 28 September 1630 figures in the registers of St. Vedast, who on 10 January 1640-1 was arrested with other members of this church, who became Baptist and signed the Confession of 1644, who by 1646 was declared by Edwards to have become an atheist. But this last item makes us pause, and we note that in 1699 he would indeed have been very old; we then recall that he had been an inmate of an almshouse, and died there before 1699; so that we look more deeply for the author.

He notes that his own connection with this church began after the ejection of 1662, when for the first time he could not get good preaching in any parish church. He shows that he was opposed to Strict Communion, and rather implies that he had not been baptized on profession of his faith. The side-note also suggests that when this document was copied, about 1712, he was dead. In 1703 a John Webb signed a testimonial to Benjamin Keach; *Ivimey*, II, 371.

The prologue is absolutely devoid of fresh facts, and seems based upon the text following it, whose very mistakes it reproduces.

Nevertheless for the sake of completeness it is here printed, but without notes, which are reserved for the narrative proper.

But the account of the earlier years, before the author himself became connected with the church, needs critical examination and some slight correction.

The earlier life of John Canne is to some extent involved with the story of this church, since the Jessey Records state under date 1630:— "Mr. Can also then walking . . . Saints where he left Mr. How (he going with some to Holland)." We must therefore present some of the facts in his Dutch career.

In April 1640 he was teaching at Bristol. From the postscript to his "Second Voice from the Temple" we learn that he had been banished seventeen years, so that it was about the beginning of 1623 when he left England first. About the end of 1622 died Henry Ainsworth, pastor of the Ancient Church whose headquarters were in Amsterdam, though some of its members were in London. John Paget, pastor of the Puritan church in the Bagijn Hof, a few minutes away, tells us that soon after Ainsworth's death a schism occurred, part adhering to Jean de la Cluse [l'Ecluse, a printer from Rouen, now a schoolmaster], part to John Canne. The split was serious, for the printers of John Robinson's posthumous work of 1634 tell us the numbers were reduced to one-fifth; and the London members were so puzzled that when they were in doubt about recognizing Jacob's church, they wrote not only to Amsterdam, but also to Robinson, and his letters show grave troubles in 1624. But Canne was successful in healing them, with the help of Staesmore in 1630, so that in 1632-3 he preached a sermon to celebrate a reunion. With this he made his entrance into literature, for he was a versatile man, and Paget lets us know that he kept a brandy-shop and a chemist's shop and printing works all at once, besides being Elder. Two years later he published his "Necessitie of Separation," in which he upheld the clear-cut Brownist position, and incidentally that it was wrong even to hear the sermons in parish churches. Robinson had counselled Canne's London members to the contrary, and his printers now published his posthumous treatise *On the Lawfulness of Hearing of the Ministers of the Church of England*, mentioning a few facts about Canne's people in Amsterdam and London. In 1638 Canne got into trouble with the Amsterdam authorities for the books he published annoying the King of Great Britain, and was fined £300: Evans II, 108. So it was 1639 before he replied to Robinson in his "Stay against Straying," and next year he took the same advanced ground at Bristol, having also become a Baptist, a point irrelevant to this enquiry. A rejoinder to his

Necessitie, issued in 1640, entitles him still "a leader to the company of Brownists in Amsterdam", and the preface by another author adds many details. Meanwhile his neighbour John Paget was involved in bitter quarrels, and Canne put out two or three editions of a plea for thorough Independency, the last being called "Sion's Prerogative Royal" in 1641. By this time England had become the main scene of his activity, and when he edited the Bible with elaborate notes, it was printed indeed at Amsterdam in 1642, but not with his own imprint. Yet he did not sever his Dutch connection, for two different books of 1644 refer to the Rotterdam Independents preaching publicly in Master Canne's pulpit in Amsterdam. We need not pursue his own adventurous career further, merely noting that he died at Amsterdam in 1667.

Here we have a life spent chiefly in London and Amsterdam, and however many interests occupied him, he was pastor of the Ancient Church from 1623 or 1624 till 1667. Revert now to the obscure entry in the Jessey Records for 1630. Suppose that he had come over to see his own London members, who were rather dubious as to their best course. Suppose he persuaded some to come over with him to Holland, and persuaded some others after a while to join Samuel How in the 1621 church. This will tally with the entry here, will tally with the fact that by 1632-3 he was able to celebrate a reunion, will tally with the fact that no one knows how the London branch of the Ancient Church disappeared, its last appearance being in 1632, in prison alongside Lathorp's church.

But we have now to reckon with old Mr. Webb's statements here. After 1621 Hubbard took the Southwark church to Ireland and continued there "some time." They returned and after some months "called Mr. John Can, . . . who attended that service some time, and then with some of the members left the church and went to Amsterdam and there continued with the English church many years . . . all which time the church planted by Mr. Hubbard . . . continued . . . and in process of time had the opportunity of enjoying as a member Samuel How." Webb clearly distinguishes the Ancient Church in Amsterdam from Hubbard's church, and gives no hint at any fusion such as we suppose: but he blunders in calling the Ancient Church the "English" church, which would have moved John Paget to unbounded wrath. And he says that How was only connected with the church after Canne had gone with some of the Hubbard members.

In this perplexity we turn to scrutinize How's career. On 29 April 1629 he was seized at a conventicle, worshipping with the

Jacob church then under Lathorp. This statement of the Jessey Records is confirmed by the report of his trial before the High Commission in May, when he pleaded that he had served the King by sea and land, and would still be doing so but for this arrest. Apparently he had been engaged in the expeditions to relieve La Rochelle, but as there was peace with France in 1629 and with Spain in 1630, he must have been in the regular navy, not simply in the levies raised especially. But despite the call for ship money, Charles had to reduce expenses, and How probably was discharged both from custody and from the navy.

As to the end of his career; in June 1641, John Taylor published a portrait of him preaching in a tub, as frontispiece to "A Swarm of Sectaries &c."

And at the Nag's Head, near to Coleman Street
A most pure crew of Brethren there did meet,

* * * *

A worthy brother gave the text, and then
The cobbler How his preachment strait began.

* * * *

For (like a man inspired from Amsterdam)
He scorned Ne sutor ultra crepidam.

Here is clear testimony to his kinship with John Canne, and further testimony is given in the preface to How's celebrated sermon on the Sufficiency of the Spirit's Teaching. This was delivered in answer to a challenge by John Goodwin, incumbent at St. Stephen's in Coleman Street. Though he preached it in London, he sent over to Holland to get it printed. The first edition was in 1639, another appeared on 22 January 1644-5, and it was reissued often in the next century.

The preface confirms that he usually preached in a meeting-house in Coleman Street; and a postscript by Kiffin states that he was buried in the highway, a fact confirmed in October, 1641 by the pamphlet "The Brownist's Synagogue," if indeed the two statements are independent. The date of his death is however not given, and Wilson only ventures to put it about 1640.

Turning next for more contemporary evidence to the Lords' Journals, we find that on 10 January 1640-1, the constables and churchwardens of St. Saviour's captured during the hours of divine service nearly seventy people worshipping at the house of Richard Sturges in Deadman's Place, Southwark. Five charges were laid, denied, and sworn to: one was that they held the

Parish Churches were not true churches, and that there was no true Church except where the faithful met; another that they avowed they ought not to obey the King except in civil things. Six men were brought to the House and were told to go to their parish churches, obedient to the Conventicle Act of Elizabeth and other Acts. The men in question were Edmund Chillendon, subsequently a Baptist and a Captain in the army, Nicholas Tyne, John Webb, apparently the shoemaker who signed the Baptist Confession of 1644, Richard Sturges, Thomas Gunn, another signatory to the 1644 confession, and John Ellis.

Neal's comments on this affair are all vitiated by his confusion of the church with Jacob's church; remarkably enough Fuller has made other errors in retailing the incident, both as to numbers and date. Crosby of course had this very document before him and simply paraphrased it, so his version has no independent value. Stovel at page xviii acknowledged the difficulty, and conjectured that John Canne was a preacher on 24 January, when the visiting peers heard two sermons. But this rather improbable guess is not necessary to explain why the Lord's Journals call these "Anabaptists," since we know that Chillenden Webb and Gunn were Baptists afterwards and perhaps even then.

As we know that Canne was pastor of the Ancient Church from 1624 till his death in 1667, we prefer to believe that old Mr. Webb writing in 1699 was mistaken as to his being pastor of this church, being misled by the fact that in 1630 he did have something to do with it. The critical reconstruction of the chronology will be roughly:—

- 1621 Founded by Hubbard, taken to Ireland. Query, 1611?
Returned to London, helped by Hancock
- 1630 Helped by Canne who takes some members to Holland
[to join his Ancient Church, perhaps adding the London
members of that to this church by 1633].
- 1632 [The London remnant of the Ancient Church in prison,
along with Lathorp's church including Sam How]
- 1633 Samuel How pastor. Covenant renewed.
Church meets usually in Coleman Street.
- 1640 How dies.
- 1640-1 Arrested in Southwark, tolerated by the Lords.
- 1641 Stephen More pastor.
- 1643? John Webb, Thomas Gunn and Thos. Mabbatt found
Baptist churches.
- 1648 Covenant renewed.
Worship in Whitehall and St. James

- 1663 Old Mr. Webb joins
 1672 Stephen More qualifies to preach at the house of Barnabas
 Bloxom, Winchester Yard, Southwark, on 2 May.
 1685 More dies in the Marshalsea prison.
 Church meets usually in Southwark
 1697 Daniel Parker pastor
 1698 Richard Robbins co-pastor
 1699 Valentine Lindsey succeeds both
 1705 Dissolution

*Numb: 23.

An Account of A Church that usually met in Southwark near St Mary Overys Church, consisting partly of Pædobaptists, & partly of Antipædobaptists, from their first Constitution in y^e Reign of K. James I, to their Dissolution in 1705.

taken out of their Church Book, &c.

This Church I find was constituted in Gospell Order about y^e year 1621. The first Pastor thereof was one Mr Hubbard, a learned man of Episcopal Ordination, who having left the Church of England, took his Ministry from this Church, & with them went into Ireland, & there died. They returned again to England, & chose Mr John Canne, (famous for filling up a Bible with Marginal Notes to this day much valued) to be their Pastor, who attended that service for some time, and then with some of the Members left the Church, and went to Amsterdam, & there continued with the English Church many years, and tho' he came into England afterwards, yet he returned to Amsterdam, and there died. During which time they continued without a Pastor, and then chose M^r Sam: How, who served in this Ministration about 7 years and died in peace very much lamented. In his time they were persecuted beyond measure by the Clergy and Bishops

* Marks the pagination in the Gould manuscript.

Courts, and he dying under the Sentence of Excommunication, They with a Constables guard secured the parish ground at Shoreditch to prevent his being buried there so that he was buried at Anis a Cleer, and several of his Members according to their desire was buried there likewise. He wrote that little Book so often printed, called Hows Sufficiency of the Spirits teachings, and was very famous for his vindication of the Doctrines of Separation, and both he and his People were much harrassed for it by their Enemies, and were forced to meet together in feilds and woods to avoid them.

They afterwards chose one Mr Stephen More to be their Pastor. He was a Deacon of their Church excellently gifted for the work of the ministry, a man of good reputation and possessed of an Estate. In his time their Case was altered for the better, and they who used to be avoided, and who were hardly reckoned among men, but look'd on as a kind of Wild Creatures, and greatly persecuted, met with some respite of peace. Indeed once on a Lords day when they were met together, they were taken, and by Sr John Ludhall committed to the Clink Prison *and some of them had before the house of Lords as aforementioned. But after that I find little interruption given them.

A Brief Account of this Church of Christ, from the begining: Togeather wth ye Progressions down to this present Year. 1699

According to ye best Account from Ancient Members therein, & such Notices as in Old Books we find: That about ye year 1621 was this Church constituted in Gospel Order, & carried on by one Mr Hubbert; who in that time of Trouble then all did pass to Ireland,

where he for some time continued with them & dyed.¹ He was a Man brought up in Learning, & was formerly, an ordained Man of the Church of England, but renounc'd it, & took his Ministry from that Church.² This one thing is remarkable of him, That on his Death-bed he said, He thought there was some Spell in his first Ordination, Seing that tho he knew y^t Some of y^e Members had as good gifts as himselfe & more Grace Yet could not get over this, but think of himselfe about them & thought this did arise from y^e Impressions in his mind made at that Ordination.³ This Church returned into England, & kept close their Co^munion here about London, where one Mr Tho: Hancock, a member of this Church, preaching to them as a Brother for some Months.⁴ After w^{ch} y^e Church called Mr John Can,⁵ (who was since famous for filling up a

¹ Mr. Hubbard is to be distinguished from the Hubert or Hubberd of the Jacob-Jessey church, who was a haberdasher and was alive as late as 15 October 1635 when he got into trouble with the High Commission. Our present man is expressly said to have been a clergyman. Since the Elizabethan conquest of Ireland, the Deputies were busy planting it with Englishmen, and from the Irish State Papers, volume 233, page 58, we find that in 1613 Dyrrikke Hubbard tried for a twenty-one years' monopoly of salt. Our Mr. Hubbard is said by Neal to have settled at Carrickfergus in 1611; History II. 93. This appears to show that old Mr. Webb's information was wrongly dated about ten years. The family was of Suffolk origin, but one member settled in London during the reign of James, as the census shows. Compare also Samuel Herbert referred to below in 1662.

² This renunciation of Episcopal orders was by no means unusual. Several Puritans in Holland did the same, founding the Independent churches there. But the most interesting case is that of John Smith, who soon saw that not only the Orders, but the Baptism of the Antichristian church must be renounced.

³ Mr. Hubbard only avowed what many others felt and acted up to. In Holland William Bridge, M.A., from St. George's in Norwich, renounced his orders and ordained Samuel Ward, B.D., who had also renounced; then Ward at once ordained Bridge. These were the people whose friends scoffed at Smith for baptizing himself and Helwys! But Bridge, Ward and their friends hardly saw their way to acknowledge Canne the printer, though he had presumably been ordained by his church. And Alexander Forbes, in his "Anatomy of Independency" keenly criticised them for their illogical position and their complaints that they were called Brownists.

⁴ In 1611, Lawne stated on page 56 of his "Profane Schism" that John Hancock would have a Separation by himself in Amsterdam, distinct from Smith and Helwys and Busher. In 1646 John Hancock was the publisher of the Baptist Confession, second edition.

⁵ We have shown in the Introduction that there must be some error here. From this point this MS. was used by Neal at II. 316, confounding this church with Lathorp's, which he distinguished from Jessey's.

Bible wth Marginal Notes, to this day, much Vallued)⁶ whom y^e Church called & Chose their Pastor, who attended that Service for Some Time, & then wth Some of y^e Members left y^e Church & went to Amsterdam, & there continued wth y^e English Church many Years; And tho he came into England after yet returned & there dyed. All wch time y^e Church planted by Mr Hubbard, wth Such other as Joyned wth them continued serving the Lord wth Singleness of heart; & in process of time had y^e Oportunity of enjoying as a Member. Sam: How.⁷

At wch time, they Solemly renewed & confirmed their antient League & Covenant one wth another,⁸ & then

⁶ The work of Canne on the Bible is in danger of being forgotten. He was practically the inventor of the system of marginal references, now so generally adopted. Tindale had continued the mediæval custom of marginal annotations, and these had been kept up by all rival translators, as by the Douay Catholic priests, and the Genevan Puritan divines. King James had seen that the party tone of these notes hindered the general circulation, and revived the order of Henry VIII., that to his second Authorized Version there should be no notes. The translators did place a very few marginal references, but otherwise obeyed. But with the dissolution of royal authority, the way was open for editors to experiment, and in 1642 John Canne added the familiar notes of the Genevan Bible and the longer Annotations of Junius on the Revelation (a book specially interesting to him) to the text of the Royal Version, publishing a folio edition in Amsterdam. Next he issued at Amsterdam a quarto edition with a series of references on the principle that Scripture was the best interpreter of Scripture. In 1647 it was repeated in London, two volumes octavo. In 1653 he obtained copyright for his selection of references during seven years. And though Charles would take no notice of this, he put out editions in 1662 and 1664, the latter without the Apocrypha, as behoved a good Baptist. After his death many editions appeared, and his selection was the basis of Bagster's Comprehensive Bible. Not till Dr. Moulton in our own day offered a new selection to the University Presses, was Canne's work in any sense superseded.

⁷ Samuel How was a member of the Jacob church under Lathorp in 1629, therefore 1630 is the earliest possible date for his joining here. As he was pastor about seven years, and died about 1640, we get 1633 as the probable date of the renewal of the covenant and his election as pastor. Probably this followed very soon after his joining as a member, and the imprisonment of Jacob's church together with the Ancient church in 1632 seems to show when he passed from one to the other.

⁸ In the early days of royal charters, it was often thought wise to get a new king to renew and confirm the charter of his predecessors. The phrase here however shows that old Mr. Webb had in mind the Solemn League and Covenant signed so extensively in Scotland and England; an idea borrowed by the Puritans from the Old Testament. The renewal, as distinct from the original making, of a covenant, might find precedent from Joshua in his old age; Samuel after the relief of Jabesh-Gilead, Josiah after the Book of the Covenant had been found under the foundation-stone of Solomon's temple. Many English Baptist churches retain this old custom, and the Wesleyans have made it an annual practice.

did freely Elect, Choose, & Ordain y^e Said Saml How to be their Pastor, who faithfully & painfully served in this Ministration *about the Space of Seven Years, till, according to y^e will of God he fell asleep [& died in Peace]⁹ in a troublesome Day, being much lamented.¹⁰

Before I go further take these remarks on this Saml How who lived about 1634 or 35, w^{ch} was a time of great trouble by the Bpps Courts in King Charles y^e 1st time, in many Vexatious Conditions by Pursevants &c,¹¹ & Excomunications; & This Servant of Christ dyed under this Punishment, & therefore they would not let him have y^t w^{ch} they call Christian Burial, but wth a Constables gaurd secured y^e Parish ground at Shoreditch against them, who very quietly was buried at Anis-a Cleer; where several Members desired & when dead was buried by him.¹² This is y^t How so much talked of in latter Years who wrote y^e little Boock so often printed, called Hows Sufficiency of y^e Spirits Teaching &c. And as farr as I can find by them y^t were of y^e Church at y^t time (for I know many of them) he was famous for y^e Vindication of y^e Doctrines of Seperation, & were for it much harrassed up & down in Fields & Woods; but God was wth them, & they cheerfully passed along.¹³

⁹ These brackets and the words they contain are in the manuscript.

¹⁰ The latest date for a troublesome day was 1640. By November the Long Parliament met, and Laud was soon in the Tower, his officials in full flight.

¹¹ The pursuivants had a direct interest in capturing conventicles. On 2 July 1640 three messengers of the High Commission put in their plea for a share of the fines, and it was granted. John Wragg and John Vesey are mentioned in the Jessey Records, but Thomas Thrasher seems not to have been fortunate enough to catch them. Male twice caught Lathorp's members.

¹² Agnes la Claire was an old saint or dame, after whom a well in Shoreditch was named. We have two testimonies that the actual burial was in the highway, as was the case with suicides, who also were excommunicated. A year earlier, Samuel Eaton had been buried in Bunhill Fields by a large concourse of 200 people; that was a burial ground not under the supervision of any parish clergyman, and practically given up to Separatists, so that Laud was asked to look into the matter on 31 August 1639. Evidently many members resented the indignity to How's remains, and sought to redeem the place from its shameful associations, even as the Cross was altered in connotation.

¹³ Except for the one sermon, nothing of his has been discovered in print.

After these things, some considerable time after,¹⁴ finding y^e want of a Pastor, & desireing y^e Groth of y^e Church, & their Edification, they chose out among themselves, & pitched upon Stephen More, a gifted Brother, & a Deacon to y^e Church, & did freely Elect, Choose & Ordain him unto that Office about y^e Year 1641. He was a Cityzen of Good Worth, & possessed of some Estate, & lived in good Reputation, yet did he willingly comply wth all y^e Providences of God in all their Afflictions & Sufferings to Serve our Lord Jesus, & purchased to himselfe a good degree & great boldness in his Work &c.¹⁵

In his time Knowlidg did break out & y^e Light of y^e Gospel began to shine, in so much that these People, w^{ch} were in former times so represented to y^e World as such y^t were to be avoided, that they were hardly reckoned amongst Men, as I have heard some of them say, they thought we were some kind of Wild Creatures; & they were persecuted so, at that *time by y^e Clergy & Bishops Courts as is almost Incredible; Yet it pleased y^e Lord to carry them through & own them: And this one Case was remarkable; That in y^e time of y^e Difference between y^e King & Parliament; This Church meeting on a Lords Day in Deadmans Place, in Southwark, they were taken & by Sr John Lenthall y^e Marshal of y^e Kings Bench committed to the Clink Prison, next morning were carried by order to y^e House of Lords, † setting in Parliament, about 5 or 6 men, & great were y^e Expectations of y^e Town w^t would be y^e Issue of it. They were strictly examined by y^e

¹⁴ As. More was ordained about 1641, the interval cannot really have been considerable.

¹⁵ On 7 February, 1636-7, Edward Penton, "a sanctified brother, and hath been already at New England," was arrested for vending scandalous books. He confessed that about a month before Christmas, he saw in the house of Stephen Moor, a packer of stuffs in Philpot Lane, one of these. It is in this way that More came first to the notice of the authorities. It will be noted that he is not mentioned as being arrested in January 1640-1. Indeed, this paragraph is too early, and should come after that incident.

† Se : Numb 20 of this Collec : [side-note in MS.]

Lords of their Principles, and y^e Lords were civil to them, & asked where they mett y^e next Day, who said Some of them would come & hear him : And accordingly, either 3 or 4 of the Lords did come : And in those it was a continued Meeting from y^e time they began till they had filled up all y^e Ordinances, two Sermons, & y^e liberty of y^e Brethren in Prophecys, & breaking of Bread, & Contribution to y^e poor : wherein y^e Lords were liberal ; y^e Subject matter of y^e Sermons were y^e 28th of Matt : All Power is given to me &c. The design was to show y^e Kingly Power & Authority of Christ in his Church, & they said, I mean y^e Lords, we will come again y^e next Day. But did not there being at that time so great a Crowd, they'd not venture.¹⁶ After these things I find little interruption

¹⁶ This case was a turning point in the history of uniformity and toleration. Extracts from the Lords' Journals were published in 1841 by Hanbury, and in 1849 by Stovel, since which times no one need refer to Fuller, still less to Neal. When the matter was first brought to the Lords' notice, they ordered on Saturday 16 January that the Divine Service be performed as it is appointed by the Acts of Parliament of this realm, and that . . . the parsons, vicars and curates in several parishes shall forbear to introduce any sites or ceremonies that may give offence, otherwise than those which are established by the laws of the land. In other words, the first result was a smart rebuke of the innovations introduced by Laud, which were recognized as driving many parishioners into Separatism. Dr. Featley, the J.P. for Surrey, the High Commission agent, would feel this a very unkind cut. But the king had to be grateful for small mercies now, and actually sent thanks on Monday the 18th for the Lords' course. They then brought in the six chief men, who denied the facts alleged, while the four constables and churchwardens swore to them. The Lords therefore simply admonished the men to go to their own parish churches, re-assuring them as to the character of the services by reading the order made on Saturday, and warning that future absence would be dealt with according to law.

This leniency distinctly encouraged sectaries, and next day some people in the New Prison sent up a petition to the Lords against Justice Gibbs, who had incited a mob to break into a house in Whitechapel where they also had been quietly worshipping on Sunday, and had committed them to jail. The Lords let them out on bail, and ordered them and Gibbs to come in person. On Thursday, Gibbs gave another version, and said that he had imprisoned them because they declined to receive the communion at their parish church. Whereupon the Lords washed their hands of this case also, and ordered that the law should take its usual course.

Old Mr. Webb tells the sequel, having very likely gathered it from Fuller's Church History, book II, page 172, where Stinton also found it, and copied as number 20 of this collection. On Sunday 24 January, three or four Lords actually attended the conventicle; hearing a sermon on the Kingly Power and Authority of Christ, they satisfied themselves that the men were politically harmless. Indeed Lord Brooke was so impressed that he wrote a plea for toleration, which probably was as effectual then with the powers that were, as was Milton's finer literary plea, the Areopagitica, to secure freedom of the press.

given to this People, & they continued their meeting Peacably. The great cry of y^e People was for Reformation, & in Some time y^e Hiererchy of England begun to be nipped, & in a few Years was thrown down, & y^e better part of y^e Clergy sat in Assembly at Westminster wth a great design to establish Presbytery.¹⁷ But God inlightned some of them to stand up for y^e liberty of Gods People; the Lord stirred up y^e hearts of Several, as Tho: Goodwin, Phil: Nye, Jer: Burrows, W^m Bridg & others, who did labour, & from Scripture shew y^t in Gospell Days there was no National Church, but Congregational, w^{ch} is no other but Independent, as y^e Word than was, & so called to this Day, w^{ch} was no *other save in some small Matter, y^e same y^t was witnessed to by this poor Church aboue said, as may appear to any y^t read in Burrow & Greenwood & Penry in y^e Days of Queen Elizabeth, some of w^{ch} Sealed y^e Truth wth their Blood, as also John Robisson in his Justification of Seperation, also Hery Ainsworth, a great & eminent man in y^t age, & divers others since.¹⁸

This was a Comfortable Day for those Saccloth Worshipers, & a time of Encouragement, only y^e Presbyterian Party could not speak well of them, & therefore when they could not carry it for that Intrest, did on a time Remonstrate to y^e Parliament, & brought y^e City Mayor, Aldermen & Common Council to joyn them, in w^{ch} they did express their greivence among

¹⁷ Chronology is not a strong point with old Mr. Webb. The visit of the Lords was in January 1640-1, when Laud was already powerless; before the year was out the majority in the Commons were supporting a bill to abolish Episcopacy, root and branch, while twelve bishops were impeached as traitors; early in 1642 all bishops were deprived of their seats in Parliament. Their actual power was gone when this incident occurred, their disfranchisement was accomplished next year, yet old Mr. Webb says that in some time they were nipped, and in a few years were thrown down. By June 1643 the Assembly of divines had met.

¹⁸ The remark is quite just, that the new terms Independent and Congregational stood for nothing materially different from the doctrines of this church, or of Robinson, or of Penry, or of Barrow and Greenwood and Ainsworth. The last three were officers of the Ancient church, some of whose members had possibly passed on into this. Old Mr. Webb was better informed as to them, than as to Robert Brown.

others, that some effectual way be found out to suppress Brownism. That was than y^e Name of Christs Servants, & to this Day it is a reproach to that People. I find y^e Occation of this Name was, because there was a man of that Name, I think, an Elder, that afterwards renounced at Pauls Cross, after w^{ch} he dispaired & hanged himselfe. They might as well have called y^e Disciples of Christ, Judasses, for one of them fell.—

But notwithstanding, y^e Churches & this Church grew, & no place was to good for their encouragement to meet in.† thus farr I find some footsteps of y^e Providence of God to this Church, To about y^e Year 1648 & onwards. In these Matters also I find y^e Church not without their Troubles within by Schism, & some Excommunicated.¹⁹ And do find y^t in this Year 1648, there was a renewing of their Covenant In these words following w^{ch} I think meet to transcrib, viz.

Memorandum. That we whose Names are Subscribed In consideration & sence of our many fould Sins & Miscariages in our personal & publick Relation, & our exceeding unworthy management of y^e Scepter of Jesus Christ comitted to us as His Church & People, much to his Dishonour & our own Grief of Spirit; & for y^e gaining Ability for y^e future, *to reforme ye Evils amongst Us, did address ourselves to y^e Lord by Prayer And did in y^e Presence of him & each other, according to y^e measure of Grace afford'd renew & declare our visible Relation & Interest to & in him & each other, as a Church & Spouse of Christ Jesus, wth our Resolutions to Persevere accordingly as God shall afford Ability.

¹⁹ Between 1641 and 1644 the Baptist movement was reaching its climax in (1) the restriction to immersion, (2) the restriction of the Lord's Supper to the baptized. Three of the six leaders taken before the House of Lords adopted these opinions, and evidently tried to convince all the church. Failing, they left, Gunne founding one church, John Webb the shoe-maker joining Kilcop who had been baptized in January 1641-2. The Jessey Records let us see how a Mixed-Communion Baptist viewed such proceedings; this paper gives the language of a Mixed-Communion Pædobaptist.

† Whitehall, St. James [side-note in MS.]

Signed ye 23 ^d May, 1648.	Stephen More, Pastor
	Peter Row
Hen. Wallis	Charles Goodfellow
Rich. Prudnel, Deacon	Griffith Jenkins
Benajh. Pratt	Gideon Rogers
Daniel Hitchings	John Freeman
Jn ^c Powell	John Groom
	Henry Quintin

In the behalfe of the Rest²⁰

And accordingly God did bless their endeavours, & carried them thro many Temptations on ye right & on the left as they passed along: of whom I find but few things till such time as some now liveing, were actually acquainted wth them, w^{ch} was graciously brought about by our Lord, by a Series of the Providence of God; viz: The Year after King Charles II. returned to England & brought ye Bishops again. They soon erected ye Old State of things, & establish'd Episcopacy, & by an Act of Parliament provided for Uniformity, w^{ch} was to take place ye 29th June 1662. & whosoever would not thereto conform, to be turned out: And also to punish ye Meetings otherwise than ye Law directed, so y^t I w^{ch} write this† wth some others that could not comply were at a great Loss, & to get into any meeting was not only dangerous, but very difficult, nor could we get in anywhere for some time, nor had we any knowldg more or less of this Church: for we were brought up to hear ye best of Teachers, as we thought, to be found: But I remember we 3 or 4 were disposed to espouse

²⁰ Nicholas Tyne, Richard Sturges, and John Ellis, all before the House in 1640-1, are not in this list, nor are they known in Baptist circles. It is an indication how rapidly membership changed in those days that the lists of 1641 and 1648 have not a single name in common. Similar rapid changes occurred in the Jacob-Jessey church, both during the period 1633-1643 when we are well informed, between 1643 and 1653 when we have no details, even between the lists of 1653 and 1654, and between 1653 and 1669 when also information is lacking.

† Suppos'd to be old Mr. Webb [side-note in MS.]

Independency, and then we had time to bemoan our Selves for not giving up our Selves somewhere, but it was then to late: for all those things lay dormant by reason of y^e Violence used in prosecuting y^e Law: But to y^e *Glory of God. I now relate w^t effect these things wrought on Some. It so fell out that two Friends that came out of y^e Country to London, & haveing Some of their Country Men & Friends coming to vissit them on y^e Lords Day, they all bemoaned themselves because they could find no meeting: Saith one to y^e rest let us go to Saml Herbert, & he we believe doth know So away came they immediately, He was glad to se his Country Men, but when he understood their desire was not able to answer it: for unto that time he had never had that opertunity for himSelfe. But he made this Motion y^t they would walk in y^e fields & so conferr together w^t to do. And at last it came to this. That if they would go back wth this Friend he would give them Liberty further to conferr,† & this was most readily agreed, & after a great deal of Straining Courtisy who should perform y^e work of Prayer there was a man that could not read nor write, but such a Spirit of Prayer went forth as was exterordinary, which when done y^e friend in whose house we were, said pray let us meet again next Day, & we will prove y^e Lord whether we may not be encouraged to go further. w^{ch} being come about we had y^e same Company where it was concluded that we might help our Selves So to work we went & found that encouragement by reason whereof we did continue it; & grew till near about 30 men & so kept a Comfortable meeting w^{ch} by y^e blessing of God much refreshed Us; & sometimes we gatt help from others, & so came, at last, to be acquainted wth a Preacher, that was turned out of Prison, from y^e White Lyon, Southwark, & hereing him

† In his house I suppose. [side-note in MS.]

accidentally, we desired his help, at last he came one pt of ye Lords day to us his Name was Mr Stephen More, & was as befor said the Pastor of this Church, but we knew it not, & after we came to be acquainted wth him, we then told him how we were convinced that we were not in Order, & that we wanted Instruction in them Principles,† & desired he would in his Labours among us bend his Studys for us: who was faithfull, painfull, & made it his business to lead us in ye whole Counsell of God in this matter, & proved very satisfactory to us; After this we came to understand there was a Church he was Pastor to, & then we encouraged them to come also, for they at this time were but few. We thought good to fall in with & joyn ourselves to them:* And so we came together wth much Joy, & Comfort. So here we began upon ye Knowlidg of ye State & Condition of this Church from ye time expressed downwards. Only I think meet to hint ye reason why I write this last matter; wch is to shew to us & to all his People how he will make his Providences serve his own: for thus it did work on us, for wch we have ever sence been under high obligation to bless God, that hath done this great thing for us: That to this Day hath been ye Sence of every of us to rejoyce in the Lot God gave us & to express yt ye Lott of our Place & Stated Comunion hath pleased us well. Oh! that we may walk in all well pleasing to our blessed Lord & King. Thus was this house of ye Lord raised up & Comforted even in Troubleous times when others were at a Stand This Church grew most & had ye enjoyment of Christ & comunion one wth another, & almost without interruption: & I cannot remember, yt all yt Severe time of Sufferings we ever lost one Day. We were so hid & delivered yt when hunted from one Place we had another to repair to, & I think not aboue 3 times taken:

† relating to Church Fellowship [side-note in MS.]

& when So God delivered us: But as for Seizing our Goods we had our Share; & God helped Such very comfortably to take y^e Spoiling of their Goods, & at last to endure Prison some Weeks, where also was many Comfortable meetings, & there that is, in y^e Marshalsey, our Dear & beloved Brother & Pastor finished his Testamony, died & was honourably buried in y^e Park, Southwark. & a poor desolate Church left behind him, tho yet it was Gods good pleasure to take care of them, & carry them thro all their Discouragements, to live on this provision his Majesty hath ben pleased to meet out for their Table. For God hath blessed Pulse & water to his Children, & their Countenance hath looked well. Thus they continued about 12 Years, at w^{ch} time God Stirred up their hearts to look out among themselves a Brother who had many Years walked as an Example in y^e Church; Our Beloved Brother Parker who continued some Months a Pastor: In his time y^e Providence of God bro^t an oportunity in our hands for an Increase to our Number, w^{ch} was very small at that time, but was Sufficient to answer y^e rule of y^e Word, * & in a measure to answer y^e end of Com^union w^{ch} we wth comfort lived in y^e Enjoyment of. The Oportunity we had was thus. There was a Church† whose Foundation was fixed on y^e Doctrine of Baptism, & as they generally are.²¹ In about 3 Years time y^e Pastor of it was Convinced that y^e Ground of Comunion in y^e

† The Baptists church in White St. Southwarke [side-note in MS.]

²¹ The church at Collier's Rents, White Street, Southwark, was founded in 1695 with Richard Robbins as pastor, according to the data of old Mr. Webb in 1699. Wilson knew that the building in Sheer's Alley was put up by Benjamin Keach. This agrees with the fact that in 1697, the General Association of General Baptists complained to the Particular Baptist Association of London as to the conduct of Keach and Robbins jointly for some years past. It is not surprising that Keach and Robbins, both originally General Baptists who were trained that baptism must be followed by laying on of hands, found trouble spring up here on this point in 1698. But Robbins went further than Keach, and adopted Mixed Communion, so that he and his friends could join with old Mr. Webb's church. The Strict Baptists kept the meeting house, and by 1704 we find Richard Parkes as their pastor at the London P.B. Association. Wilson has traced their history till their dissolution in 1765.

Church was only ye Grace of God in ye heart, tho such might be of Differing minds about Baptism & some other Principles as laying on of hands & some other matters: Hereupon there followed a great Breach, & ye Greater Part wth ye Pastor came off as a Church; The other party likewise would be the Church, & Controversy was about it. But we concluded ye former was the Church. And this being ye Principle† of this Old Church, they proposed to joyn themselves wth us, wch when we had debated on, we agreed to joyn together as One intire Church: in wch for a while we had two Pastors. The aboue named, Daniel Parker, & ye Pastor yt came wth them from White Street, (for yt was ye Place of their meeting) whose name was Mr Rich: Robins, a young man & much followed & admired, who had Accuteness of Parts & Gifts & therein did excell Many:—— Thus we continued for about 11 months according to ye for Said Agreement as neer as we could. But we were not in a Capacity to answer ye Expectation of Mr Robins, who could not be satisfied wth such Provision for his Subsistance as he desired, therefore grew dissatisfyed &c. And we much greived that notwithstanding all our endeavours to help him they were Ineffectual; & he being a Young man had but a small share in those great Qualifications belonging to his office, only as aforesaid Eminent in Preaching, tho' in yt also we did not all run with, in ye hight of his Principles‡ but do weigh them. Under these Circumstances it pleased God to remove Mr Gammon, by Death who was Pastor of a Church at White Chappell, wch were of ye same Principles wth us as to ye Foundation of Church Communion.²² They

† viz, Mixt Communion [side-note in MS.]

‡ he was reconed an Antinomean [side-note in MS.]

²² This church met in Boar's Head Yard, off Petticoat Lane, according to Wilson, who thought that till 1690 the pastor was a Mr. Hilton. Old Mr. Webb supplies the next name, Gammon, with the information that the church was Mixed Communion, which fact

being left made themselves acquainted wth our Bro^r Robbins, & desired his help, the w^{ch} we readily complied with, & from this, they, *having considered, did resolve to send Messengers to us, & accordingly did, to make a Motion to us to joyn to or with them; The w^{ch} we took time to consider of: & accordingly Set a day apart, beging y^e Lord to lead us, w^{ch} having performed as y^e Lord was pleased to help us, we came to State our Present work, w^{ch} was reduced to two Questions, viz. Whether we should dismiss our Bro^r Robins from his Pastoral office, & Membership, or whether we should meet y^e about Said Church in order to a Union. The former was imediatly & Unanimously agreed to; y^e Old Members resolveing in y^e Strenght of Christ to mentaine their Church State: And according hereto; Bro. Robins had his dismissal given him by Wrighting, & to be recomended to such Church as he should desire Co^munion with: The week following were Messengers sent to us from White Chappel to desire our Commendations of our Said Bro^r might be to them w^{ch} was his desire. The Answer returned was that he was a Member in full Co^munion wth Us. thus they received him (& as we hear did afterwards Choose & Set apart to be their Pastor) here is y^e Issue of y^e matter as to this Bro^r. And whereas it was agreed that such of y^e Members as would go with him, should, giveing Reasons first, have their Liberty, directing such to give in a list of their Names, w^{ch} they did, & afterwards y^e like was brought by Messengers from y^t Church to w^{ch} we agreed & signed; w^{ch} Number was

explains why Baptist annals have ignored the place. Now Robbins with forty members from his old church and this Southwark church reinforced it in 1699. In 1700 he with Keach and Adams—all three ex-General Baptists—signed an appeal on behalf of James Marham of Lynn. On 11 January 1701-2 his funeral sermon was preached by John Noble, minister of the P.B. church at Tallowchandlers' Hall. His church apparently fused with an Independent church under John Humphrey, another Antinomian, who came and occupied the building. The remnant of its history under these auspices is told by Wilson. But he was evidently ignorant that it was to this church John Bunyan preached his last sermon in July 1688, published on 19 August with a title implying that Gamman was already pastor.

near 40 Persons. From this Account it follows by Demonstration, how God hath been pleased to Secure to this Church her Indisputable State, nor Questioned by any; & by our Lord hath been owned with an Eminent Power & Presence of his helping hand among Us, altho' we most unworthy thereof, & therefore Cry Grace, Grace.

It remains now only for me to give a Reason why I have thus wrote, & to remark a few things upon y^e whole.

First. It's not to make an Argument of a true Church from its Antiquity, y^e great boast of y^e Church of Rome, of w^{ch} read 2 Thess. 2. 4. 5. 6. 7, espically from being supported by y^e Power & Authority of Kings, Princes & Wise, Grave & honourable Men of this World.

*Secondly. However, tho' in this Sence, there be no Argument for y^e Poor, Church of whom I have thus wrote; It must be a great thing to consider of, for a poor, afflicted, persecuted People, snubb'd & rediculed, punished & persecuted, & always by y^e Sons of Ordination, falsly represented & brought into contempt as dangerous Persons & of no Account & reproached by calling the eminent Servants of God in y^e Days past: Billy y^e Bellows Mender, Tom y^e Taylor, Simon y^e Cobler, Tinker, & I know not what names: I say notwithstanding all this, & such like treatment in y^e World, Yet that he should mentain this People from y^e time aforsaid, is very much to be taken notice & should be for Incouragement to Us in our Present State & Condition; w^{ch} is farr better than it has been wth them at some other times.

Thirdly, that it might enable & stirr us up to follow our noble Predecessors & elder Brethren, in looking after y^e Glory of God only, & the Edification & Continuance of y^e Church. It was observed concerning a Bro^r of this People formerly, by name M^r Hancock, who tho' a man of full Employment, & kept fairs as at

Bristol &c, Yet never forgot y^e Church whether abroad or at home, striving for y^e Increase of it. Let us do likewise; have our Brethren been Zealous to keep up y^e Church all their Days, & shall not we do so likewise all our Days, & so be an Example to them y^t shall follow us, that if it be y^e good pleasure of our Lord & King, our Law-giver & Judg, to carry his Children & those y^t Submitt themselves to y^e Scepter of Christ among us from age to age, & y^e Ages to come, even till he come y^t shall come: And let this Church always say & pray, Come Lord Jesus, Amen, for he hath said he will come.

Thus farr y^e Narrative written in their Church Book. After M^r Robins wth about 40 of y^e Members had left them they proceeded in y^e same Year 1699 to y^e election of another Elder. The Persons nominated were Valentine Lindsey, Edward Scape, & Samll Herbert. The Choise fell on M^r Linsey, who after some time for consideration, accepted of that office, & was set apart according to their²³ form on y^e 20th of Jany 1699-1700. *He continued to preach y^e Word & Administer y^e Sacraments to them for about 5 Years. But tho' he was a man of an Unblamable Conversation & Compitent Gifts for y^e Ministry, Yet it did not pleas God to give much success to his Labours. Whereupon he growing in Years & Infirmitys, & y^e Congregation declining in Number & ability to support y^e Charges, they did agree to dissolve there Church State; & went Some to one Church, & some to another, in y^e Year 1705.

23 This word shows another writer, probably Shinton.