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# Transactions

of the

## Baptist Historical Society.



### Salisbury and Tiverton about 1630.

Salisbury Municipal Records communicated by Mr. Arthur Tucker of Stockbridge; Tiverton churchwardens' accounts printed by the Rev. H. B. Case; State Paper Calendars.

**B**APTIST Churches were known to exist at London, Lincoln, Coventry, Salisbury, and Tiverton by 1626, but the names of members there were sadly lacking till local antiquarians this century began to explore their archives. Two sets of returns are now available, and we begin with the city of Salisbury.

1630. July 12. At the monthly meeting of this city Ffrancis Clarke presented. forfeited xii<sup>s</sup> to the poore, for evry Sunday xii<sup>d</sup> which is ordered to be levyed.

1630. Dec 13. St Thomas. They presented . . . for the lycke offense and the wyffe of Richard Sloo.

1631. Dec 5. The Churchwardens and Overseers of St Thomas do present Ffrancis Clarke & his wyffe to be Popish Recusants which have not been at their p[ar]ish Church but hath absented themselves for the space of three months last past.

Also they do present Jone Slowe wyffe of Richard

Slowe, Abraham Cade & his wyffe and James Oakeford to be Anabaptists, recusants and that they have byn absent from the p[ar]ish Church is one month last past.

1632 Isaac Sloe an Anabaptist recusant for the lyke Abraham Cade and his wyfe the lyke.

1632 July 2, Sep 3, Oct. 8, Nov 12. 1633 Jan 4 Feb 4 [Same entries as for Dec 5, with the addition of Elizabeth Champion as popish recusant.].

1634 Jan 5. Richard Granger for being absent from the Church on a Sabbath day xijd.

1649 Will Rose, [blank] Taylyor & Isaac Williams was presented on Oathe for absenting themselves from Parish church the last Lord's day being 13th Jany. 1649.

1655 Laurance Tippitt one of ye overseers of Martin's p[ar]ishe.

In one parish alone we find three Anabaptist families, not to be driven to church by steady fining. St. Edmund's has not yielded any results as yet. As to St. Martin's, the fact that Tippitt was in power there may possibly account for no presentment being discovered; for an extract from the Porton Baptist Church book, referred to in our first issue, links him with this movement:—

1656. Lawrence Tippitt of Sarum who was a member with us when we stood related to the Church at North Bradley—who for refusing to sit down with us, and for maintaining of destructive principles—viz That it is sin for Christians to make it their practice to go so far to their Church Meetings as we do—and others of like nature—was exhorted to his duty, but he, refusing to hear the Church, both by the consent of the Church at North Bradley and ourselves met at Stoverd as a Church of Christ upon the 19th day of the 8th month, was withdrawn from as a disorderly member, and by the appointment of the Church, Brother Thomas Long

and Bro John Andrews were sent to declare it to him.

These Salisbury records deserve comparison with similar entries by the churchwardens at Tiverton, published in 1907 by the Rev. H. B. Case, from whose book they are reproduced:

An accompte of moneys levied on the Anabaptists for their absence from Church in the year 1628.

Imprimis at Easter Sessions, the 26th of April.

Charity Berry 4s.

Of Israel Cockram 4s., of John Tucker the same tyme 4s., of John Tucker, the 8th of June, 4s.

Of Israel Cockram and Charity Berry the xxxth of September, 8s.

Of Richard Berry, the xxist of January, for himself and his wife 8s.

Of John Tucker the same daye for himself and his wife 8s.

Of Israel Tappe, for husbände, the same day 4s.

Of James Tappe, the xivth of March, for himself and wife 8s.

Of Richard Berry, the same time, for himself and his wife 8s.

Of John Skibbon, the same tyme 2s.

The sum total of the Anabaptists is £3. 10s.

Paid out for charges at three several times about the Anabaptists, and for fetching the process for Mr. Webber 4s. 4d.

Paid Abraham Boobier for serving of Mr. Webber, of Cove, with process to appear before the Bishop 3d.

Paid John Gollings and John Stooke by Mr. Maior's orders for taking notice of the Anabaptists' absence from Church.

These entries correspond with the signatures to the letter to Amsterdam about 1631, misread by Professor Müller as "James Joppe, and Isabel, his Wife," but

evidently James Toppe and Israel his wife. Mr. Case wished he knew more about John Fort, of Tiverton, Devon, Clothier, who appeared before the High Commission in 1640. The State Papers are even more illuminating than he hoped.

The Toppe family was of some importance in the West Country. John Toppe of Stockton, on the Wylye some ten miles above Salisbury, was High Sheriff of Wiltshire in 1631. A report in May to the Privy Council complained that he was oppressing the clergy. It is evident that there were strained relations at the cathedral city, for the Recorder there, acting on a resolution of the vestry that a certain stained glass window was idolatrous, went and broke it with his staff. Such news would show that the country gentry were against the growing ritualism of Laud and his party, but would not suggest actual separation.

On 7 August, 1639, a petition was presented to Laud by our Anabaptist friend, James Toppe of Tiverton. He had long been a prisoner in Newgate, London, and had often petitioned for release; he now offered bail. The petition was referred to see whether the state of the case at Tiverton would admit of bail, and whether Toppe was willing to take the oath—a matter peculiarly agitated among Anabaptists, as is shown by the correspondence of Salisbury and Tiverton with Amsterdam.

Meanwhile another case occupied the High Commission. On 17 October, 1639, John Fort of Tiverton, clothier, was fined £500 for anabaptism. Such a sum would suggest an extremely wealthy man, for the whole town was only assessed at £130 for ship-money in 1635. But the High Commission was in the habit of naming large sums, and then really settling for much less. So on 6 February, 1640, his counsel was allowed to put in a defence and move on next "mitigation day" for some reduction; and on 22 February it was decided to return the fine. The incident closed rather

ambiguously on 20 July with a certificate of the fine after respite. The interest of the case lies in the curious fact that there was some uncertainty in the name of the defendant. Though it was thrice given as Fort, it is once queried as Topp by the modern editor. This query is quite independent of our knowledge about James Toppe of Tiverton, and suggests some connection of the two men.

James seems to have been released on bail as a result of the report ordered 7 August, 1639, for on 30 January, 1640, it was resolved to attach him if he did not appear before the High Commission by the last day of term—about the end of March. Nothing more is recorded of either case, and the High Commission was abolished soon after the Long Parliament met in November.

Whereas Dr. Evans of Scarborough fifty years ago first tapped the Amsterdam records, and showed us churches at Salisbury and Tiverton, we now have local records from these two places with the names of several "Anabaptists" about 1630. And we have one family which appears to link the two places, and was important enough to attract the attention of the Privy Council and the High Commission.

From this period we can look a generation earlier and a generation later. There was an English colony in Amsterdam before 1600, and in 1881 a monograph was presented to the Royal Academy of Science there, by J. G. de Hoop Scheffer, concerning these "Brownists." Fortunately he appended a list of 118 marriage entries relating to these people, between 1598 and 1617, extracted from the city records. Mr. Crippen of the Congregational Historical Society has been good enough to labour on this list and try to identify many of the places, publishing the results in September, 1905. The entries relating to the West begin on 22 April, 1600, with the marriages of John and William Huntley,

of Bradford, whose mother was still in England, and whose father was named Thomas. There are entries relating to Devon, Somerset, Gloucester, Wilts, and Hants; Wilts. and Somerset being most strongly represented. When we plot down the towns on a map, we are struck with the group—Bradford (four times), Hilperton (twice), Westbury, Warminster, Frome, Selwood, Beckington. This little area, twelve miles by four, was evidently the centre of gravity; and here we have the focus of that West-country church which so long remained nebulous, twenty miles up river from Salisbury, past John Toppe's home.

But this is the district Thomas Collier afterwards made his headquarters, settling at North Bradley and Trowbridge. Though in 1600 the district was only Separatist, it was strongly Baptist when we get clear light on it in Commonwealth times. The advance was probably due to John Smyth's book, taking up the position that Infant Baptism, signing the cross on the forehead of a child, was the Mark of the Beast foretold in the Revelation: that book is known to have circulated widely in the west. Salisbury is on the highroad from Southampton to this group of towns, and Salisbury by 1620 was the home of a Baptist church corresponding with Amsterdam. It was what is afterwards called General Baptist.

All this Wilts and Somerset area was worked over, as the article on the Porton church in our first issue showed; and the Confession of 1656 signed by Collier indicates that there had been a trend towards Calvinism. On the other hand, Wrington appears thrice in the Amsterdam marriage list, and the General Baptist Assembly records show John Amery upholding Baptist principles there two generations later.

There is also one unexpected touch. The Salisbury list of 1631 reports James Oakeford as an Anabaptist. Twenty years later, Daniel Cawdry mentioned Ock-

ford as a Sabbatarian Baptist author. Do the Oakefords and Tippetts of to-day, who not long ago had representatives in our ministry, preserve any evidence or traditions about their ancestors?

The Amsterdam registers show the following emigrants from Salisbury: Charles Thicels marrying on 5 November, 1611, Jane Charter on 14 April, 1612, Edward Amlin the same month, Anna Sanders (widow of Simon Willes) on 31 August, 1613, Charles Shirkley (widower of Merial Huttend) on 14 January 1617; while Ralph Amlin or Hamelyn of Fordingbridge, who married Anna Lyle 29 November 1609, seems to belong to the same group. Yet neither in these nor in any others is any point of contact with the 1631 group to be discerned. There is now, however, plenty of material inviting further enquiry, and pointing out the parishes where the registers may repay search.

**The Quarrell Family** did good work for Wales in the seventeenth century, being closely allied with the evangelization directed by Vavasor Powell. Paul lived at Presteigne in Radnor, and his widow married Powell, dying before 1658. By December of that year Powell had married again, and in making his will left a bequest to Timothy Quarrell. James worked near Salop, and in 1653 joined in repelling slanders on Powell by a book called *Examen et Purgamen Vavasoris*. Palmer thought that he founded the Congregational Church at Shrewsbury in the Commonwealth period; the verifiable fact is that in 1672 he obtained a licence to preach there at the King's Head, but three years earlier he had been at Bolas Magna. Calamy had heard of him at Oswestry, though knowing he was not ejected thence. And the researches of Dr. Shaw do not reveal him as holding any benefice at all, though he may well have been one of the itinerant ministers. A fourth member of the family was Thomas Quarrell, who worked in the Monmouth district. In 1669 he was living at Whitchurch, probably the village close to Llandaff, but possibly one in Monmouth. Thence he and John Powell evangelized a wide circuit, Llanedern, Eglwysilan, Marshfield, Bedwas and Bedwelty being all named. A letter to them and Walter Prosser written by Vavasor Powell in 1670 has been published in facsimile by the Rev. David Davies.



## Bampfield's Plan for an Educated Ministry.

**F**RANCIS BAMPFIELD published his autobiography in 1681. He was of good county family, whose pedigree and arms were drawn out in the Rawlinson manuscript, B73 at the Bodleian Library. The ancient seat of Poltimore, near Exeter, now gives a title to the family. Francis was educated at Wadham College, Oxford, taking a long course of over seven years. He was a Royalist, but had imbibed a dislike to oaths, so was committed to jail at Dorchester for declining to take the oath of allegiance. Here he was won to Baptist principles, and thus formed one of the scanty band of highly-trained Baptist ministers who valued learning. The following extracts from the minutes of the church he founded will show how he strove to impress its value on his new associates. His marriage certificate in volume II., page 263, may be read first.

[“This account was taken” (clearly not verbatim) “out of a former Church-Book,” long since lost, “written with Mr. Francis Bampfield’s own hand, by me Jos: Stennett.”]

This Church of Christ of whose Affairs this Book contains a Record was founded on the 5th day of the first moneth. Vulgarly called March in the year 1675-6 by the Labour and Care of that Eminently Pious Minister of Christ Mr Francis Bampfield.

The persons who then Agreed to Joyn together in Church Comunion according to the Order of the Gospel under the Conduct of the said Mr Francis Bampfield as their Pastor, Laid their Church-State upon y<sup>e</sup> only

Sure Foundation, & agreed to Form & Regulate it by the only Certain Rule & Measure, Expressing the Nature of the Constitution of this Church in the Following Terms,

“ We own the LORD Jesus Christ to be the One  
 “ & Only LORD & Lawgiver to our Souls &  
 “ Consciences. And we own the Holy Scriptures  
 “ of Truth as y<sup>e</sup> One & only Rule of Faith  
 “ Worship & Life, According to which we are  
 “ to Judge of all our Cases.

Accordingly these Principles were Subscribed by the Pastor & Divers Brethren in the Behalf of the Rest. Whose names are as follow.

Francis Bampffield (Pastor)	James Humber
Thomas Pierce	John Belcher Jun.
William Mercer	Andrew Geddes
William Tovey	Samuel Thompson
James Warner	

[In 1677 Bampffield published a book with an extraordinary title, claiming that all useful sciences and profitable arts were taught in one book, the Bible. And he followed it up with other works, whose titles and contents are equally wonderful and abstruse. The important one for education is, “The House of Wisdom,” 1681. His activity was cut short by his arrest, and he died in prison during 1683.

[Into his church, however, had been attracted another pundit, and in 1685 Jehudah Stennett, Philebreus, advertised a Comprehensive Grammar; containing the most material and necessary Rules for the reading and attaining the Hebrew Tongue: whereunto was added, An English Interlineation of Psalm 29, and a grammatical Exercitation thereupon.

[On 14 October, 1686, the church reorganised, spending a day of prayer; Jehudah and Benjamin Stennett were members. Their father, Edward, pastor of the church at Wallingford, was invited to visit them. On

the 25th he administered the Lord's Supper to them, and his son Joseph joined the church. On 6 November Samuel Thompson and Joseph Stennett were asked to write out a record of recent proceedings. On the 28th they produced their record, which was signed, and drew up further minutes, whence it appears that Edward Stennett promised to come and help occasionally: he never was asked to be their pastor, and never was. Then follows this minute:—]

6) The Church, being informed that Mr Bampfield their late Pastor in his Last Will and Testament had given all his Books, both Written & Printed to them, to be employed & Used (as far as might be) to promote a Design of Training up Young Men in Scripture-Learning, spoken of in a book of his Intituled, the House of Wisdom, &c. With this Proviso, that if M<sup>rs</sup> Bampfield his Wife wanted a Competency to maintain her, she Might Sell any or all of those books to Supply her Wants; but if otherwise, y<sup>t</sup> they are wholly left to this Congregation for the Use above-mentioned: They thereupon Appointed Jehudah Stennett, William Mercer, Richard Denton, & Samuel Thompson, to go to M<sup>rs</sup> Bampfield, & to Enquire further of her about the Matter, & to take Care that all Due means be Used to have the aforesaid Will fulfilled.

[After a meeting on 4 December.]

(Vulg.) The 12th Day of the 10th Moneth. A Church-meeting was held, wherein the following Matters past. . . .

3) Jehudah Stennett acquainted the Church, that he (with others appointed for that Purpose) had been with M<sup>rs</sup> Bampfield to Enquire further about Mr Bampfield's Will, that she produc'd it to them, that the Purport of it was as they had been before Inform'd; & that they thought meet to Write to Mr Thomas Bampfield, he being Concern'd in the Will, to afford his Assistance

for the fulfilling of it, as he was therein Desir'd; that he had wrote a Letter to this Purpose, a Copy of which here follows.

London, Decemb 2<sup>d</sup> 1686

Honored Sr,

By the Last Will of your Late Honored Brother, Mr Francis Bampfieid it dos appear, that upon Consideration that M<sup>ris</sup> Bampfieid his Widdow shall be provided for with a Competency During her Natural Life, then that his Study of Books, both Printed and Written shall be a more Publick Use for the Benefit of Young Students; & that the Deceased Mr Bampfieid doth make it his Request, that you, & two more of his friends here in Town Chosen out from among the Rest, would Consult how this Good work might be promoted, as More at Large may be seen in the Will, a Copy of which M<sup>ris</sup> Bampfieid tells me she thinks you have.

The Reasons why this work has not been hitherto gone about I shall not now Trouble you with; Only I presume to acquaint you that the Circumstances of Mr Bampfieid's Freinds are at this Time in better Order than ever since his Death, & now they do intend (God Willing) not to Leave any thing in their Power, Unattempted, to accomplish the Will of their late Honored Friend. And therefore, Sir, upon Conference with M<sup>ris</sup> Bampfieid, and others, we Judge requisite to write to you, Intreating that, if your Occasions serve you not to come to Town, at least y<sup>u</sup> would please to Contribute w<sup>t</sup> assistance you can by Writing, y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> will of y<sup>e</sup> Testator may be accomplished. We defer the making any progress in the matter till we hear from you, w<sup>ch</sup> we wish may be forthwith, for y<sup>e</sup> thing has too long Lain Neglected. This, Sr, w<sup>th</sup> M<sup>ris</sup> Bampfieid's & other Friend's service, is from

Y<sup>r</sup> Humble Serv<sup>t</sup>

JEHUDAH STENNETT.

4) He further inform'd the Church that he had received an Answer to this Letter, which is Inserted at the end of this Book [whence it was lost long since].

5) The Church after having Consider'd Mr Tho: Bampfild's Letter, Agreed to Write to him again, to press him to give his Assistance to Accomplish the Will of his Deceased Brother, & to acquaint him, that they waited only for his Concurrence therein, and that they did think themselves Oblig'd to Endeavour it with Diligence; & Appointed Jehudah Stennett to Draw up a Letter to this purpose.

[Thomas Bampfild had been Recorder of Exeter, member of the Commonwealth Parliament, Speaker of Richard Cromwell's Parliament. He lived at Dunkerton near Bath, & about 1663 blossomed out in extraordinary costume considering himself commissioned to found a new sect. Francis won him to Seventh-Day Baptist principles, & he subsided into quieter life.

[After a meeting on 26 December, the matter of the books came up again on 9 January.]

3) A Letter to Mr. Tho: Bampfild being prepar'd, was read, signed, & ordered to be sent, a Copy of which here follows,

London, Vulg. the 9<sup>th</sup> day of the  
11<sup>th</sup> Moneth.

Honored Sir,

After Reading & Duly Considering the Letter you were pleas'd to send our Brother Stennett, We Judge fitt to make this Reply, that what progress he made in the affair he wrote to you about, was by the Consent & approbation of this Congregation; That the Principal Reason why no more Care has hitherto been taken in that affair, has been because of some Divisions, which are now happily in a Great Measure Composed, & we in a Likely way to answer Mr

Bampfield's Will, than Ever since his Death, if you please, according to his Will, to joyn with us in a Work, not only Laudable in it self, but Reasonable, as it is the Last Request of so Dear & Honourable a Friend. We do therefore Renew our Desires to you to Contribute your Assistance in the matter, For our parts we are Ready to do what we Can, & so far we shall be accepted of God, & acquitted of all Reasonable men. We wait for nothing but to be advised by you, & then we shall, according to the Will, set Time apart, & appoint Persons who may with your Assistance, be considering how to promote this Great & Good Work. This, Sir, with our Hearty Respects to you,

From the Congregation Gathered by Mr Francis Bampfield, deceased,

Signed, in the Name & by the Consent of the Whole, by us

THOMAS DOMINEL  
WILLIAM MASON  
WILLIAM MERCER  
JEHUDAH STENNETT

[After a meeting on 15 January.]

(Vulg.) The 23<sup>d</sup> Day of the 11<sup>th</sup> Moneth.

<sup>2</sup>) John Belcher jun, Damaris Bampfield [widow of Francis], Martha Squibb & [blank] Smith, Persons that had been formerly Joyned to this Congregation, manifested their Desire to walk therein in full Communion as now Reünited; and were accordingly Received.

[The church was not invited to the Assembly of Particular Baptists in September 1689. Meeting on the 29th, it noted with pleasure the steps taken] for the bringing up of Hopeful Young men in Learning Usefull for the Understanding of the Holy Scripture, in Order to their being set apart for the Work of the Ministry (such of them as should be thought

accomplish'd for it) & Defraying the Charge of Ministers Designed to be sent to preach the Gospel in several places of the Nation &c. . . .

This Church Hereupon appointed Thomas Dominel, John Jones & Joseph Stennett to go to the Place of Meeting of the afores<sup>d</sup> Managers appointed by the Late General Assembly, & to acquaint them from this Church, That, Whereas in the Year Last past several of the Elders of divers Baptized Churches in London had Met to consult about the same things in substance w<sup>ch</sup> had lately been resolved upon in the Late General Assembly, those afores<sup>d</sup> Elders did then send a Letter Directed to this Church, desiring them to Assist in so Good a Work, and for that End to Depute some Person or Persons to meet with them in Order to Concert Measures for the Carrying it on; This Church did accordingly Depute Persons who from Time to Time met w<sup>th</sup> them as they had Desired; But the Great Distractions of the Nation occasion'd by the Late Great Revolution through [?] the Descent of the then Prince of Orange into England &c. putting a stop to the afores<sup>d</sup> proceedings; This Church expected upon the Revival of the same Work again, to have been invited to Joyn their assistance again, Especialy when they heard so General an Invitation had been given to so many Baptized Churches in many parts of y<sup>e</sup> Nation.

That, notwithstanding this Invitation has not been given to this Church, they see Good to Testifie their Readiness now again to Joyn in the s<sup>d</sup> Good Work w<sup>ch</sup> the above s<sup>d</sup> Messengers of many Churches had resolved on, & to do w<sup>t</sup> in them lyes for the Promotion of it, if their Assistance may be acceptable.

[On 13 October the deputation reported that the overtures were declined, and that no invitations had been issued to any Seventh-day-Sabbath church.

[On 4 March 1690-1 Joseph Stennett was ordained

as Teaching-Elder by the imposition of hands of John Belcher, Senior, characterised in the negotiations "as a Publique Messenger to all the Sabbath-Churches"; Hanserd Knollys spoke some words of exhortation, and Isaac Lamb preached a sermon. He proved to be a most able pastor, raising the church to great prosperity. On 25 June, 1692, he mooted the question of the library again, shortly after another assembly had been held, at which, however, he had not been present as a member.]

2) The Church . . . being further Inform'd y<sup>t</sup> M<sup>ris</sup> D. Bampfield was Likely to be Necessitated speedily to sell y<sup>e</sup> s<sup>d</sup> books, if not otherwise provided for. And that M<sup>r</sup> Tho: Bampfield was willing, y<sup>t</sup> these books should rather become y<sup>e</sup> propriety of this Church, & of that walking w<sup>th</sup> M<sup>r</sup> John Belcher Sen<sup>r</sup> & y<sup>t</sup> w<sup>th</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Henry Soursby, provided these 3 Sabbath-keeping Churches would allow M<sup>ris</sup> Bampfield a Competent Annuity during her Life, that the s<sup>d</sup> books might be put to y<sup>e</sup> publique use of promoting Scripture Learning amongst y<sup>e</sup> s<sup>d</sup> Churches. And y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> s<sup>d</sup> M<sup>ris</sup> Bampfield approved of this Method very well. This Church approv'd also of y<sup>e</sup> s<sup>d</sup> Expedient, & Appointed Jo: Stennett Ben. Stennett & W<sup>m</sup> Mason to Confer w<sup>th</sup> some principal men of y<sup>e</sup> 2 above-nam'd Churches in y<sup>e</sup> Name of this Church, about y<sup>e</sup> s<sup>d</sup> Matter, & to make y<sup>e</sup> above-s<sup>d</sup> offer to them.

[On 18 December the deputation reported that the other churches were unwilling to accept the proposals.

[In 1692 and 1693 Thomas Bampfield was publishing on the Sabbath question, eliciting three or four rejoinders: in the latter year he died, & his sister-in-law did not long survive him.]

Damaris Bampfield Deceased, y<sup>e</sup> 6<sup>th</sup> day of y<sup>e</sup> 12<sup>th</sup> moneth, 1693 [6 February, 1694.]

At a Church-meeting on y<sup>e</sup> 3<sup>d</sup> day of the week, vulg. the 25<sup>th</sup> day of the 3<sup>d</sup> Moneth, 1697.



1) This Church being inform'd that a Considerable Number of M<sup>r</sup> F. Bampfieid's books were left by M<sup>rs</sup> D. Bampfieid at her decease to be dispos'd of according to her Husband's Will mention'd pag. 7 & 8. of this book for the promoting of Scripture-Learning &c. And Considering that M<sup>r</sup> Fr. Bampfieid their Late Rev<sup>d</sup> [note the phrase] Pastor had for ye aboves<sup>d</sup> End ord<sup>d</sup> in his Last will, y<sup>t</sup> (in case his Wife should be provided for without being necessitated to sell the s<sup>d</sup> books) they should be Comitted to the Care of 2 persons chosen from among & by this Church, together w<sup>th</sup> his Bro: M<sup>r</sup> Tho: Bampfieid, (since Deceased) This Church accordingly chose 2 persons among themselves, viz., Joseph Stennett, and William Mason for the s<sup>d</sup> purpose, & appointed them to demand the said books of M<sup>r</sup> Jos: Davis one of M<sup>rs</sup> Bampfieid's Executors, in whose Custody they were, and to consider how to dispose of them to promote the Good design of Mr. Fr: Bampfieid in his above-mentioned Will.

[After five other meetings.]

At a Church-meeting held on the 5<sup>th</sup> day of the 9<sup>th</sup> Moneth, 1697.

1) Joseph Stennett & William Mason reported that they had demanded M<sup>r</sup> Bampfieid's Books (as ye Church had order'd) of M<sup>r</sup> Joseph Davis; but y<sup>t</sup> he refus'd to deliver them, pretending he had ye right of disposing them to ye end propos'd in M<sup>r</sup> Bampfieid's Will. Whereupon it was thought convenient by the Church to refer this matter to further Consideration when John Belcher who was Joynt Executor with Mr. J. Davis to M<sup>rs</sup> Bampfieid's Will, should be in London, he being now beyond the Sea.

[Belcher senior had died in 1695; Belcher junior had apparently gone to Rhode Island; certainly he never reappeared, and the matter was not revived during the period for which minutes are extant, down

to January 1703. Meantime Stennett had been asked to help at Paul's Alley, Barbican, after the death of Thomas Plant in 1693. Perhaps this facilitated the removal of a Mr. and Mrs. Bampffield to that church on 18 June, 1704. Two months earlier, Stennett had taken a leading part in reviving the London Baptist Association or "Assembly," when it was agreed among other things to educate pious young men for the ministry. Next year the Barbican Church moved, and the Assembly agreed, that Stennett be asked to write a History of Baptism, for which, however, he only made preparation. In 1709 the Barbican Church granted the use of their library to the Society at the Norwich Coffee-house for encouraging the ministry. The value of this library may be guessed from the fact that John Gale was called to the ministry by this church, and that he did what Stennett was aiming at, crossing swords with Dr. Wall about his "History of Infant Baptism." It would be interesting to know whether Bampffield's books were at last placed in this library.

[It does not seem generally known that the pioneer Baptist Academy to educate young men for the ministry was established at Trowbridge in Wilts., by John Davison, who had served the church as early as 1669, and was one of the pastors in 1714 when its minutes begin. as is told by Murch in his history of the Presbyterian and General Baptist Churches in the West. When Davison died in 1721, Thomas Lucas succeeded him as pastor and as tutor of the academy. On 25 September, 1737, the Barbican Church, recognising that London was apathetic as to education, resolved that since a library was being founded at Trowbridge to help the training of young Baptist ministers, their books should be sorted, and suitable ones be sent to Lucas. If any of Bampffield's were available, the West country had a special fitness for them.]

## The Helwys Family.

This article will be better understood if read with the genealogical table open on one side, and a county map of Notts. on the other.

**I**N any account of the religious history of England in the early years of the seventeenth century the name of Thomas Helwys ought to find a place. He was actively associated with those who led the Separatist movement in the counties of Nottingham and Lincoln. He was a chief promoter of the migration to Amsterdam of those who were denied religious liberty at home. He became a Baptist under the influence of John Smith, but took a line of his own and led a little company of intrepid fellow-believers back to the home-land in the winter of 1612-13. Here in the metropolis he planted his church, one of the earliest (if not the very first) of English Baptist Churches. There were English Anabaptists at Norwich at an earlier date but we do not yet know whether they were duly constituted in church order. Thomas Helwys not only preached the doctrines he professed but also wrote and published books in their defence and thus has a special claim upon the interest of English Baptists.

### The Family Name.

The name "Helwys" is in itself distinctive and peculiar. It is rare as a surname and very local in its distribution. I have only noted it as occurring in the counties of York, Nottingham, and Lincoln before the sixteenth century, and from thence it spread to London. Whence was the name derived? It is not a place-name. It is not a trade-name such as Smith or Miller. A writer in the *Baptist Times* suggested that it might be connected with the Middle English term "Halwes," used by Chaucer in the sense of "saints" or "holy ones" and preserved in the phrase "All Hallows," but the early forms of the name are against it. At the time I was rather inclined to connect it with the surname Ellis or Ellys, but I have since been able to trace it to its undoubted source. It is a surname derived not from the father but from the mother. The Christian

name Louis, Lewis, or Aloys at an early date threw out a feminine form in France, "Heloise," and this was brought into England with the Normans. Thus William Mallet the Norman is referred to by Dugdale<sup>1</sup> as having a wife "Hesilia" or "Helewise." Here we see the first stage in the modification which led to the form which we know. Is there any evidence, however, that this form was ever taken up by a man as a designation? Yes, it was used as a descriptive title as early as 1243 when "Richard son of Helewysa"<sup>2</sup> witnessed a charter granting lands to William the Abbot and the convent of Welbeck in Nottinghamshire. Then some years later we find "Willielmus filius Helewysiae filiae Gilberti de Shupton"<sup>3</sup> and others producing an "extent" of certain land which they claimed against John Sampson and Mary his wife in Yorkshire. This was in the 27th year of Edward I. We may take it that the father of William was dead or that he was overshadowed by the more prominent personality of Helewysa his wife. In the course of the next generation the name was frankly adopted as a surname. At Michaelmas in the year 1333 "Oliver son of Ralph Helewys of Brunham"<sup>4</sup> in Lincolnshire makes a grant of land there abutting on land called "Twentiacres." This Oliver Helewys had living in 1348 a son Thomas and daughters Alice and Agnes<sup>5</sup> and probably had another son, Oliver, who was living in 13 Hen. IV., i.e. 1412. In this latter year there was executed a "release<sup>6</sup> by John son and heir of Oliver Helewys of Over Brunham, to John son of Henry de Hesyll of his right, on the death of his father, to a toft abutting on the road from Over Brunham to Kynyrdferly." By this time then the name had become well established, and we are not surprised when we find a member of the Helwys family in the person of John Helwys instituted as *Vicar* of Headon<sup>7</sup> on October 27, 1487. Headon is the next parish to Askham, where we shall soon find the Helwys family firmly seated. Ten years later (15 August, 1497) John Helwys secured the vicarage of East Retford on the presentation of the Archbishop of York. He was a pluralist. On 7 December, 1503, he became *rector* of Headon, a distinct post from that of

1 Quoted by Charlotte M. Yonge in her book on *Christian Names*, 1884, p. 406.

2 Wolley Charter, I. 53, Brit. Mus.

3 *Calendarium Genealogicum*, 1865, II., p. 579.

4 *Calendar of Ancient Deeds in the Record Office*, II., 417.

5 *Ibid.*, B761.

6 *Ibid.*, B752.

7 List of Rectors and Vicars in St. Peter's Church, Headon, Notts.

vicar, and in the year 1506 obtained the rectories of Hayton and Ordsall, both close to Retford. He was evidently a man of standing. Let us hope that he saw his numerous charges faithfully served by competent curates.

In this same year of 1506 also "John Helwys, clerk, and John Hanley" made a claim for certain lands in "Scaftworth" and "two fishings in Idell."<sup>8</sup> In Catholic times inland fishings were valuable. This John Helwys died on 28th December, 1511, and was buried in the church of East Retford where an incised slab formerly marked his grave. The name was now well known in the Bassetlaw hundred of Nottinghamshire, and it is to this locality we must look for the family from which Thomas Helwys sprang. The name is variously spelled. The forms Helwis, Hellwis, and Helwisse seem to preserve the sharp sound of the *i* in Heloise from which it was derived. As members of the family moved southward, the southerners, always more shakly with their aspirates than men of the north, softened the name to Elwis and Elwes, in which form it is still borne by several families of distinction.

### Thomas Helwys the Baptist.

The fact that more than one branch of this family has won a place for itself among the landed aristocracy will account for the attention that has been bestowed upon its pedigree. In the Heralds "Visitations" of the County of Notts<sup>9</sup> a pedigree is given but with many mistakes and omissions. More elaborate genealogical tables are to be found in the local histories of Hertfordshire following out some branches of the family in great detail, and in Maddison's *Lincolnshire Pedigrees* (p. 329) the descent of the Lincolnshire branch of the family is fully set out. But none of these go further back than William Helwys of Askham, variously given as "Helwish al's Elwis," "Helwis vel Helwich," and "Elwes." As all researchers know, the early "visitations" need constant checking. We are able to carry the family story one stage further back and to add a few fresh details which may serve as starting points for other investigators. The task of tracing a land-holding family with such a distinctive name is far easier than determining the family connections of a Smith or a Robinson. As a result of my researches I soon found that the Thomas Helwys who accompanied John Smith to Holland was the grandson, and not the son, of William Helwys

<sup>8</sup> Thoroton's Notts., p. 425.

<sup>9</sup> Edited for the Harleian Society by G. W. Marshall, 1871, p. 29.

of Askham, as had been previously conjectured,<sup>10</sup> and from a personal examination of the Bilborough parish register I satisfied myself that he was the Thomas Helwys of Broxtowe who married Joan Ashmore on December 3, 1595, at Bilborough, in which parish Broxtowe is included. These results were made public in a lecture at Ilkeston on the "Pilgrim Fathers" on 21 December, 1908, the anniversary of their landing on "Plymouth Rock," and were briefly reported in the local press and the *Christian Life*.

It is true that William Helwys of Askham had a son Thomas who settled at Hebblethorpe close to John Robinson's old home, but he was dead by the spring of 1607. It is also the case that this Thomas had a son of the same name, so there was plenty of room for confusion. We shall refer to these two Thomas Helwyses again.

In my little work on John Smith and Thomas Helwys it was pointed out that the family comes into clear view with "Robert Elwes" of Askham who made his will on March 11th, 1525-6. It was proved on April 26th, 1526. The bequest in this will of "iijs iiijd" "to the churche warke of Ordesaull" is of interest in view of the fact that John Helwys had been rector of that parish. Helwys mentions his wife "Isabell" and his son William, but no other children. He makes them executors, and is concerned for their future as this bequest indicates:

"Itm. I gif to the receyvar of Scroby my best ox for his good counsell and lawfull love to be don to my wif and to William my son at all tymes comyng."

The "Receiver of Scrooby" acted as steward of the estates in this district belonging to the Archbishop of York. This office was held later in the century by William Brewster, father of the elder of the Pilgrim Church at Leyden. "Robert Elwes" made his main bequest as follows:

"Itm. I gif my take and firme the which I have in Askhm . . . to my wif and to William my son and if my wife lif sole and unmarried." If Isabel married again William was to have "all the said take and firme during my termes to hym and his assignes." There was no question in his mind about the customary form of baptism. He had stood as godfather to several children to everyone of whom he left "a mette barlie," i.e. a measure of barley. I take it that Robert was in the prime of life when he died and that his wife was with child at the time, for "William Ellwes" in *his* will mentions a brother

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<sup>10</sup> In the article by A. C. Bickley in the "Dictionary of National Biography" on Thomas Helwys.

John to whom no reference is made in the will of "Robert Elwes" the father. "William Elwes" prospered at Askham, and when he drew up his will October 5, 1557, he had a good estate to dispose of. The printed pedigrees represent him as having married a daughter of one Levesey or Leuesley, and it has been assumed that she was of the Lancashire "Liveseys," and was the "Rosimond Elwes" buried at Askham December 30, 1556. I think Canon Maddison is more likely to be right in connecting her with West Markham in Notts, close to Askham. William must have consoled himself almost at once by taking to wife a widow, Margaret Gabitus, who already had a family of her own. He probably felt the need in his declining health of some capable woman to preside over his household.

### William Helwys of Askham.

Let us look at the will of "William Ellwes." He describes himself as "farmer" and desires "to be buried within the parish church of St. Nycholas of Askam." He made the following bequests:

"To Margaret my wife the p'sonaige of Askam duryng the terme of my lease." "Unto my sonne John Ellwes my capital messuage of Houghton lounde" and the lease of the Manor of Askam withall the lande &c" . . . "my leases and all my farmes at Everton and Scrobye." "To Isabell my daughter a hundrethe pounds in money or goods to be paid at the day of her marriage at the hande of my son John Elwes."

To his sons "Jeffray Ellwes" and "Thomas Ellwes" a hundred pounds apiece. "Also my sonne Edmonde who had of me a hundred mark I wyll that he shall have xxxiiijl xiijs. iiijd. more which maketh up an hundredth pounds."

"My brother John Ellwes of Carberton shall have my foure oxen whiche he hath in his draught and one of the two kye whiche he hathe ther of mynde." . . . "I will that he have that farm which I bought of Mr. Castledyne the balye of Work-sopp during his lyfe naturall." John Ellwes was appointed executor as Edmund had gone off to London to make his way in the world. Among the witnesses to this will were Thomas Bellamy, Lawrence Smythe, and "Sir" John Blythe, curate of Grove. The parish register of Askham records the burial of "William Elwes" on October 17, 1557. The daughter Isabel mentioned above I take to have married William Bett or Bate of North Leverton, who, in his will proved October 7, 1586, speaks of her as "Isabell my well beloved wyffe," and appoints Edmund, John, and Thomas Elwes as supervisors of his will.

The next will to engage our attention is that of "Margaret Helyis" of Tuxford in the county of Notts., widow, drawn up on March 22, 1558-9, and proved April 20, 1559. I hesitatingly assume she was the widow of "William Ellwes," and that her brief married connection with the Helwys family had not been favourably regarded and led to her retirement to Tuxford a few miles to the south. Beyond the name which she legally bore she makes no mention of the Helwys family in her will. It is her sons "frauncis Gabytas" and "Robert Gabytas" for whom she is concerned and beyond bequests of her "blacke frok" and "read kirtill" there is little of interest to detain us.

All the sons of William Helwys did well in the world. Edmund, after a time in London, retired to the country and obtained a lease of Broxtowe Hall. John stayed on for a while at Askham, where his eldest son was christened in 1561, as follows: "Jervies Helwes filius Joh[ann]is Helwes baptizatus fuit primo die Septembris."

This Gervase Helwys came to a tragic end, as readers of his life by Sidney Lee in the Dictionary of National Biography well know. He was sent to Cambridge in 1573, studied law at Lincoln's Inn, was installed as Lieutenant of the Tower May 6, 1613, and executed November 25, 1615. He had acquired land in Notts., and Lincoln, and was mentioned (Jervas Elwaies, Knight) as a principal owner of Saundby in the year 1612. In Saundby Church he put up a beautiful alabaster altar tomb to the memory of his father. On the occasion of my visit to Saundby I copied the inscription:

"Here lieth buried the bodye of John helwys esq<sup>r</sup> sometye lord of this mannor and mary his wife, the daughter of Robert Blagden of Thames ditton in the cou[n]tye of Surrey esq: who left behind the[m] two childe[n], Gervase and margrett  
7<sup>mo</sup> Decembris Anno dni: 1599.

pietas hoc fecit, non fastus; vt qui non vulgari amoris affectu, me vivi educarunt iisdem honore[m] quem debui supremum mortuis praestare[m].

sic mihi contigat vivere sicq<sup>e</sup> mori. G.H."

Gervase Helwys evidently treasured the memory of his parents and of all that they had done for him in his boyhood.

### Thomas Helwys, senior, of Hablesthorpe.

The third son of William Helwys of Askham was Thomas, who settled at a little place which can boast of a charming variety of spelling from Habelsrop to Applesthorpe. It is now known



as Hablesthorpe and is joined with the parish of North Leverton. It supplied a prebend in York Minster<sup>11</sup> the incumbent having to preach there in his due course. Its church of St. Peter has long since disappeared. It was probably a small building similar to those at Littleborough and Cottam; which adjoin this township. I have visited the old site and the graveyard. Here Thomas Helwys would certainly come into close touch with the family of Robinsons to which John Robinson, the pastor of the Pilgrim Fathers, belonged, and he would enjoy the society of his brother-in-law and sister, Thomas and Isabel Bate, in the next parish.

There was some difficulty in tracing the will of this Thomas Elwes. Hablesthorpe being a prebend in the Minster, the wills were proved and registered in the Dean and Chapter's Peculiar Court at York. In fact here you have three adjoining parishes: Sturton, North Leverton, and Hablesthorpe, and each had to prove their wills in different courts. The will of "Thomas Elwaies of Habelsthorp in the Countie of Nott<sup>m</sup> gent." was dated November 8, 1591. We may take it that his wife's surname was Slater.

"Itm. I give that my sonne Thomas Elwes or Thomas Slater or by what other name the law will call him for that he was born out of wedlocke (although I married his mother afterwards) shall have all my landes to him and his heirs lawfullie of his bodie bygotten." He bequeathed him one hundred pounds and made the following provision:

"The supervisors of this my will shall have the profit and receive the rentes of all my Landes and Tenements for five yeares after my death and to bring up my sonne in reasonable sort at the Inns of Court and to be accountable to him at the five yeares end at their discretions."

There are bequests to his daughters: "Bridgett Elwes ['Bridgett Slater' (interlined)]" and "Barbarey Elwes" the latter of whom he made executrix. She was the favourite. "Unto my daughter Barbarey Elwes CC<sup>l</sup> more than her sister." He made his "brother John Elwes and nephew Jarvis Elwes his son" guardians of his daughters. Happily this Thomas Elwes lived to see his daughters grown up and married, for his will was not proved till March 27, 1607. Bridget married Edward Ashton and Barbara

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<sup>11</sup> The incumbent of "Apesthorpe" in the order arranged by Archbp. Grindal had to preach at the Minster on the 4th Sunday after Epiphany and on the 23rd Sunday after Trinity. There was a fine of 13s. 4d. if he failed, unless fourteen days' notice were given, and then 10s. was exacted for a supply, or, if there was no preaching, for the poor. Vid. "The Statutes of the Catholic Church of York," 1900, pp. 87-9.

married Robert Throckmorton or Throgmorton. The Christian name has not been supplied hitherto in the printed pedigrees. This linked the Helwys family to other puritan households.

The fourth son of William Elwes of Askham was Geoffrey, baptized at Askham in 1541. He went to London, became a merchant tailor, and amassed a large fortune, and became sheriff of London in 1607. He married, February 19, 1570-71, Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of Robert Gabot of Shrewsbury and London, and had a large family. He made his will on April 8, 1616, added codicils on April 10 and 12, concerning benefactions to the preachers at "Paules Crosse" and to St. John's College and the University of Oxford. His will was proved on April 17.

### **The Hamerton Family.**

The question arises whether William Helwys of Askham had a second daughter besides the Isabel mentioned in his will. The "Visitations" indicate that a daughter unnamed married a Hamerton of Lincolnshire. Now the will of Thomas Bate or Bett, 1585, has this bequest: "Itm. I give to my sister Margret Elwes one old angell" and the will of Geoffrey Helwys, 1616, has the following: "I bequeath to my brother Mr. Nicholas Hamerton . . . a mourneinge Cloke." Then in the will of "Edmund Helwis als Elwis of Broxtoe," 1590, there is the clause, "I give unto my good sister Hammerton an angle" [i.e. a "gold angel"]. And in the will of Elizabeth, widow of Geoffrey Helwys, dated 1621, we have a bequest of five pounds to Nicholas Hamerton "to make him a ringe." The Hamertons were from the Horncastle district. There was some connection between Hugh Bromehead, who accompanied John Smith to Amsterdam and became a Baptist with him, and the Hamerton family. If William Helwys had a daughter Margaret this would show the link between the Helwys and Hamerton families. But the case would be more simply met if we suppose Isabel to have married Nicholas Hamerton after the early death of her husband Wm. Bate, and that the wife of either Edmund or his brother Thomas was called Margaret.

### **Edmund Helwys of Broxtowe.**

I have gone into the matter in sufficient detail to show the widespread family connections of Thomas Helwys, the anabaptist author. We must now look a little more closely at his immediate line of descent. We do not know the family name or even the Christian name of his mother. The name of his father is often wrongly given as Edward. For the remarkable religious preamble to his Will and for some account of the patriotic tract in

exposition of Revelation, Chapter xii., probably issued by him. I may refer the reader to my book on John Smith and Thomas Helwys.<sup>12</sup>

The printed pedigrees of this section of the Helwys family are meagre and uncertain. We must wait for further research among the wills, deeds, and parish registers of Notts., Lincoln, London, and Northampton before the gaps can be satisfactorily filled. Meanwhile the will of "Edmund Helwis" affords a good starting point for our investigation. This document is dated September 24, 1590. It was drawn up in the testator's own handwriting. We gather from it that the mother of Thomas Helwys was by this time dead, for Edmund Helwys bequeaths to his daughter "Annie Hellwis" such "apparel as was her mother's" as well as her mother's "wedding ringe." He also left her the "use sevrall to herselfe and her freinds and her servantes of the chamber over the dyninge parlour at Broxtoe Hall wth all the furniture therein and also a bedd rome in the chamber over the buttrie." She was to be allowed to walk or ride over "annie of the ground belonginge to Broxtoe at her pleasure," and she was to inherit her father's interest in a "close of pasture lyinge in Stanton in the countie of Darbie called portmore." The next to be mentioned by Edmund Helwys in his will was his son "Henrie Elwis," who is given in one of the pedigrees<sup>13</sup> as the eldest son and as dying without issue. I imagine he entered the church, but this is uncertain. He had received "ccl and odd" for which his father had taken his bond but this money was not to be called in. Then comes a reference to Thomas Bate:

"Itm. I give unto Thomas Bate my nephew x<sup>l</sup> to be paid when he shall accomplyshe the age of xx yeares and in the meantime to have xx<sup>s</sup> a yeare paid unto him by my executors towards the buyinge of Bokes for him if he be kept to the schole or els not, and the first paiment to beginne of the said xx<sup>s</sup> when he hath learned his grammar and is p'fect therein."

Here was an incentive to the young lad to press on in his studies. But who was this Thomas Bate? Surely none other than the son of William Bate of North Leverton, who married Isabel Helwys, and made his brother-in-law Edmund one of the supervisors of his will. The "visitations" give a daughter

12 John Smith the Sebaptist, Thomas Helwys, &c., chapter vii. James Clarke & Co., London.

13 Vincent's Collections for Notts., &c., in the College of Arms, quoted in "Miscellanea Genealogica et Heraldica, London, 1866," vol. i., p. 70. A "Henry Helwis" entered Gray's Inn in the year 1600. See Harl MS., 1912, fo. 39. Was not this the fifth son of Geoffrey Helwys, of London, who was named Henry?

"Margaret" to Edmund Helwys, and represent her as marrying a William "Batty" or "Batte," but I think they must be mistaken. They further assign to him a daughter Agnes, married to one Kniveton, of whom also this will makes no mention. The name is unusual. We at once think of the George Kniveton, apothecary of Newgate Market, who was chosen as lay-elder in the Separatist Church of Francis Johnson in 1592. Any connection? Edmund gives the residue of his estate to "Thomas Helwis," whom he makes sole executor "if he shall survive me if not then I give all the same unto my daughter Anne Helwis making her my sole executrix." Edmund Helwys nominated "Thomas Stanhope Knyghte," and "Mr Edward Stanhope of nottingham" as supervisors of his will together with "my brother John Helwis and my brother Jeffraie unto eyther of whom I give an old Angle hoping that the smallnes of my gifte shall not lessen their good wills."

In the next month, after preparing his will, Edmund Helwys died. He was buried on October 24, 1590. He had left precise instructions for his burial as follows:

"My bodie I wold have buried in the church of Bilburrowe eyther in the chancell or before the pue dore and a grave stone laid thereupon with my firste coate of armes sett theruppon in brasse."

There passed to his last rest in the next year one who probably influenced Thomas Helwys in his youth. I refer to John Hall, the incumbent of Bilborough. The entry of burial in the register describes him as "pastor hujus ecclesiae." A memorial was set up to Edmund Helwys; this was broken up in 1833, and the inscription from it was fixed on the chancel wall. The mason was given some commemorative Latin verses to inscribe. But not knowing the language he ran the lines together regardless of the metre, and filled up his space as best he could, the last four words being cramped in at the bottom in a smaller letter than the rest. The stone is cracked and difficult to decipher. The inscription has been read as follows, extending the contractions:

Edmunde exiguo residens helvise sepulchro  
 Extremum doceas corporis omnis iter,  
 Nata simul dilecta tibi vi mortis iniquae  
 Rapta sub hoc tumulo cum genitore jacet.  
 Scilicet hic morti[s] mos est mortisque triumphus  
 Grandævus teneris tollere saepe simul,  
 Aetas flos serus non rumpunt vincula mortis  
 Nata paterque cadunt, tempore nata prior.

A shield of arms<sup>14</sup> surmounts the inscription.

Thomas Helwys was now left in a responsible position. His uncles would see that his education was satisfactorily completed, and he was entered as a student at Gray's Inn on January 29, in 1592-3.<sup>15</sup> Returning to Broxtowe he soon found a wife in the person of Joan Ashmore, possibly of the Ashmore family, seated at Little Eaton, a few miles over the country boundary in Derbyshire. The rector of Bilborough cum Broxtowe was now Thomas Lowe, a man of puritan leanings. He probably conducted the ceremony which took place on December 3, 1595. At the end of the first register book of Bilborough is "a true terrier," setting out the bounds of the rectorial lands of Broxtowe in the year 1595, and signed by Thomas Helwys himself and the rector with a few other inhabitants.

Thomas Helwys and his wife now settled down to domestic duties at Broxtowe. Next autumn a son was born to them. The entry in the register runs:

Johannes filius Thomas Helwys }  
baptizatus fuit 5 die Septembris } 1596.<sup>16</sup>

Other children were born to them as the years passed on.

Then came the stirring period in the life of Helwys and his wife when they were drawn into the religious movement which issued in a Separation from the Church of England, and flight for refuge from persecution at home to the hospitable shores of Holland. I have given the details of this period with some fulness elsewhere, and these have been supplemented by Mr. Champlin Burrage in his recent work on the *Early English Dissenters*, so there is no need to go over the ground again. We should like to know more of the doings and sayings of Thomas Helwys after his return to London and settlement at Spitalfields. At present we have to part from him and his brave wife with a glimpse given in the will of his uncle Geoffrey, dated April 8, 1616.

"Itm. I give to Johane Elwes widdowe lat wīfe of Thomas Elwes deceased tenne poundes."<sup>17</sup>

The death of Thomas Helwys, then, was recent, and we shall

14 The arms of the Helwys family are described as follows: "Or; a Fess azure, debruised by a Bend gules." The motto is "A Deo non fortuna." The crest consists of "Five arrows, one in pale and four in saltire, points in base or, armed and flighted argent, entwined by a serpent proper." I think it was Edmund Helwys who secured the setting out of the "arms" for the family. It was a fashion of the time. The application of John Shakspeare, of Stratford, for a grant of arms in 1596, possibly at the suggestion of his famous son, is a case in point.

15 Foster's Gray's Inn Register, 1889, p. 81.

16 By an unfortunate misprint this date is given as 1595 in my book on Smith and Helwys, p. 115. I cited the case to show that Thomas Helwys had no objection at first to baptism or christening "in the ordinary way"; a keen-eyed reviewer pointed out that 1596 would be quite early enough for this event "in the ordinary way." Will friends please correct this in their copies?

17 "Miscellanea Genealogica et Heraldica."

not be far wrong in assigning it to the year 1615. Geoffrey Helwys made bequests of £15 for the good of the poor prisoners in each of "the two Compters" and £10 apiece for the like purpose to Bridewell and for relieving "the poore prisoners of Ludgate." I wonder whether he was moved to this generous and Christian action by any imprisonment of his nephew and John Murton. We must note one more item in this will:

"I bequeath a mourneinge Cloke to my nephew Thomas Elwes."

Who was this? This was the cousin of our Thomas Helwys. This was the son of Thomas Helwys of Leverton and Hables-thorpe, now grown to manhood. He too had entered Gray's Inn as a young man in accordance with the wish that his father had expressed for him in his will.<sup>18</sup> This identity of name and educational career should make the researcher doubly careful in tracing the family connection. Rare as the name Helwis was, I actually came across a contemporary Joan Helwis in one of the more obscure branches of the family in Nottinghamshire. On November 20, 1612, administration of the goods of "Richard Elwes als Elvis lately of Dunham was granted to Joanne Elwes als Elvis," widow, relict of the said Richard.<sup>19</sup> This shows how easily confusion might arise. But the main lines of the family are now clearly marked out. It now remains for some researcher, with more time and means at his disposal than an ordinary pastor can afford, to complete the picture by tracing the wills of Thomas and Joan Helwys, and thus giving us authentic news of their dwelling place and family and time of their decease.

We may conclude with an extract from the will of Elizabeth, widow of Geoffrey Helwys of London (which was drawn up in 1625 and proved November 26, 1625), showing that the memory of the old home in Nottinghamshire had been kept green in the household of the prosperous London merchant:

"Itm. I give and bequeath for and towards a perpetuall reliefe of some poore schollers or other poore inhabitants for the time beinge of the parrish of Astham [Askham] in the county of Nottingham where my late husband was borne the some of five hundred pounds of lawfull money of England."

This was to be laid out in lands or tenements "wth the advise and consent of some of the cheife of the inhabitants of the said parrish" and put in trust in "the names of some

<sup>18</sup> Thomas Elwes, of Leverton, Notts., late of Staple Inn, Gent., admitted to Gray's Inn, 23 Nov., 1597. Foster's Register, p. 92.

<sup>19</sup> Act Book of Southwell Peculiar in Notts. Probate Registry *sub dato*.

feoffees" the profits to be "employed and bestowed for a perpetuall maintenance or releife of some poore schollers or other poore inhabitants of the said parrish." The rents now go to support the "Hospital"<sup>20</sup> or "Spital" of Askham which now shelters three poor widows of the parish; the former building, which stood at the side of the hilly village street, accommodated six. The religious movement into which Thomas Helwys threw himself so whole-heartedly and in which he was gallantly supported by his wife did not make a very great impression upon the life of the county of Notts.; but I think it left more traces behind than Joseph Hunter, who identified Scrooby as the cradle of the Pilgrim Fathers' Church, was inclined to allow. The General Baptist Churches at Gamston and Retford were founded early enough to enshrine some memories of the work of Helwys, Smith, and Robinson. Curiously enough the former of those two churches is linked on with the story of the New Connexion of General Baptists through the baptism there of Dan Taylor by its pastor. Both of them were within easy reach of the former seat of the Helwys family at Askham. It is likely that they embodied some part of the dissenting interest of the district which, as we know, had definite expression in 1669 in conventicles or private meetings for worship in the locality. The church at Gamston<sup>21</sup> may be the successor of the conventicle at Headoncum-Upton. The conventiclors of "Schrooby" [Scrooby], Ordsall, South Leverton, "Clareborowe" [Clarborough], and Everton would find Retford a convenient centre when toleration was secured in 1689. The movement started by Smith, Helwys, Robinson, and Richard Clifton in all likelihood left some lingering traces and probably influenced both the Independent and the Baptist churches of Lincolnshire and Nottinghamshire in the next generation.

Broxtowe passed out of the hands of Thomas Helwys before the summer of 1610. The lease either lapsed or was granted by Helwys for a money consideration to others to supply his needs in Holland and further the printing of his books. The Calendar of State Papers notes that a lease of the manors of Broxtowe in Notts. and Mapperley in Derbyshire was granted on June 11, 1610, to Andrew Wilson and Lancaster Gibbon. Broxtowe Hall has been altered in many points but some of the original work remains. It should ever be a place of interest to those who are stirred by the story of the struggle for religious liberty in England, and especially to those of the Baptist household of faith.

Plymouth, April 2, 1912.

WALTER H. BURGESS.

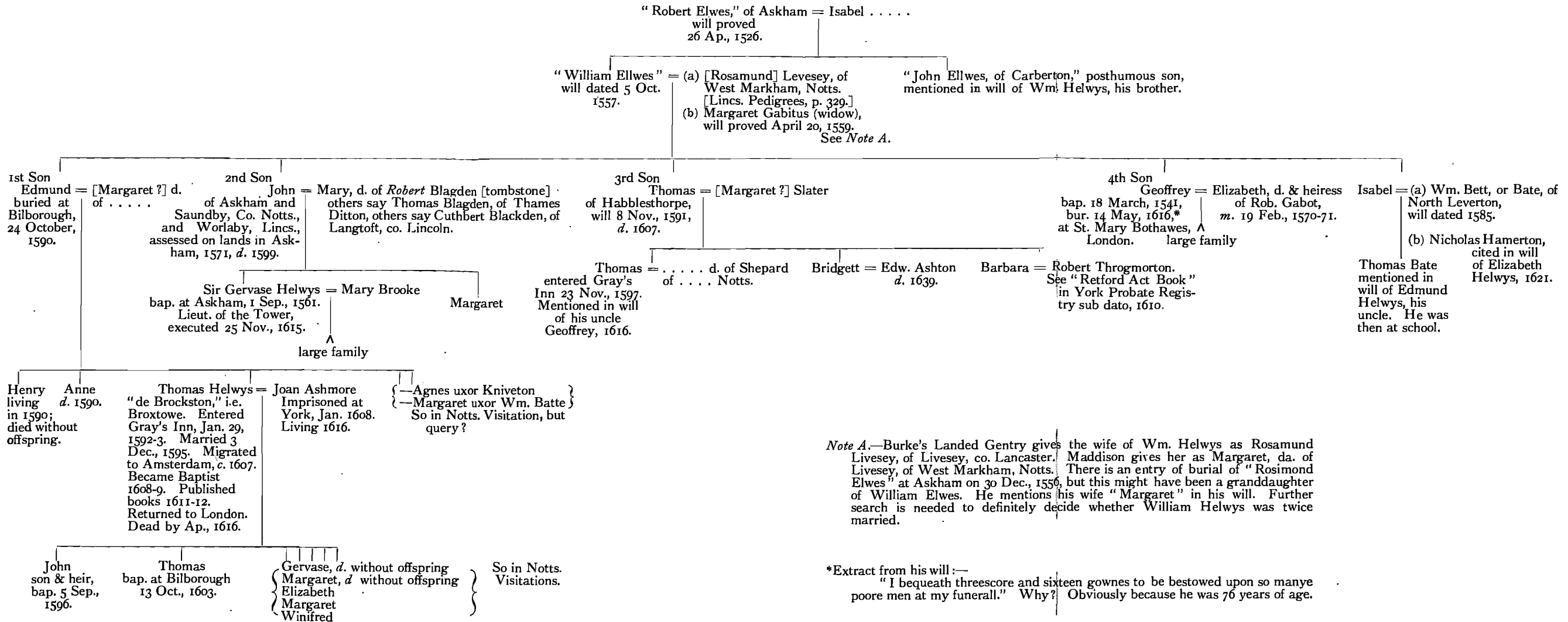
<sup>20</sup> There was a bequest in the will of Robert Helwys, 1525, of a sum for "the beldyng of Askham Spital"; so I read it, but I should like my reading confirmed. It may refer to the Askham Steeple.

*CORRECTION.*

Mr. S. S. Pursglove, of Bilborough, points out that the date when the Helwys altar tomb in Bilborough Church was broken up was 1888. The date 1833 is an error derived from a mistake in a paper on Bilborough published by the Thoroton Society.  
—W.H.B.



# HELWYS, OF ASKHAM AND BROXTOWE.



Note A.—Burke's Landed Gentry gives the wife of Wm. Helwys as Rosamund Livesey, of Livesey, co. Lancaster. Maddison gives her as Margaret, da. of Livesey, of West Markham, Notts. There is an entry of burial of "Rosimond Elwes" at Askham on 30 Dec., 1556, but this might have been a granddaughter of William Elwes. He mentions his wife "Margaret" in his will. Further search is needed to definitely decide whether William Helwys was twice married.

\*Extract from his will:—  
"I bequeath threescore and sixteen gownes to be bestowed upon so manye poore men at my funerall." Why? Obviously because he was 76 years of age.

## The Revival of Immersion in Holland and England.

**T**HIS subject has been much discussed among Baptists since Barclay of Reigate published in 1876 his "Inner Life of the Religious Societies of the Commonwealth," and traced it back from England in 1641 to Holland, thence to Poland, and ultimately to Switzerland, in 1525. He named as his authority Professor J. G. de Hoop Scheffer; but curiously enough scarcely any writer in English seems to have followed up this line of inquiry. A storm of incredulity on the topic raged in America, but although the late Professor Whitsitt in 1896 drew attention to a monograph by de Hoop Scheffer, published as far back as 1883, it does not seem that this has been presented to English readers. In some quarters it has been confounded with an earlier monograph by the same author, dealing with the Brownists of Amsterdam, and therefore it is well to quote the exact title: *Overzicht der Geschiedenis van den Doop bij Onderdompeling*. In 52 pages it deals with the whole history of Immersion, from the days of the apostles, with abundant references and quotations in Greek, Latin, German, French, Italian, and English. It may be worth while to lay some of his facts before our readers.

The novelty of immersion at Zurich in 1527 is attested by the savage decree of the Senate: *Aquis mergere qui merserit baptismo eum, qui prius emerserat*. Twenty years later the Socinians of Vicenza and Venice fled to Switzerland and became acquainted with the practice. Thence they went to Poland, Faustus Socinus himself arriving by 1551. Now in Russia the practice of immersion had been continuous, as indeed it is till the present day; and this influence had kept the Poles and the Letts equally conservative, so that Christians of every denomination were immersing infants. The Italians raised the question whether any should be baptized except believers, and this was discussed in two or three

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synods. Stanislaus Farnesius at last took a decided stand for the immersion of believers only, and in 1574 the *Catechesis et Confessio*, published at Krakau, the first manifesto of the Socinians, declared *Baptismus est hominis Evangelis credentis, et pœnitentiam agentis, in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti, vel in nomine Jesu Christi, in aquam immersio et emersio &c.* Henceforward the Socinians in Poland, Lithuania, Pomerania, and Silesia adopted the practice. Silesia, we interpose, is to be noted particularly, because references to it in the story of English Baptists have been usually inquired into in connection with Schwenckfeld, and so have yielded no result.

A generation earlier, a Belgian was in this part of the world, and a descendant of his, Jan Evertszoon Geesteran, was born at Alkmaar in 1586, becoming pastor of the Dutch Reformed Church there in 1610. After the synod of Dort pronounced for high Calvinism, he was ejected, and came to the little village of Rijnsburg, on the Rhine, two miles below Leijden, where the Remonstrants were rather strong. A congregation had been formed at this village under the patronage of the brothers Van der Kodde, one of whom had been ejected from the Hebrew chair at Leijden. To these people, still plastic, he introduced the practice of the immersion of believers, and he himself was the first in Holland to revive the ordinance and submit to it in his own person, during the year 1620. It attracted some attention, for Geesteran was a man of mark, and was even invited by the Poles to become rector of the university at Rakow. He did not stay long at Rijnsburg, but organised similar societies in other towns, of which Amsterdam is the only one we need notice. The bond of union in any of these was very informal, and immersion never became obligatory; but it did become common, and abundant details are available.

At this point we take leave of Scheffer, and offer the result of investigation in other quarters.

At Leijden there lived in 1619 Jan Batten, who was a prominent member of the nascent community at Rijnsburg before Geesteran came. This we learn from a Remonstrant minister whose services he did not care for, Paschier de Fijne, author of an account of those early days to which all opponents of the movement were indebted.

Jan Batten moved to Amsterdam, a fact attested by IJpeij, in his *History of the Christian Church during the Eighteenth Century*, volume 9, page 189, a fact apparently unknown to English-speaking students of this whole incident, but one which leads to a far better comprehension of subsequent events. It is

to be noted that Batten is not known to have continued with the Rijnsburg circle long, and when he moved to Amsterdam he does not seem to have worshipped with the parallel Collegiant congregation there; Van Slee finds nothing about him in the Collegiant archives there.

In Amsterdam there was a Brownist Church, formed in London during 1592, whose headquarters had soon been shifted here. About 1623 John Canne became its pastor when it was in very low water, and in ten years it was flourishing again. He kept up a close connection with England, printed English books, and even began writing, so that he was a notable figure among the dissenters at Amsterdam. It is very probable that Jan Batten and John Canne became acquainted, for when, at Easter 1641, Canne was in Bristol, he was "a BAPTIZED man," according to Mr. Terrill in the Broadmead Records. He laid stress on immersion, and the distinction between it and affusion is discussed by Terrill in this connection. Observe that Canne's baptism by 1641 has never yet been accounted for, and the other fact that for several years he had been living in the same town with Jan Batten goes a long way to explain it.

The influence of Canne may perhaps be traced in this district by Wynell's Covenants Plea for Infants, published September 1642. The spread at Painswick and Gloucester he seems to connect with Thomas Lamb, who had also been at Norwich in February. But he asks, at page 57, What mark is there left upon your flesh, since you were washed in Severne, though you were duck'd over head and eares?

Now Canne was in touch with London, and in 1630 had been urging the church of John Lathorp to renew its covenant in a certain way, as may be read in these "Transactions," I., 225. Ten years later this same church had multiplied under Henry Jessey, and the question of immersion was raised. How did the idea occur? There are two obvious channels.

About 1595 Cyril Lucar, a Cretan, who had studied at Venice and Padua, then at Geneva, settled to work in Poland and Lithuania, where he, himself accustomed to the immersion of infants, must have known of the Unitarian practice of immersion of believers. He was chosen patriarch of Alexandria in 1602, and set to work to reform the Greek Church on Calvinistic lines. With this end in view, he sent many young Greeks to the Swiss, Dutch, and English universities. We have already suggested in volume I., page 230, that Emanuel Lucar of London in 1613, with his sons, Emanuel, Ciprian, and Mark, was related to him. Mark, in 1633, was a member of this church, and on 11 January,

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1641-2, was immersed. As all the Greeks sent by Cyril, down to his death in 1637, were familiar with immersion, and recognised nothing else as baptism, the question may well have been mooted by Mark Lucar in this circle.

But it may also have come to their notice through Canne, who was well-known to them, and was keen on the point by April 1641. That he was involved in the matter is probable, because they sent Richard Blunt with letters of commendation to Holland, and he found his way to Batten's church; and it is emphasized in this connection by the latest historian of the Collegiants, Van Slee, that this church was at Amsterdam. Who else than Canne is so likely to have directed them? Kiffin did not begin his Dutch connection till after this time. It may be asked why they sent to Holland at all, when Canne was here in England; and as this difficulty arises on any theory at all, it claims a reply. Canne was an open-communion Baptist, and the very point exercising these people would lead them to look further in hopes of finding those who inclined to a more clear-cut position, for they speedily showed themselves rigidly Close-communion.

What was Batten's exact theological position, we are not in a position to say. On one point we may be sure, he was not a Calvinist, for the troubles of 1619 had arisen on the Five Points of Calvinism. And it is obvious that in another respect the Londoners who sent to him would be rather disappointed, the continuity of immersion. In Holland a perfectly new start had been made in 1620, when Geesteran was baptised by some one unknown, who presumably was not himself baptised, for it was expressly noted that this was the first case, and there is no mention of any but Dutchmen there.

This question of succession did trouble many minds then, and was discussed by Francis Bampfield in his extraordinary book, *Shem Acher*, 1681. The discussion was extracted by Benjamin Stinton about 1711 and was numbered 18 in his *Collection of historical matters*. Here Crosby saw it and used it to some extent, as is noted in our volume II., pages 85, 86. Bampfield was told by two members of the earliest London Baptist church, that their first administrator [Richard Blunt] was one who baptized himself, or else he and another [Samuel Blaiklock] baptized one another. This latter was the case with many of the baptizings in London, and has been paralleled more than once elsewhere.

Disregarding any claim of candidates and administrators, we note that the idea of immersion seems to have come to nearly all parties from the Greek New Testament, where the Greek word has no such meaning as "pour" or "sprinkle." There was

intercourse between them, but no succession, along the line of Richard Blunt, John Canne, Jan Batten, Jan Geesteran, the Polish Socinians, the Swiss Anabaptists. In this line the Collegiants, strictly speaking, do not appear.

These differences of theology may remind us of another Londoner, more likely to agree with the Collegiants in belief and practices. Edward Barber was a merchant tailor, connected with the community descended from John Smyth and settled in 1612 at Spitalfields, where he was ministering to it in 1640. This church was distinctly anti-Calvinist, and two years later Barber was opposing Kiffin. Up to this time there was nothing to show that these General Baptists had thought about the question of immersion, but once it was raised in the Calvinist circle, and discussed for several months, it could hardly escape notice in the older church. So two months after Blunt baptized the two groups from the churches of Jessey and Barbon, Edward Barber published the first pamphlet in England on the subject, arguing for Dipping. Within a few years most who had pleaded for the baptism of believers, added the further plea, that it be Immersion.

Those who desire to follow minutely the discussions and variations in England down to 1700, will find the principal facts set forth by Mr. Champlin Burrage in a pamphlet published first in the January number of the American Journal of Theology, since this article was written. It is a pleasure to find independent corroboration on some points, though Mr. Burrage does not observe that it was quite gratuitous on the part of Barclay and Dexter to introduce Rijsburg or the Collegiants into the English story; all the evidence points to Amsterdam.

W. T. WHITLEY.

Here lyeth the Body of Francis Smith [in Bunhill Fields], Book-seller [at the sign of the Elephant and Castle, near Temple Bar], who in his youth was settled in a separate Congregation [being licensed in 1672 both for Cornhill and for Croydon], where he sustained, between the Years of 1659, and 1688, great Persecution by Imprisonments, Exile, and large Fines laid on Ministers and Meeting Houses, and for printing and promoting Petitions for calling of a Parliament, with several Things against Popery, and after near 40 Imprisonments, he was fined 500l for printing and selling the Speech of a Noble Peer, and Three Times Suffered Corporeal Punishment. For the said Fine, he was 5 years Prisoner in the King's Bench: His hard Duress there, utterly impaired his Health. He dyed House-keeper in the Custom-House, December the 22nd, 1691.

## Haddenham and Two Peter Tylers.

**H**ADDENHAM is probably the oldest Baptist Church in the "historic county of Bucks.," dating from 1653, at least. There are two or three others who may possibly be as old—Aylesbury, and Stony Stratford, and Winslow, which appear by 1654 and 1656. But the affiliation of Haddenham has always been with the Calvinistic or Particular Baptists, while these others were of the General wing, which was strong in the Midlands.

It makes its first appearance in 1653, a time when Baptists everywhere were organising, not only into churches, but also into associations. Eight miles south-west is the village of Tetsworth, which, for a few years, was chosen as the meeting-place of messengers from several Particular Baptist Churches; though, as there is no sign of a church being there, some local squire may perhaps have entertained the gathering. It was on 17 March that the Haddenham representatives came as the only Baptists from Bucks.; from Berkshire, members of Abingdon, Wantage, and Reading; from Oxfordshire, members of Oxford, Pyrton, Watlington, and Henley; from Surrey, Kingston; from Hertfordshire, Kensworth and Hemel Hempstead; from Bedford, Eversholt. We know John Pendarves, of Abingdon, and Edward Harrison, of Kensworth, and may judge them to be the leaders in forming this far-flung association, whose early minutes are now printed in Mr. Salt's "Gleanings from Forgotten Fields."

The church was apparently weakened by the Friends, for Thomas Ellwood, who lived with his father at Crowell, ten miles away, refers, in his autobiography, to attending Quaker meetings at Haddenham. The church soon ceased to send messengers to the Association, and in 1669 the rector reported that the conventicles meeting in his parish were of Quakers and Anabaptists, of the middle and meaner sort. They assembled at the houses of Widow Rose, midwife, and Philip Wilmot, shoemaker, being ministered to by Wilmot himself, and by Edward and Robert Cox, glovers. Thus the forlorn little cause held on, until, in 1689, when the Assembly met in London, Haddenham was represented, Peter Tyler being the messenger.

Next year the churches were encouraged to revive the

Associations, and it is rather singular to see the grouping proposed. The Oxford and Berkshire churches linked with those up-river, except that Pyrton and Studley joined with Tring. Hempstead, Kensworth, Eversholt, and Harlow. Here we should have expected Haddenham, but on paper it seems to have held aloof, uniting with Steventon only. Happily, better counsels prevailed, and on Christmas Day there was a gathering near Kensworth, to which Haddenham sent Robert Cox and John Dagnall, with the following letter:

"To the Messengers of the respective Churches appointed to meet in Market Street, the 25th day of the 10th month, the Church at Haddenham sendeth greetings. Dear Brethren, We are very willing to accept of the invitation to join with you in the Association, to partake of the privileges of the same, for we are but small in number and weak in gifts; yet through grace we are kept together in the wayes of the Lord, and generally desire to grow in grace and in our knowledge of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, and to this end we desire your prayer to God for us. Signed by Peter Tyler, Giles Wilmot, John and Richard Collett."

Tyler and Cox must have been ageing, and they had evidently not resigned themselves to be small and weak, as is to be seen from the following resolution of the General Baptist Church of Cuddington, on 10 September, 1690:

"In respect of brother Coker's case, it is looked upon to be irregular and disorderly in him without the authority of the Church to promise and engage himself to Haddenham people in manner as hath been by him lately practised. If Haddenham people please, and will appoint time, place, and persons for the same, we will come to a reasoning with them thereupon, as well as upon other matters relating thereunto, and supply of meetings. And it is ordered that brother Headach give them notice hereof."

There is nothing to show how the church fared in the lack of gifted brethren, but towards the end of 1701 Mrs. Joseph Delafield, who lived at Bishopstone, desired to join the church, and was dissuaded on the ground that there were "present errors and disorders" in it. Next year trouble of another sort overtook the church, when the place of worship was burned down, with several other parts of the village. Another place was erected through the aid of Mr. Joseph Collett, a Baptist minister of Coate, and Joseph came over again, to bury alongside it the body of Edward Hoare, pastor of the church at Prince's Risborough, who died 18 December, 1711, in the 36th year of his age.



It was not pleasant to depend on a friend at a distance, and probably Joseph pointed out a solution, for there was an Edward Hoare, junior, who, with his brother Thomas, and John Bejent, were not at ease in the General Baptist Church. In a year or two Hoare was established as pastor at Haddenham, and in 1717 Bejent joined him, so that there were now two good preachers. Under them things went so smoothly that nothing is recorded, but in time they passed away, and once more they invoked the aid of Joseph Collett. It is interesting to see the family successions, and the story is now told by a second Peter Tyler.

"The church at Haddenham being small and without a pastor, Mr. Collett used his influence with them to have their little place properly invested in the hands of trustees, which was done in 1734. The two principal and most active trustees were Mr. John Rose and my great grandfather, Mr. John Tyler, both of Haddenham. They used to entertain alternately the different ministers who were so kind as to visit them with the gospel of Christ."

The Record Office copy of this indenture gives a list of all the trustees. "A certain deed poll dated the 7th October, 1734. hereinafter recited of the one part; and George West of Haddenham aforesaid, grocer; Augustus Line of Aston Abbotts, in the said county of Bucks., grazier; William Duncombe the younger of Dinton, grazier; William Dover of Cuddington, farmer; Thomas Fowler of Kingsey, farmer; Richard Tyler of Haddenham, wheelwright (brother of the said Peter Tyler and John Tyler, parties hereto); Thomas Franklin of Haddenham, wheelwright; John Plaistow of Haddenham, farmer; John Howlett of Scotsgrove Hill, grazier; James Clarke of Haddenham, draper; and John Munday of Haddenham, mason." A further list of names in this indenture must have included a large proportion of the responsible Baptists in the locality: "Between John Dagnall of Haddenham, fellmonger, of the one part; and Joseph Collett of Coate in the county of Oxford, gentleman; Bobert Dorsett of Haddenham [shoemaker]; John Rose yeoman of Haddenham; the said Peter Tyler, the surviving trustee aforesaid; Thomas Milner of Haddenham, labourer; John Keen of Hadham, Oxford, farmer; John Cox of Thame, glover; and Peter Ludgate of Dinton, carpenter." To John Dagnall was duly paid five shillings by Joseph Collett and the others, and finally, "the said house when so erected shall be used as a meeting-house for religious worship by the Protestant Dissenters called Particular Baptists (that is to say, such as have been baptised upon a profession of faith in Christ Jesus, and holding the doctrines of particular and personal election

and final perseverance) that now are or shall hereafter be residing or inhabiting in or near Haddenham, according to and as long as the laws of this realm shall permit and suffer the same."

Of all the local people, only Dorsett and Keene are known as preachers, but they were acceptable in other places also, and are heard of at Leighton Buzzard and at Amersham. The worship was touched with the fire kindled by Isaac Watts, and Mr. Peter Tyler continues: "In 1756, Jubilee singing after the sermon was introduced, but my venerable relative and another or two of the old members used to withdraw, under the impression that the New Testament did not plainly require it."

As that generation died out, no others rose up to fill the place. When Josiah Thompson took a census of the dissenting causes in 1773, he heard that this meeting-house was in ruins. There is a local custom of using an unbaked earth for walls, and consequently, when attention ceases to be given, the Haddenham buildings readily crumble away. The interior of the meeting-house was plundered, and for a generation the whole was in decay.

In 1807 the only surviving granddaughter of John Tyler, above mentioned, committed a sum of money into the hands of one of her nephews, in hope that the day would come when the breaches should be repaired. Two years later, says Peter Tyler, "a new place, forty feet by twenty-seven, was opened by our much lamented fathers, A. Fuller and J. Sutcliff [of Olney], accompanied by Mr. F. A. Cox," of Mare Street, Hackney. A Particular Baptist Church was formed, consisting of more than eighty members, under the pastoral care of Mr. Tyler. Before the new chapel was ready, meetings were held in an old cottage,—the Croft. The rowdy element of the village often interrupted, a discarded sheep being once hung at the door while the worshippers were within. As some precaution, a large spike, whence to suspend a lantern, was added, to be seen till a few years ago. The Record Office document tells us that Peter and John Tyler on New Year's Day, 1809, and 3 March completed the new inditure, and the cause started on its second lease of life.

On 24 September, 1811, the second anniversary was held, when Mr. Tomlin of Chesham (Hinton), Mr. Clement of New Mill, Tring, and Mr. Seymour of Akeman Street, Tring, preached. Messrs. Paul, Hewlet, Bedford, and Collett engaged in the services of the day, the whole of which were highly interesting. These names show a friendship between different denominations unknown before, and another instance was given that year, when the enlarged meeting-house at Speen, Bucks., was re-opened, and Peter Tyler shared in the service with two Congregationalists.

In the neighbouring village of Aston Sandford, the rector; from 1800 till his death in 1821, was Thomas Scott, the commentator, an earnest evangelical preacher, to whose hamlet of seventy souls people came from miles around to hear the gospel. Tyler "never hesitated to avow that the ministry of Mr. Scott, whom he had heard nearly a thousand times, met with his warmest admiration and approval, and afforded him much advantage in the formation of his public character." Scott, at first, hardly recognised the promise in Tyler's work, and once remarked: "In a neighbouring village there are prayer-meetings, at which some of my congregation attend and assist; but I take no part in respect of them." A few years' experience gave him a deeper insight, and on his deathbed he said, "If my successor does not preach the gospel, go and hear Peter Tyler." The successor was a man of a different stamp, and a good part of the congregation left the church at Aston Sandford to attend the Baptist Chapel at Haddenham. They had a communion service of their own on the third Sunday in the month, and were known as the "Third Sunday People." Many of them were substantial farmers, driving from a distance, and they gave an air of respectability to the congregation, while Peter Tyler was able enough to turn this position to account. This is but one illustration of how, throughout his long ministry, he was a potent factor in the religious life of all the surrounding district.

He soon became secretary of the Bucks. Baptist Association, and on one occasion was energetic enough to bring to an annual missionary meeting two members of Parliament, Wilberforce and Butterworth, besides Sheppard of Frome, Ivimey, and Cox. The spirit of enterprise spread into many little churches; Aston Abbots sent four guineas, Haddenham £7 5s. 4d., Waddeston Hill £6 13s. 6d., Wingrave £4 19s. 5½d. At the beginning of his work there were twelve Particular Baptist Churches in the county, with 1,056 members; after a quarter of a century there were twenty, with 1,799 members, and Sunday schools well developed. More than that, his church reported "that a commodious British School Room has been erected in our populous village during the past year, and bids fair to be a lasting blessing."

The encomium of the little church on Peter Tyler, in 1851, may well sum up his life work: "Our pastor, we are happy to say, after forty-one years' standing, has not lost his energy nor his popularity. To God be all the praise for the good done by his agency!"

G. LOOSLEY.

## Early Days at Eythorne.

There! See our roof, its gilt moulding and groining  
Under those spider-webs lying!  
So we o'ershroud stars and roses,  
Cherub and trophy and garland.  
Yet all the while a misgiving will linger,  
Truth's golden o'er us although we refuse it.

**B**ROWNING felt that the truth was often more beautiful than the web of traditions that men weave over it, hiding its real outlines. The actual story of Eythorne Baptists is most interesting; but it is needful to brush away first a few cobwebs that conceal it. This has been made possible by the courtesy of members of the church, notably Mr. John Harvey of Sandwich. From 1725 onwards there are two books which give the doings fully, one an account-book, the other a minute-book. But for the earlier period, of which the church has no contemporary records, recourse has been had to the municipal records of Sandwich, to the parish registers of Eythorne and Barfrestone, to local tombstones, to many ecclesiastical returns from various rectors, mostly at Lambeth, to certificates, licences, and other documents at the Record Office, and to similar evidence from the period, including the General Baptist Minutes of Assembly, published two years ago. And here special thanks are due to the present Rector of Eythorne.

Eythorne is a village in the Kentish Downs, six miles inland from Dover or Sandwich, ten from Canterbury. The population now is under 450, and in Stuart times could hardly be half as great. The adjoining parish of Barfrestone does not contain a hundred people.

First for a cobweb, quite complete and beautiful in itself, but having nothing to do with Eythorne. Joan Knell of Colchester got into trouble with the ecclesiastical authorities in the sixteenth century; she crossed to Calais, then an English possession, and married a butcher called Baron; she got into further trouble here for her religious views, and crossed the Straits again to Kent. Here, for a third time, she drew down the authorities, and the account of her trial, and her Hofmannite opinions as to the relation our Lord bore to the Virgin Mary, are well known, as also the story of how the Protestant bishops of Edward VI. sent her to the stake. But her description by her husband's occupation,

as Joan Boucher, has often obscured her identity. She was of Colchester, and had no connection with Eythorne.

Next, as to the Dutch immigrations and the foreign Anabaptist element in the district. From the days of the Emperor Charles V., there were constant waves of refugees to Kent and East Anglia. These were largely composed of Anabaptists, and although the Lutherans and Calvinists were welcomed, the Anabaptists were not, as there was a general fear of their rebellion in order to set up a millennial kingdom. The Dutch congregation at Sandwich was an important corporation under Jacob Buser; the Walloons, with their Flemish minister, had St. Peter's church granted them in 1558. But all the aliens were kept to themselves, and not allowed to intermix with the burgesses; the accounts of 1573 show that two-thirds of the expense to entertain the queen were collected from them. So numerous did they become that Orders in Council directed future immigrants to be sent inland. Thus French weavers were settled at Canterbury in 1567, where the crypt of the Cathedral was given them for their looms, and where their worship was permitted, persisting even to the present day. In the same year some Dutch linen workers were taken to Maidstone. In 1606 a colony of French weavers came to Smarden, Cranbrook, and Hawkhurst. Now, in all these cases, the English deliberately kept the immigrants apart and subordinate; and often not till the third generation, with adoption of English speech and intermarriage, were the descendants admitted on an equality. The influence of their religion on the English must have been rare, at least for two generations. And whereas in many parishes such names as Bachelor, Beacham, Merial, Perrin, tell of French immigration; or Busher, Frome, Brand, Norden, Rutter, Walker, reveal Dutch; yet it is to be noted that Eythorne parish registers have none but plain, homely English names. Dutch Anabaptists there were at Sandwich in 1572, but the fact of their being expelled promptly shows the popular aversion, and there is no ground for supposing that any ever settled at Eythorne.

Next, as to the supposition of John Giles, Pastor there in 1800, that there was some reason to believe there was some kind of church estate here in 1624—a very modest guess, very different from more elaborated theories. Although we have vastly more material for research than he knew of, absolutely nothing supports his supposition. The foreign elements at Sandwich and at Canterbury seem to have exerted no influence at this little hamlet, and they themselves had been rigorously purged of any Anabaptist leaven. When Laud became archbishop, he tried to withdraw

the French privileges at his city, as obsolete. From the foreign side nothing can be traced in early days.

But there was now a native English spirit of inquiry, and research in the civil records shows that at Sandwich, Ash, Egerton, Sutton Valence, there were occasional irregular conventicles from 1618 onwards. There is, however, no contact with Eythorne; not a single name of any one accused is to be found in the parish records, which are quite full for a tiny community of fewer than a hundred adults. The first sign of any Baptists here is in 1655, as an apparent consequence of the great propaganda that began seven or eight years earlier.

The village was so insignificant that the county histories have nothing to say as to events there. The rector felt justified in accepting the deanery of Canterbury, and living there in 1634, for which Laud properly rebuked him. There was, however, a mansion—Eythorne Court—acquired by a family of long standing at West Studdall, and inhabited by a younger branch. In 1570 Thomas Harvey, of the Court, brought a child to be christened, and again in 1574 and 1575. Robert Harvey succeeded him in 1580, and within two years brought a daughter to be christened. Other entries of the same kind show a large family of Birches. In 1608 William Knott brought his son John to be christened; in 1619 a daughter Elizabeth; in 1622 a daughter Katherine; in 1626 a son William. By 1642 Henry Knott came to the front, and in thirteen years he brought five children to be christened at the parish church; by 1653 William junior was married, and bringing his own children for christening. Similar entries occur for other families quite continuously.

The Nominated Parliament in 1653 ordered births to be recorded by a new civil officer, the Parish Register, and gave no orders about christenings. It must not be supposed that the registration of these always ceased, though it was no longer compulsory. On 15 July, 1655, the rector here registered in the familiar fashion that he christened Henry, son of Henry Knott. But thereafter all christenings of Harveys, Philpots, Knotts, and Birches cease for about thirty years. The obvious inference is that at this time these families became Baptist.

The process can only be guessed. In 1653 a Baptist church at Canterbury, under Richard Beacham and Thomas Jarman, had sent an address to Cromwell; and a correspondence with Fentanton next year shows nine more male members. Henry Denne was sent to the city to aid them, and when we recollect the propagandist zeal of this family, we are not surprised that within seven years there were Baptists all along the coast from Sandwich to

Hythe, and that this little village, half-way between, had been leavened.

Positive evidence begins with 1662-3, when Archbishop Sancroft began to make systematic inquiry as to the state of his diocese. In the Tanner manuscripts in the Bodleian Library may be read a report on the district, including the item that James Robins and James Henry were Baptist leaders at Eythorne. It is to be regretted that local tradition knows nothing of these men, the real mainstays in the early days, in the opinion of the new rector. We may surmise that the squire occasionally welcomed his fellow-believers to worship at the Court, but knowledge from the inside is still lacking. In February, 1664, the State Papers show James Henry reported a second time.

Five years later, in view of a permanent Act to suppress conventicles, Sheldon renewed his inquiries, and the results are in the Tenison MS. 639 at Lambeth. The following extracts are interesting. In the city of Canterbury, John Knott was a principal supporter of a Presbyterian meeting, served by three nonconforming clergy; John was a local tradesman. There was a Baptist meeting in St. Mary's parish, Northgate, whose worshippers were not numerous, and were mean in quality; Alexander Fritton was the leader. Baptists abounded at Sandwich; but at Eythorne and Barfrestone no dissenters were reported. At Dover, Laurence Knott was one of the chief Baptists, and three gentlemen at Guston upheld the same cause. Preston, near Wingham, was another centre, where James Henry was the leader, and was therefore excommunicated; he is evidently the man previously working at Eythorne. The question is, how far can we trust the report that now there was no Baptist meeting in the village. It is probably too lenient; in a little place like that, the rector would not care to quarrel with the squire; and if he was non-resident, like his predecessor, he could profess with a good grace, to be ignorant of petty details.

Yet when Baptists were invited, in 1672, to come forward and profit by the king's Declaration of Indulgence, while many local licenses were sought and obtained, Eythorne was passive. In the district the following people declared themselves. At Boughton Monchelsea, four miles west of Canterbury, Thomas Hooker's home accommodated a Baptist congregation, led by Henry Snoath. In the city, Matthew Sanders looked after the little cause still meeting in the parish of St. Mary, Northgate—disguised by a careless clerk as "Norgame." At Wingham, Thomas Atwell registered his house for worship; at Deal, Joan Coleman did the same; and at Dover, Samuel Taverner, while Richard Hobbs

declared himself the preacher. But Sandwich and Eythorn did nothing.

One reason for this inaction comes out in 1676, when the archbishop again sent for returns. This time he asked for numbers, not names, desiring to know about all the people over sixteen years of age in every parish throughout his province, whether they came to the parish church, or were papists, or were Protestant dissenters. A few figures will be instructive. In the city, St. Mary, Northgate, had 1,050 Conformists and 800 Nonconformists, being far the most recalcitrant parish. Sandwich town had 1,336 Conformists and 315 Nonconformists, again a hotbed of dissent. Preston, by Wingham, showed 144 and 25, Wingham itself 300 and 20, Guston 60 and 21, Dover 1,950 and 301. The officials noted that the extraordinary numbers in Canterbury, Sandwich, and Dover were due chiefly to Walloons; and it is with some amusement that we see the signature to this statement—Thomas Boucher. Now, from Eythorne the numbers were 77 Conformists, 12 Dissenters. The report is so minute that there cannot be any grave error; and we learn first how microscopic was the whole community, and secondly, that there was, after all the flourish of 1669, one-eighth part of the population defiant. We may safely claim this faithful dozen as Baptist, for no other form of dissent was known here. And three years later the incumbent of Guston acknowledged that things were worse than he had shown; only three families came to church, the rest were all Baptists or Quakers.

Steady pressure was applied, but the earliest result at Eythorne was not till 1683, when Thomas and Sarah Knott brought their son Thomas to be christened, and next year another son John. This shows that constant persecution will avail, as it often has done.

It must be to this period that the legend belongs, telling how one John Knott, a blacksmith, was sought by the constables, and had to take refuge in a saw-pit, where he was nearly discovered by the prattle of an innocent child. The story rings true enough, though the details of genealogy are demonstrably false.

In 1701 there was published a penny pamphlet, "A Serious Address to the Anabaptists; being a Letter from a Minister to some of his Parishioners of that Perswasion." It was replied to at once publicly by David George and Thomas Ranger, to whom the minister had to reply again. These two names distinctly suggest Eythorne, and as a new rector, ffoster, had been inducted in 1698, it seems a case of a new broom sweeping clean. There are numerous references to Kent and Sussex, with Dover, Folke-



stone, Hithe, and Ashford mentioned particularly, but of course there is nothing to throw light on the inner proceedings of the Baptist church. Foster was followed in 1709 by Henry Cason as rector.

The church belonged to the older stratum of Baptists, which had held central meetings since 1651. The Kentish churches were meeting regularly in 1657, as may be seen in the Tunbridge Wells minute-book, now at the British Museum, Additional Manuscript, 36,709. Hitherto Eythorne does not seem to have sent delegates to either gathering, but when in 1704 there was a very large gathering of the General Baptists in London, at a momentary reconciliation after a long doctrinal quarrel, Eythorne church sent two representatives, Knott as Elder, and John Birch as representative. It is unfortunate that we cannot be sure of the Elder's first name; he would seem to have been an old man, for when the Kentish Association met in 1708, only Daniel Beacham attended on behalf of Eythorne, and at the London assemblies of the next two years, John Birch and David Rutter also came. There was some wavering whether Birch were Elder or only representative; but the name Knott is altogether absent. Another man attending a little later is William Tucker. These names Beacham and Rutter are the first signs of any but pure English. They do not seem to have lived in the parish, and Beacham was a Canterbury family.

The rector, Henry Cason, wrote to Archbishop Tenison about this time—his letter, Gibson MS., xiii. 931, folio 119, at Lambeth, has no date of year—that he was gaining ground on the Anabaptists, and had recently won and “baptised” one of their number. Because of a general danger this way, two Messengers were appointed to watch over all the churches in East Kent, Samuel Ongley and Searles Jarman, of Canterbury. But disaster was about to overtake the Eythorne church.

In 1717, at the Association meeting, James Knott appeared as the Elder. Next year, on 11 October, his son Thomas was taken to the parish church of Barfrestone and christened. For eight years longer he managed to retain his position, attending the Assembly in 1721 along with John Birch. But in 1725 we learn of a crisis. A meeting was called at Wingham, when not only did twenty-eight male members attend, but three local Elders, Edward Morris of Hythe, John Hobbs of Dover, Stephen Lacy of Deal; and even more distant and renowned dignitaries, Searles Jarman, the Messenger, Thomas Bengene of Sevenoaks, Robert Mercer of Warbleton, Messenger Wood of Lewes, a missionary returned from Virginia, and Messenger Drinkwater of

Chichester. At this meeting, James Knott was rejected both as pastor and as minister, and as member, for "immorality," not specified.

This is the first entry in a book procured this year for the Eythorne congregation. It is quite possible that there were earlier books, and that James Knott kept them; at any rate, such books are no longer known. And curiously enough, the existence of this book is hardly known at Eythorne now; for the same year the church divided into three, Eythorne, Wingham, and Thanet, with a fourth added afterwards at Stelling; and by degrees the book was limited to the doings of the Thanet section, dealing more and more fully with Ramsgate, till the dissolution of that church in 1884. Another new book about the same time registers several births in the congregation, and this remains in the custody of the Eythorne section. So from this time onwards there are ample materials for telling the story from within.

Thomas Harvey, at the Court, was very old, and the scandal seems to have alienated John Harvey, who now began sending his children to be christened. James Knott professed repentance, and after the Messenger had been consulted, he was restored in 1732, at the same meeting that divided the church. As John Birch attached himself to Thanet, Knott had special charge of Eythorne. Yet within five weeks another child of his was christened at Barfrestone! Two months later, Thomas Knott, son of John and Susanna, quitted the community, and was christened as an adult at the parish church. Four days later, James, the adult son of James the Elder, copied his example, and on the same day James the Elder, with his wife, Sarah, took his infant son Henry to be christened. This defection was a terrible blow to the Baptist church, and the proceedings were so painful that several leaves were afterwards cut out from the minutes. We find that the principal members of the Birch and Harvey families conformed within the next few years, and the sister Ramsgate church bewailed the destitution at Eythorne.

There was, however, a John Knott who appeared for the first time in 1730. Two years later he was not important enough to be one of the eight auditors of Hatton's accounts; and even in 1737, when a subscription was being raised, he could afford only half-a-crown. The expenses, certainly, were not serious, consisting largely of a rent of fifteen shillings yearly to Brother Birch, for the "mitenhous." By 1745 the church had raised three brethren old enough to be put on trial for the ministry: a Knott, a Birch, and a Harvey; when the test came, in the presence of Elder Chilton from Ramsgate, only John Knott was approved;

and it gives an idea of the size of the church that on such an important occasion only six men signed, and three more made their marks, including John Knott. This was apparently the father, for a later entry of 1754 distinguishes John Knott senior of Barfrestone, and John Knott junior, the minister. Tradition tells that the father was a blacksmith, and there is nothing to forbid.



EYTHORNE.—THE OLD COTTAGE AND THE FIRST MEETING-HOUSE.

*Block lent by the Church, through R. F. Watford, secretary.*

Chilton had brought about a revival, and with a local preacher on the spot, the good work grew. The entries of 1754 show a subscription for a new meeting-house of their own, adjoining Birch's cottage, distinct from the outstation at Sandwich. Squire Thomas Harvey, at the Court, led off with twenty shillings, the minister put down four, as did some others; John Knott senior could afford only three. Joshua Birch leased a scrap of land, 24 by 15, in trust, and on 30 April, in the 29th year of George II., the new house was registered at Canterbury Quarter Sessions by John Knott and Stephen Philpott, the Messenger. Such an area hardly gave room for many graves, and for years after this time, many interments took place at the parish church.

John Knott junior brought the church into Association life again, attending in 1755 at Tunbridge Wells. Next year he was chosen Elder, and on 18 Septembr, 1758, was ordained by Messengers. By the end of next year his father was dead, and

he dropped the "junior" which had always figured in his signature. With 1759 he went to the Assembly, where Eythorne had so long been forgotten, and attended often for the next eleven years, while at home yet a third John Knott was growing to enter the succession.

A wave of evangelical religion had been rising for a generation, and though many of the Kentish Baptist churches were very languid, and very uncertain in their doctrinal views, a young man from the Midlands, newly settled at the old church of Bessels Green, precipitated a revival and a secession. In 1770, Stanger of Bessels Green, with Knott of Eythorne, and Fenn of Deal, quitted the ancient Assembly, and soon formed part of a Southern Association in the New Connexion of General Baptists. This Association soon collapsed, and Eythorne was left for a while the only live church in East Kent, isolated from all its former associates. It rose to the occasion, enlarged its meeting-house, called forth young John Knott to the ministry in 1771, with a Birch and a Harvey as deacons to witness, and entered on a career of enterprise. New deacons were soon chosen, services were started again at Sandwich, young John Knott was spared to become Pastor at Chatham, and three more young men were called out to the ministry. The death of Elder John Knott in 1780 did not check the flow. A collection was taken for his son to build a meeting-house at Chatham, and by 1785, there were thirty-two subscribers to a fund which enabled them to call Thomas Ranger as Pastor, and to build another meeting-house at a cost of £128 os. 9d. This date was crucial as marking the emergence from being isolated, into fellowship with the Particular Baptists. The old General Baptists were deserted in 1770, the Southern Association of the New Connexion had ceased to meet, and the church judged it wise to unite with the only evangelical Baptists within reach, neglecting the old Calvinistic differences. So Thomas Purdy of Rye, and Jonathan Purchis of Margate, came to ordain Ranger, not as "Elder," but as "Pastor." The term Pastor was not in common use among the old General Baptists, who called their chief local officer an Elder. Pastor is a term used rather among the Particular Baptists. A Minister, among both sections, was merely a local preacher.

The new ministry was not quite successful, and Ranger went to Bedford, receiving a dismissal thither in 1794, after a year's consideration. But the important step was not retraced, and he had added many converts. John Giles, a member of the Particular Baptist church at Carter Lane, Southwark, came to preach in 1792, and was ordained Pastor a year later. One place after

another was opened as a preaching station, collections were taken up to help other churches, and at headquarters it became needful to build yet again. The subscription list of 1802 shows 156 members, so splendidly had the cause prospered. And when, two years later, a new building was opened on a spacious new site, to which had been transferred the few tombstones, no less a personage than the great Dr. Rippon came to open the premises.

The little barque of history has been steered out past rocks and shoals to the open sea; all afterwards is plain sailing. Those who read the voluminous diary of good old Giles, or the printed booklet, will find a fine record of a sturdy and progressive country church. The old General Baptist churches at Deal, Dover, and Canterbury are dead or negligible; but Eythorne has planted new Baptist churches at these places. It has evangelised the district, and even now it is facing the new problems that arise with the imminent coming of a great coal-mining population to the rural district.

Of late years, a story long current in print has encouraged the carving of a tablet to the memory of the Four John Knotts, supposed to be all Pastors from 1600 to 1780, grandfather, father, son, and grandson. It is therefore necessary to say that this pedigree has not been proved, and is highly dubious; while it is certain that not more than two John Knotts were Elders, and it is possible that only one was. The first John who became prominent was apparently the one who was christened in the parish church with the consent of his father Thomas, in 1684. Before his time was not John, but James Knott, who conformed in 1717 and 1725. Before him was an Elder Knott, whose Christian name is unknown; and before him, though there had been another John, christened in 1603, yet he himself had his son christened. Now the first Baptist John, born 1684, never became Elder at all, and is not even called a minister. He did have a son John, who, in 1757 was ordained Elder, as already described. And he in turn had a third John, who did become a minister at Eythorne, but was never Elder here, becoming the Pastor at Chatham. And the succession, such as it is, ends with him.

On the other hand, the records teem with Birches and Harveys. These families had Baptist members from the first, and have a long, continuous record of loyal service, though perhaps only one of their number ever came forth to the ministry. In God's acre, around the newest of the meeting-houses, itself quaint with age, as well as in the older public burial ground, memorials of them abound.

W. T. WHITLEY.

# A Hertfordshire Worthy.

## JONAS THURROWGOOD, OF HITCHIN.

IT does not appear that any biography of this excellent man, who seems to have healed the sick, as well as to have ministered to their spiritual necessities, has ever been published. I have acquired "A Sermon occasioned by the Death of Mr. Jonas Thurrowgood, a faithful servant and minister of Christ, who departed this life, July 2, 1753. By Benjamin Wallin, London. Printed for the Author, and sold by G. Keith, at the Bible and Crown, in Gracechurch Street, 1753." It is an octavo pamphlet of fifty-four pages, including title, and my copy has notes in pencil, probably contemporary, upon the title-page: "J. Thurrowgood was a Baptist minister in Herts., whose medical skill cured Mr. Wallin of the effects of an accident." "Benjamin Wallin, like his father, minister of Maze Pond Baptist Chapel"; "Ed. by Revd. J. Needham, of Hitchin."

Some few biographical data respecting the subject of this sermon may be gathered therefrom. Mr. Wallin states that Jonas Thurrowgood "lived full seventy-five years without any considerable change of abode," and that he was "put to providing for himself when scarce arrived at the age of seventeen." He was by his industry "helped to provide for a large family; his children, grandchildren, and great-grandchildren amount to the number of 78, 45 of whom are now alive." It appears that "he was trained up to no particular employ, in the manner that most youth are, yet he turned his hand to divers occupations with an aptness and success somewhat astonishing, which showed that he had good natural abilities." The preacher refers to the fact that "many have cause to be thankful to him, for he was very successful in helping those who were afflicted with ruptures, on which account, it is thought by some that his removal will be a great loss, and especially among the poor who fall under that calamity, with whom he was always very tender and moderate." Mr. Wallin, in referring to his own case, says: "A damage I

sustained when at nurse, which being concealed, as I suppose through fear, left me under an incurable lameness; the deceased undertook to help me when I was about fourteen years of age, and, blessed be God, he so far succeeded as to enable me to walk in a more comfortable manner than it was expected I should, and this was the product of a few months."

The story of his conversion is thus set forth: "Sir William Cooper, who, it is well-known, resided at Hertford Castle, gave him and another an invitation to his house for some innocent recreation, and accordingly they went. But it was upon the Lord's Day. The choice of that day for pleasure which, it is to be lamented, has now grown very common, greatly offended a pious servant in the family, who, with much seriousness, remonstrated against the folly of which they were guilty, and, particularly addressing our late friend, endeavoured to convince him of the evil of neglecting public worship and spending the day in sensual delights; and also exhorted him to think of his sinful condition. To these things Mr. Thurrowgood's attention was raised, who fell under some conviction, and being advised by the same person to hear Mr. Hayworth (who was then dissenting minister at Hertford), he readily complied, and, through divine blessing, it was followed with the happy consequences mentioned."

Later on "he joined the Church at Hertford, with whom he walked in a becoming manner, visibly growing in spiritual knowledge"; so much so, that "his minister would frequently advise troubled souls to discourse with him for their relief." We are told that "after some time he saw reason to alter his sentiments concerning a particular ordinance"—that of baptism—and became what is known as a Particular Baptist, and joined this church, then under the care of Mr. Peake.<sup>1</sup> He was soon called to the work of the ministry, and being invited, he preached for twelve years at a neighbouring village (Bendish) with great usefulness.

In a "List of Places," by the Rev. J. Evans, 1715, we find: "Bendish, in the parish of St. Paul's, Walden, preacher Jonas Thurrowgood, number of hearers, three hundred, among whom are thirty-five voters for the county." At the death of Mr. Peake, in 1717, Mr. Thurrowgood was "unanimously chosen and then solemnly set apart to that office in his stead, and that about thirty-six years ago." This was the Church at Tring, for Mr. Wallin states that his congregation "have reason to praise God for His kindness in continuing him so long, and that, notwithstanding

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<sup>1</sup> Thomas Peake had charge of the church at New Mill, Tring, to which Hitchin was attached.

the very great distance of his habitation (Bendish) from the place of your meeting, he was seldom prevented, which is very remarkable. It is, indeed, somewhat extraordinary that one in his advanced age, and under the grievous disorder which had for some years attended him, should, after having travelled the usual journey of ten miles,<sup>2</sup> be able to carry on the public service among you which he did, and as I am informed, with remarkable spirit; and this but eight days before his departure."

His illness lasted but four days, and at three o'clock on the Monday morning Mr. Jonas Thurrowgood gave up the ghost, in the seventy-sixth year of his age; "A man under divine blessing, very serviceable in his generation."

Inquiry of the pastors of the Baptist communities at Hitchin and Tring has failed to reveal the existence of any memorial to this good man. All the inscriptions in the chapels and burial-grounds at both places have been recorded within recent years, and his name does not occur among them, so we must assume none was erected.

The Mr. Needham who edited Mr. Wallin's sermon on Thurrowgood was pastor of Tilehouse Street Baptist Chapel, Hitchin, from 1705 till his death, in 1742-3. He kept a school in Hitchin, where Benjamin Wallin was educated, and is said to have been a very austere man: one who knew him remarked that she never saw him laugh but twice in her life.

Urwick ("Nonconformity in Herts., 1884.") says very little about Mr. Thurrowgood, but it is possible that the records of the Baptist community might throw further light upon his life and work.

W. B. GERISH.

Bishop's Stortford.

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<sup>2</sup> From Bendish to Tring would seem to be nearer twenty than ten miles, as the route is a devious one by bye-lanes that must have been all but impassable in winter.



## The "Johnsonian Baptists."

The Life of Samuel Fisher, of Norwich and Wisbech, has just been published by Mr. Edward Deacon, of Connecticut; and a monograph on the religious body to which he belonged is being prepared by Mr. Robert Dawbarn, of Wisbech, who supplies most of the information following.

**A**T Lostock in Lancashire, two or three miles west of Bolton, there was a small General Baptist Church, where, in March, 1721, John Johnson was baptized, and afterwards had hands laid on him by two ministers, in accordance with the custom of that body. The only other General Baptist pastor in the neighbourhood was Samuel Acton of Nantwich, who was probably the second man involved; but it is not recorded who was the pastor at Lostock itself. Five years later Johnson was called to the ministry—not the pastorate, but to be an accredited local preacher, as we should say. About 1728 the pastor died, and some questions of ownership resulted in the congregation retiring from the building rather than go to law, and in the apparent collapse of the cause.

The other Baptist churches in the neighbourhood were at Manchester, Warrington, and Liverpool, and in the Rossendale valley, all being Calvinist. It would seem that Johnson did some casual preaching, and found it necessary to study the points in dispute, with the result that he presently joined the church at Warrington, then under the pastorate of John Hayes. On the death of John Turner, pastor at Liverpool, that little cause looked to its mother church at Warrington, and on 26 April, 1741, Johnson was dismissed to the seaport. On 28 June the church was re-organised, with him as pastor, and twenty-two other members. The little church was very feeble, with only one member of any financial ability, one Roger Fisher, a ship-builder. It had already

parted with one pastor, John Sedgfield, who had been solemnly advised that there was better means of livelihood for him on a farm at Tottlebank than at Liverpool; the same difficulty recurred, and as Johnson had three children by 1744, he engaged in business to support the family.

Three years later still the remarkable opinions that Johnson had formed, which he had indeed communicated formally before the call, proved such a cause of strife that he withdrew with his supporters, while a long minute was made in the church-book to detail the doctrines he was teaching; it is, of course, better to learn them from his own writings rather than from his opponents. Johnson's friends built a second meeting-house in Stanley Street, where he ministered for the rest of his long life. His financial position was, of course, worse than before, and it is not clear how he earned his living; but the rapid expansion of Liverpool evidently afforded opportunities of this, for his letters show no sign of financial strain. He was, however, indefatigable in evangelising; occasional visits were made to Garstang, Blackburn, Halifax, Bolton, and Bury; more frequently he took a week's tour to preach at High Legh and Toft near Knutsford, at Hill Cliff and Warrington, at Bollington, Congleton, and Millington. Warford in particular profited by his help, and was leavened with his teaching. About 1754 he crossed to Dublin, where there was a General Baptist church, lately under Oswald Edwards, now under Samuel Edwards. From this he drew off a second church, which was, for a time, energetic enough to publish some of his writings; but a quarter of a century later he acknowledged it had flickered out. These were the heroic days when Wesley also was riding throughout both islands.

In 1757 there was a general reorganisation of the northern Baptist churches, and doctrinal differences drew them into two rival camps. Warford and Warrington, after hesitating, joined a small group containing even Nantwich, the erstwhile General Baptist church, which group, therefore, excited much suspicion. Johnson's church leagued with a group of supralapsarian Calvinists, including the old church at Bacup (not that under Piccop), Wainsgate, Haworth, Bradford, Sunderland, Juniper-dye-house, and Whitehaven. Instances of his widening influence may be seen in that a church arose at Millington under Tomason, succeeded by Isaac Cheetham; that the church at Tottlebank, where some Liverpool people had gone to better themselves, sought his advice as to a new pastor; that when the ancient church at Manchester was rent in twain on the death of Winterbottom, he persuaded one party to retire from the premises, avoiding a

quarrel, and promoted a peaceful settlement under Edmund Clegg in new premises at Coldhouse; that Huddleston of Whitehaven corresponded with him on doctrinal questions; that Fernie of Juniper-dye-house and his convert Rutherford of Dublin were in touch; and that at Warrington he was in constant demand. When Wainwright, the pastor of that place, died in 1772, Johnson conducted the funeral services, three other ministers being present.

By this time, however, he had distinctly disavowed many of the Calvinistic principles he had imbibed there, and frequent doctrinal discussions arose. In a short time another part of the country was stirred by them, and a second leader emerged.

One of the great Fisher clan had been transferred from Nottingham in 1762 to the historic church of St. Mary's, Norwich, being then just of age. He corresponded freely with Johnson, and within four years his sermons showed distinct traces of Johnson's teaching. These led presently to anonymous attacks in print, then to his expulsion from the church in 1774. He gathered seven sympathisers to worship in his own home, and, encouraged by a visit from Johnson, organised a new church, which presently bought a meeting-house in Pottergate Street. Fisher decided to publish ten sermons by Johnson, who prepared them for the press in 1775, though there was no hope that the book would pay expenses, and funds were not forthcoming at once.

The Fishers sprang from the Midlands, near Mansfield; and this may account for the fact that churches holding the same doctrines presently arose at Chesterfield and North Muskham near Newark, at which latter place John Reynoldson became the mainstay. Fisher evidently became the apostle of the movement now. In 1781 he was called to minister to an old Particular Baptist church at Wisbech, and two years later to help a nascent cause at East Dereham, where, however, the Norwich St. Mary's people scotched his work. He found a helper in Richard Wright, who had been connected with an anomalous General Baptist church in Norwich, in touch with the old Assembly. Wright fell under the spell of Johnson's doctrine, and quitted the General Baptist church to help Fisher take charge of Pottergate and Wisbech, each taking six months at each place, and Fisher shifting his residence to Wisbech in 1788. Both men travelled to propagate their views, and often preached at Liverpool.

The peculiar arrangement lasted till Johnson's death in 1791, when he was eighty-five years old. Fisher now proposed that Wright should settle down in Wisbech and take charge of that congregation, while he himself should retire from the pastorate

of any special church, to devote himself to more itineration. But while these negotiations were pending, Wright published a pamphlet giving "A Scriptural representation of the Son of God," which looked decidedly like Unitarian doctrine. An anonymous review was attributed to Fisher by Wright, who opened a campaign in the press against Fisher in Wisbech. The upshot was that the old church at this town called Wright, and went off on a novel doctrinal development, leading it into the fellowship of Unitarians and Universalists; and finally out of all Baptist connections. The controversy reveals a church near Halifax which sympathised with Johnson and Fisher, evidently due to the Aked family; this is now known as Butts Green.

Fisher declined to assert what he considered his rights, but retired from the old church, with his friends, who formed a new church, and presently built in Ship Lane, where he was ordained early in 1794. Within a few weeks, a sermon preached on Fast Day brought him into general notice, and he received special thanks from the Prime Minister, William Pitt. His reputation greatly increased, and the little connection somewhat profited. He was soon able to fulfil earlier hopes, and to publish 157 of Johnson's letters, with notes on sermons.

The church at Liverpool had been left in straits by the death of its founder; and about the close of the century found it necessary to remove to Comus Street, which remained its home until the cause came to an end after another half century.

Fisher's course was run by 1803, when he passed away at Newark. In that same year the church at Nottingham, whence he had come, lost its pastor, Richard Hopper, and though the immediate cause was again somewhat personal, there is reason to think that Fisher's views were to some extent involved. A little society was soon formed of seceders from the old cause.

The mantle of Fisher, however, fell on John Reynoldson, of Newark, who moved to Norwich, and thence looked after the various churches. In Cheshire, near Warford, he gathered a handful of weavers, and another meeting-house was erected at Bramhall. Reynoldson also founded a church at Bromley, which afterwards met in London, where it enjoyed the ministrations of Thomas Curtis, a very cultured man, then of Knight, who was presently working at Towcester. Mr. Pickle was another preacher here, and Samuel Shepherd at Duncote, close by.

In the original district, Isaac Ridgway sustained work at Lymm; and the church at Liverpool produced one man of some power, Seacombe Ellison, skipper of a merchantman, whose lively adventures in, and escaping from, Verdun he told with spirit in

"Prison Scenes." He aided his fellow believers by editing a hymn-book, and his gifts of narration were turned to account in sketching a trial between infant affusion and believers' baptism, from which may be taken a compact statement of the "Johnsonian" views. It will be seen that, while his successive association with Arminians and with Calvinists had left strata clearly traceable, and while a kinship with Sabellius is not to be mistaken, he had also laid down a doctrine re-discovered later on by Edward White.

"They conceive of unity of judgment in the truth of the gospel as most important to the building up of the Christian Church; and that no modification of the ordinances of the gospel can be permitted; for which reason they do not hold fellowship with any other denomination of Baptists.

"They believe that immersion in water is the only ordinance taught in the Scripture, by which a believer can make his first profession of faith in Christ; consequently they do not recognise any unbaptised person as a member of Christ's body. They receive individuals, after baptism, as members, into the church by the ordinance of laying on of hands, with prayer, in faith of the gift of the promised spirit. By the latter ordinance, also, ministers and officers of the church are inducted into office.

"Their view of the doctrine concerning the one true and living God, is not in agreement with the Trinitarian scheme, as generally held. They are of opinion that the characters by which God has revealed himself are, as in revelation to us: that the Father is God, the invisible and incomprehensible Jehovah; that the Son is this glorious Being in manifestation in our nature, as 'the Word made flesh'; that the Holy Spirit is the same God in His spiritual operations, 'the Lord is that Spirit'; and that the character of Christ Jesus as the Son of God, is not a character independent of the human nature in which he was 'God manifest in the flesh.'

"They reject the doctrine of original sin as commonly understood, while they admit that children are born into the world destitute of the original perfection of human nature. But they deny that the sin of Adam brings guilt upon the conscience, or infuses a moral pravity, which necessarily leads them to acts of personal transgression, believing that the final condemnation of the wicked will be the effect of their own personal sin, altogether independently of the sin of Adam.

"They believe in the eternal happiness of all children who die before they are capable of understanding the evil of sin, and of all adults who have passed their whole lives in such a state of

mental imbecility as to have been incapable of discriminating between good and evil.

"They believe that the threatening of death to Adam, in the event of his violation of the divine command, had respect to his whole person; that the whole human race would have remained under the power of death, had not God interposed by His promise of the Seed of the woman to bruise the serpent's head; that by Christ, the second Adam, the free gift might come 'upon all men unto justification of life'; that the everlasting existence of the human race is through the resurrection of Christ, and consequently that the soul of man is not naturally immortal.

"They believe in particular, unconditional election; that God chose His people in Christ before the foundation of the world, irrespective of sin or other contingency, and that God would have manifested himself in the human nature had sin never had a being; but in consequence of the introduction of sin, Christ appeared in a suffering state, and gave Himself for the redemption of the Church, and also 'a ransom for all.' Therefore salvation is proclaimed to the whole human race, in the most comprehensive acceptation of these words. To the same extent, they believe that God wills the salvation of all men, and that the gospel is to be 'preached to every creature which is under heaven'; by which preaching all men are called to repent and believe the gospel.

"They believe that salvation is by grace alone, through faith, but that the grace of God in the soul is inseparable from holiness of life and conversation; that the gospel gives unto them which receive it in truth, the full assurance of hope in eternal salvation; that every believer knows he is a child of God, and that therefore doubt is inconsistent with such assurance.

"They believe that Christ shall reign by the power of His gospel during the last thousand years of the earth's existence in its present state; and that afterwards, the heavens and the earth which now are, will be destroyed by fire, and then made anew, when all the saints, in a state of resurrection from the dead, will reign with Christ upon the new earth a thousand years, and that after the thousand years are expired, the resurrection of the wicked and the final judgment of the world will take place.

"They believe that it is the bounden duty of all the followers of Christ to be subject to the reigning powers, without regard to any particular line of politics; and to refrain from joining with any to overturn existing establishments."

The churches which held views akin to Johnson's, and their ministers, are as follows:—

- Liverpool (Stanley Street): John Johnson: (move to Comus Street), Fisher, Guyton.  
 Norwich (Pottergate): Samuel Fisher, Barber, Sly, Gray.  
 Wisbech (Ship Lane): Samuel Fisher, R. B. Dawbarn, Robert Reynoldson.  
 Halifax (Butts Green).  
 Todmorden: King.  
 Newark: Fisher, John Reynoldson, J. Stephenson, Mackenzie.  
 Chesterfield: Smith.  
 [Great Warford: John Taylor, Joshua Wood, Thomas Holt, Thomas Holt junior, Joseph Barber, James Davenport.]  
 Bramhall [Enoch Shard, James Davenport]: Barber.  
 Lymm: Isaac Ridgway.  
 London: John Reynoldson, Isaac Curtis, Knight.  
 Towcester: Knight, Pickle.  
 Duncott: Samuel Shepherd.

The following list of works will give the chief publications, with brief titles.

JOHN JOHNSON, mostly published at Liverpool:—

1754. The Faith of God's Elect, pp. 268: criticised by John Brine of Cripplegate.  
 1755. A Mathematical Question, pp. 106; often reprinted.  
 1756. The River of God, pp. 32, Dublin, second edition.  
 1758. Evangelical Truths Vindicated, pp. 89.  
 1758. The Love of God, pp. 67.  
 1759. The Election of God undisguised.  
 1760. The Advantages and Disadvantages of the Marriage-state, pp. 46, fifth edition, many more, and translated into Welsh 1773.  
 1761. The Eternity of God, second edition.  
 1762. Jesus the King of kings.  
 1762. Address to the Quakers, pp. 74.  
 1763. Divine Prescience: Dublin.  
 1763. The Triune God: Dublin.  
 1764. The Two Opinions Tried: criticised by James Hartley of Haworth.  
 1769. Divine Truth, pp. 228.  
 1773. A Serious Address to Samuel Fisher, pp. 56.  
 1776. The Riches of Gospel Grace opened; two vols., Warrington.  
 1779. The Book of the Revelation, pp. 514. Warrington.  
 1781. The Evangelical Believer's Confession, pp. 114.  
 no date. Nature and Constitution of a Church, pp. 16.  
 no date. The Divine Authority of the Holy Scriptures, pp. 93: Newark.

1796. Original Letters, and Memoir, pp. 825; Norwich.  
 SAMUEL FISHER, mostly published at Norwich:
1766. The Spirit's Indwelling, pp. 35.  
 1767. The True State of the British Nation, pp. 30.  
 1771. [The Virgin's Song of Salvation by Christ, pp. 32.  
 1773. An Appeal to the Public, pp. 24.  
 1781. Scripture evidence in favour of a separate state, pp. 40.  
 1791. The Christian Warfare [in memory of] John Johnson,  
 pp. 40.  
 1791. [? Review of Richard Wright's Scriptural Representation  
 of the Son of God.]
1794. The duty of subjects to the civil magistrate, pp. 24.  
 1796. The good shepherd, pp. 72.  
 1798. The Christian Monitor.  
 1789. Unity and Equality in the Kingdom of God, pp. 40.  
 1800. The Perfection of Scripture [against Vidler].  
 1802. Conjugal and Parental Duties, pp. 52.  
 SEACOME ELLISON, of Liverpool:
1833. A Letter to J. J. Gurney [on] Baptism, pp. 111.  
 1835. Rhantism versus Baptism, pp. 620; both were reprinted.



## Review.

The Early English Dissenters in the Light of Recent Research (1550-1641). By Champlin Burrage, M.A., B.Litt. In two volumes. *Illustrated.*

Mr. Burrage has produced a book which will make all future students of the early history of Dissent his debtors; it will be for them indispensable. Of the two volumes the one is devoted to History and Criticism; the other contains a collection of the more inaccessible or historically valuable writings, many of which have as yet been only imperfectly or partially reproduced. It is characteristic of Mr. Burrage that he issues this collection together with his story of the originals of Dissent: he has a passion for "primary sources." He has searched for them as other men search for hid treasure; and his efforts, as these volumes testify, have so far been crowned with a notable measure of success. It may occur to some readers that the passion for primary sources is the only passion our author permits himself to manifest; to him, apparently, it matters not whether his discoveries are to the advantage of Anglican or of Separatist: to correct misapprehension and to clear away traditional error is the aim which is pursued inflexibly and without even a momentary deviation towards partisanship. To write in such an impersonal fashion of the period under discussion is an achievement hardly possible for a British scholar. Mr. Burrage has had the advantage, as an American, of approaching his subject with fewer preconceptions and with the disinterestedness of one who in regard to the controversy, still vital in this land, between State Churchism and Dissent, is an onlooker, not an active participant. If, as a result, his treatment of his theme appears to many to lack colour and glow, he may rest assured that those who make use of his facts will supply what they miss. For himself, Mr. Burrage would wish his work to be judged by the dictum of Thomas Fuller, which he adopts as his motto: "As that Oyle is adjudged the best that hath no tast at all; so that Historian is preferred who hath the least Tanguie of partial Reflections." Of such "tanguie" we have discovered no trace in this book.

To refer to but a few of the many matters which call for remark, it is of importance to note that Mr. Burrage abandons the view that Separatism in England stood in vital connection with Continental Anabaptism. He now holds it to be much more likely that the true source of Brownism, as well as of Barrowism, is to be found in

the so-called old Nonconformity, in the London Protestant congregation of Queen Mary's time, and in the maturer opinions of later Puritans.

As to Robert Browne it is here insisted that when he opposed the Church of England most strenuously he did not think of permanent separation, "but of using temporary separation as a means of ultimately benefiting the condition of the State Church, to which, no doubt, he hoped to return." Is it not a little misleading to speak of Browne as contemplating a *return* to the Church of England, say when he wrote "A Booke which Sheweth"? Not a return to Anglicanism seems to have been in his mind, but an advance through Independency toward "an ecclesiastical Utopia," in which Episcopacy would have no place, or any church government other than government "by the people for the benefit of the people." We venture to think that at the time in question Browne's hope was to replace the Church of England rather than to reform it.

Very interesting to Baptists is the demonstration that John Smyth's congregation at Amsterdam was not the earliest community of English Anabaptists, and that Smyth himself was not the earliest Se-Baptist. Earlier, by probably not less than ten years is the case mentioned by Henoeh Clapham when writing his '*Antidoton*' in 1600. Mr. Burrage says that Smyth baptized himself rather than accept baptism from the Mennonites "on account of their peculiar beliefs." Is it not more likely that Smyth was without exact knowledge of Mennonite beliefs and practice at the time when he faced the question of re-baptism? We know that later on the linguistic difficulty greatly hindered intercourse between the English and the Dutch Anabaptists: at the outset of Smyth's sojourn in Holland that difficulty may well have been prohibitive of any intimate and extended converse. Mr. Burrage has fortunately brought to light a letter of Thomas Helwys, dated September 26, 1608, showing that when that letter was written Smyth's church was well settled in Holland. Another discovery destroys the basis on which Crosby rested his surmise as to Helwys himself, that he was still living in May, 1622. The letter on which that conjecture was based is certainly not by Helwys: its writer, Mr. Burrage affirms, was "without doubt" Henry Niclaes, the leader of the Familists. The chapter on "The Rise of the Independents" throws light on a subject about which there has been much misapprehension. Mr. Burrage contends, and the chapter vindicates the contention, "that the *early* Independents, or *early* Congregationalists, were merely a certain type of Puritans, and not Separatists from the Church of England; also that the Independents did not directly obtain their opinions from either Brownists or Barrowists." Incidentally it is shown that John Robinson was won from Separatism to this non-Separatist form of Congregationalism by his intercourse at Leyden in 1616 with Henry Jacob and others.

In reference to the re-introduction in this country of believers' baptism by *immersion*, Mr. Burrage is of opinion that Richard Blunt was not baptized in Holland, when he went thither to confer with the Collegiants; that he simply obtained information; and that on his return to London he immersed Blacklock—the leader of the immersionist community—and then was himself immersed by Blacklock. Probably this re-statement of the Blunt incident is correct. At best the available evidence is scanty: more may yet be forthcoming.

It should be added that Mr. Burrage encourages us to regard the present volumes as but a first instalment of the work on which he is engaged. May he be enabled, without let or hindrance, to carry on to its completion the enterprize, of which he has made so admirable a commencement. Needless to say, the Cambridge University Press has done its part in the production of these books in a manner worthy of its great reputation; the printing and the illustrations leave nothing to be desired.

G. P. G.

### **Arrival of Smyth's followers at Amsterdam, by July, 1608.**

1. Extract from the Amsterdam marriage registers, published by de Hoop Scheffer in 1881, translated by T. G. Crippen in 1905: "1608 July 5. Henry Cullandt † of Nottinghamshire, bombazine worker, 20 years old,—shewing act under the hand of Richard Clyfton, preacher at Sutton [in Ashfield], that his banns had been published there—and Margarete Grymsdiche of Sutton, 30 years old." [It has been pointed out that this suggests a hasty flight.]

2. Extract from Zachary Clifton's family Bible, in the Taylolean Institution at Oxford, published by Joseph Hunter, 1854: "Memorandum. Richard Clifton, with his wife and children, came into Amsterdam, in Holland, August 1608."

3. Two more extracts from the marriage registers: "1608 August 23. John Murten † of Queynsborch [Gainsborough], furrier, 25 years old, and Jane Hodgkin of Worchep [Worksop] 23 years. August 30. Francis Pigett of Axen [Axholm], bricklayer's labourer, 32 years, and Margriet Struts of Bafford [Basford], 30 years." Henry Cullens or Collet went to Leijden, Clifton joined the Ancient Church, but Murton and Piggott were prominent members of the same church with Smyth and Helwys. It has been possible for thirty years easily to date the arrival of these people.

**Independents and Brownists.** The line between these was indicated in our volume I., page 222, note 24. It was very clearly and repeatedly drawn in 1839 by Benjamin Hanbury in his Historical Memorials.