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Transactions

of the

Baptist Historical Society.



William Mitchill's "Jachin & Boaz" 1707.

THROUGH the kindness of Mr. J. Horsfall Turner of Idle I have been permitted to borrow his copy of "Jachin and Boaz" by William Mitchel (Mitchill as it is spelt in the title page).

As far as I can discover Mr. Horsfall Turner's copy is the only one in existence. I have transcribed it, and it is now presented to readers of the "Historical Transactions." The figures in brackets in the course of the treatise indicate the number of the page in the original.

Whilst care has been taken to preserve the original orthography and general literary form of the work, it has not been deemed necessary to distinguish cases where the initial or medial long *s* is used and where the final and more familiar *s*.

Its importance for the early history of Baptists in Yorkshire and Lancashire is considerable. Published by David Crosley in 1707, after the author's death, it largely determined the doctrinal and ecclesiastical type of the Rossendale confederacy of Churches.

Doctrinally, the tractate is very strongly Calvinistic. But Article xxii. forcibly suggests that Mitchel was impressed with the necessity of warning his friends in the North of the perils of Antinomianism, and from his published correspondence we know that the churches he founded were considerably infected by that deadly virus.

Ecclesiastically the document is interesting. (1) There is a

very clear and exalted conception of the Church, the Ministry, and the Sacraments. This early Baptist was not afraid of the term "Sacrament." Mitchel even uses High Church terminology when he speaks in Article xxxii. of "these holy mysteries." (2) His conception of a Gospel Church is in the main "Congregational." He favours the idea of one Church for one town, and the holding of Synods or Councils for mutual intercourse and conference upon cases of difficulty or difference either in point of doctrine or administration. (3) The officers of the Church are the Pastor or Teaching Elder, Elders, and Deacons. A solemn ordination with fasting and prayer is regarded as essential unto the due qualifying and constituting of a Teaching Elder. Not absolutely essential, but in Mitchel's judgment very desirable, was ordination by the laying on of the hands of the Eldership. We might well return to these early practices of our forefathers. They would certainly regard with disfavour many of our so-called Recognition Services, where ministers sometimes repudiate the idea of "ordination." (4) The doctrine of the immersion of believers is clearly stated as the New Testament conception of Baptism. No tenet of strict communion is laid down. Paragraph 37 under "Discipline" recommends a broad catholicity. (5) Presbyterian influence is visible in the term "Teaching Elder" and also in the rule, "that where there are no Teaching officers, none may administer the Sacraments, nor can the Church authorise any transiently so to do."

W. E. BLOMFIELD.

The College, Rawdon, Leeds,
Sept. 1912.

[ii.] Jachin & Boaz:

or, an

EPITOME

of the

Doctrine and Discipline

Instituted by Christ in the Churches of the

New Testament

left

as a Dying Legacy to the Faithful

Especially them of his Acquaintance in the
North Country

By WILLIAM MITCHILL

Hold fast the Form of Sound Words 2 Tim 1. 13

Teaching them to observe all things whatsoever

I have commanded you Mat 28. 20.

LONDON

Printed by F. Humfreys in the year 1707.

[Title page ends here.]

[iii.] TO THE
Friends and Hearers

OF THE
DECEAS'D AUTHOR;

Especially those who more constantly attended his
Ministry in the West Part of Yorkshire and East
of Lancashire;

Grace and Peace be multiply'd.

[In the original this is all in italics to the end of the
Preface.]

Tis now about 5 years since the Author put this
small Treatise, in Manuscript into my hand, desiring
me to peruse it; and if he, who was then sick and nigh
unto Death, should be removed to his desired Home,
to hasten its Publication; for he designed it for his
Dying Legacy; judging it necessary to leave some such
Publick Monument behind him, which might yield a
conspicuous Evidence to the truth of his Principles,
in the Matters of his God, both as to Judgment and
Practice, for the Comfort and Confirmation of his
Friends, and for the leaving of those naked and with-
out excuse, who seemed to take so much delight in
Abuse and Ridicule.

But his Recovery from that Illness, was the Reason

of my Delay, at that time; and so by several [iv.] intervening Interruptions, it hath been put off from time to time.

Till now it hath pleased God to take the Author to himself; whereupon I judged it Duty in me, as well as necessary in it self, to remove the Bushel, and bring it forth to the Light.

The nearness of my Relation forbids me to give the Character which is undeniably due to the Author's Name and Memory, nor need I do it to you among whom he was so intimately known, yet for the sake of others, and to express something of that mutual Knowledge, Interest and Affection, which was betwixt us from our Childhood, take what follows.

He was converted about the 19th Year of his Age; and the occasion Divine Mercy made use of to that end, was the Death of a Brother, in whom he much delighted; The Vanity of his by-past Years had cut him out much Work for Repentance, and the great Grace now bestowed upon him, made him no less eminent therein. To this day, I have not seen a more speedy, intire, and effectual Change in any, than I was a daily eye-witness to in him: I think I may venture to say, I was in Christ before him, though 7 years Younger; but alas, how soon did he come up with me, and as one not able to brook my poor dilatory Steps, he as soon out-went me. He was broke off at once from his Sins and sinful Companions; the Promises of God was no sooner his Support, than his Precepts was his Delight; and as few ever had more need of Mercy, so scarce ever any, was more diligent in Duty. For some years he was seldom seen to laugh. In Reading, Meditation, and Prayer, he was unweary'd; and in going to hear the Word of God, through many [v.] Miles in dark Nights, and over dismal Mountains; I and others that was his constant companions, must say, he was no less indefatigable; and as he made an

unusual Progress in Knowledge, so he was mighty in Prayer, savoury and edifying in Discourse; Oh the blessed, warm and quickening Opportunities within-doors, on Mountains, and in Fields and Woods, which we had in those days. I have often lamented the loss of some, and surely Losers they are, who set out with us with much seeming Zeal and Unanimity, but presently turned aside to crooked ways. I should be glad, might these lines find any of them, and bring these things to their Remembrance; so that they might view their Fall, and repent, crying unto God, My Father, Thou art the Guide of my Youth. Jer. 3. 4. Now also when I am old, and grayheaded forsake me not. Psal. 71. 18.

About the 23rd Year of his Age, he began to preach in the nature of an Itinerant; his Doctrine and Design at first was chiefly to set forth the exceeding rich and Free Grace of the Gospel, which toward him had been made so exceeding abundant, and this he did with that peculiar Fervour, Simplicity, and Application, as presently brought Crowdes of Peoples from divers Parts to hear him; and though many at first designed only to gratify their Curiosity, yet they soon found their Hearts and Consciences so effectually touched, that they could not but confess a Dispensation of the Gospel was committed to him. And though many others came like Ishmael to scoff, and not a few like Michal despised him in their Hearts; yet if they had but Patience to hear him, they usually met with such Scripture-Evidence in [vi.] his Doctrine, and with such plain Marks of the genuine Simplicity of his Spirit, and Integrity of his Pretensions, that they were often heard to say, the Lord is with him of a Truth, which things was a special means to prevent the Effects which might otherwise have proceeded from his unpolished Temper and harsh Delivery: in him that of Paul was verified, 1 Cor. 1. 28 2 Cor. 10. 10. see also the Close of Mr. O. Haywood's Preface to his Treatise of Closet Prayer.

In short, he was twice apprehended upon the Conventicle-Act; first at Goodshaw-Chappel, where he was treated with the utmost Rudeness by the Order of one, who, though then in Power, was himself in a far less honourable Cause, seldom free from sufferings afterwards. The second time near Bradford in Yorkshire, from whence he was carried Prisoner to the Castle at York, where he lay till released by means of Walter Calverley, Esq., a few days before the Liberty granted by King James was Proclaimed.

Not long after, it pleased God to put me also into the Work, and by us jointly to carry it on, till the number of Hearers, and I hope Converts not a few, was so great, that we had above 20 several Meeting-Places legally Certified, which we attended by course with all Frequency: And I remember also I my self have lodged in above 200 of your several Houses on the behalf of my unworthy Services in the Gospel.

Moreover when at last it pleased God to give Light unto many, in the Order and Discipline instituted by Christ in his Churches, never did any Person with more readiness conform himself, nor with more diligence endeavour to bring others to the [vii.] Divine Platform, than the pious Author; in this he laboured in Birth with you the 2nd time: and how much he rejoiced in our Successes, and griev'd when he found any whom he judged faithful, backward or unstable, you cannot but well remember.

As to the Treatise now offered and intended for your Practical Improvement and Observance, as it was undoubtedly the Author's chief Aim, in composing and leaving it behind him for your use, that it might be the means of your further Instruction and Establishment; so I can assure you, I have made no material Alteration in the Copy, save a few Passages, added out of the Excellent Charnock, on the Head of Free-Will.

As to the disingenious opposition long since made

by Mr. S---th; the regard that has been given to the whole of that Enterprise, has been sutable to its desert; nor should it have had any mention here, but only to disabuse the Reader, in what he insinuates, viz. That while the Author and others of his mind deny Infant-Baptism, they do yet at the same time sign the Article of the C---ch of England, which asserts it, in their compliance with the Act of Toleration, which is not only a base Reflection on a great Body of People, among whom are several as far above him, as he thought himself above the Author; but also a palpable Falsity as to matter of Fact; the Baptists do no more subscribe to the sprinkling of Infants, than he doth to the Use of the Surplice or Sign of the Cross. A Dissent from both being equally and expresly dispens'd with in the Act of Toleration. And if he knew not this, when he past this Dogmatical Censure, it sufficiently proclaims his Ignorance and Presumption: And if he [viii.] did know it, and yet did invent and impose such a mischievous Slander, what Rebuke is sufficient for him.

But, my Beloved, study Charity and Purity at another Rate; unto Death stand immoveably firm by the Doctrine of imputed Righteousness; converse much with the Word of God; Neglect not the Duties of your Closet; Look well to your personal and Family-Conduct. Affect not so much to make a Noise or Shew as to be sound-hearted in Religion: And as God has raised up among you abundance of useful Gifts, prise and improve those that remain. Now that the God of all Grace may be with you, make you fruitful, and preserve you faithful unto Death, is the fervent Prayer of him, who has (tho the meanest) always had so great a Share in your Affection and Esteem. And shall rejoice in nothing more, than to be any way serviceable to you for your Comfort and mutual Profit, whilst,

D. Crosley.

[1] JACHIN & BOAZ:
 OR THE
 Faith and Order
 OF
 GOD'S HOUSE
 I of God.

THERE is but one living and true God, who is Infinite in Being and Perfection, a most pure Spirit, Invisible, without Body, Parts or Passions, Immutable, Immense, Eternal, Incomprehensible, Almighty, most Wise, most Holy, most Free, most Absolute, working all things according to the Counsel of his own immutable and most righteous Will, for his own Glory; most loving, gracious, merciful, long-suffering, abundant in Goodness and Truth, having all Life, Glory, Goodness and Blessedness in and of himself, and is alone in and unto himself all-sufficient, not standing in need of any Creature which he hath made, nor deriving any Glory from them, but only manifesting his own glory in, by, unto and upon them, he is the alone Fountain of all Beings, of whom, through whom, and to whom are all things; to whom be Glory for ever. Amen.

[2] II of the Holy Trinity.

IN the Unity of the God-head there are three Persons (or Subsistences) of one Substance, Power and Eternity, God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost. The Father is of none, neither begotten, nor proceeding: The Son is eternally begotten of the Father: The Holy Ghost eternally proceeding from the Father and the Son: which Doctrine of the Trinity, rightly understood, yields abundance of Gospel-Light and Comfort to the Children of God.

III of Election.

THOSE of Mankind that are ordained unto Life, God before the Foundation of the World, according to his eternal immutable Purpose, and Secret Counsel, and the good pleasure of his Will, hath chosen in Christ unto everlasting Glory, out of his meer Free Grace and Love, without any Fore-sight of Faith or good Works, or perseverance in either of them; or any other thing in the Creature, as Conditions or Causes, moving him thereunto, and all to the praise of his glorious Grace: Moreover, as God hath appointed the Elect unto Glory; so hath he by the eternal and most free Purpose of his Will, fore-ordained all the means leading there-unto: Wherefore they who are elected are redeemed by Christ, are effectually called unto Faith in Christ by the Spirit working in due Season, are Justified, Adopted, Sanctified and kept by the Power of God through Faith unto Salvation; neither is any other savingly Redeemed by Christ, or effectually Called, Justified, [3] Adopted, Sanctified and Saved, but the Elect only: Notwithstanding this glorious Doctrine of Election is to be handled with much Prudence, Moderation and Care, that Men attending the Will of God revealed in his Word, and yielding Obedience thereunto, may from the Certainty of their effectual Calling be assured of their eternal Election; so shall this Doctrine afford Matter of Praise, Reverence, and Admiration of God, and of Humility and Diligence, and abundant Consolation to all them that sincerely obey the Gospel.

IV of the Scriptures.

THE whole Counsel of God concerning all things necessary for his own Glory, Man's Salvation, Faith and Life, is either expressly set down in Scripture, or by good and necessary Consequence may be deduc'd therefrom; unto which nothing at any time is to be added, neither

from new Revelations of the Spirit, nor the Traditions of Men, the Scriptures being the entire, standing, constant, perfect Rule of Faith and Practice unto the Church of God; yet is the inward Illumination of the Spirit of absolute Necessity for the right and saving knowledge of such things as are reveal-in the Word.

V of the Creation.

It pleased the Great and Almighty God, for the bringing to light, and making known the Glory of his eternal Power, Wisdom and Goodness, in the beginning to create or make of nothing the World, and all things therein, both visible and invisible, in the space of six days, and all very good. [4] After God had made all other Creatures, he Created Man, Male and Female, with reasonable and immortal Souls, endued with Righteousness and true Holiness after his own Image, having the Law of God written in their Hearts, and Power to Keep it, yet under a possibility of Transgressing, being left to the Liberty of their own Will, which was subject unto change. Beside this Law written in their Heart, they received a Command not to eat of the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil, which whilst they kept they were happy in their Enjoyment of God, and had dominion over the Creatures.

VI of Providence.

GOD over all, blessed for evermore, doth uphold, direct, dispose and govern all Creatures, Actions and Things from the least to the greatest, by his most wise and holy Providence, according to his infallible Fore-knowledge, and the free and immutable Counsel of his own Will, to the Praise of the Glory of his Wisdom, Power, Justice, Goodness and Mercy. God in his ordinary Providence maketh use of Means; yet is free to work without, above and against, at his pleasure. This most wise,

righteous and gracious God, doth oftentimes leave for a season his own dear Children to manifold Temptations, and the Corruptions of their own Hearts, to chastise them for their former Sins, or to discover unto them the hidden Strength of Corruption, and deceitfulness of their Hearts, that they may be humbled, and to raise them to a more close and constant Dependence for their Support upon himself, and to make them more watchful against all future occasions of Sin &c.

[5] VII of the Fall of Man, and of Sin.

GOD having made a Covenant of Works, and Life thereupon, with our First Parents, and all their Posterity in them, they being seduced by the Subtilty and Temptation of Satan, did wilfully transgress the Law of their Creation, and brake the Covenant by eating of the forbidden Fruit. By this Sin they, and we in them, fell from Original Righteousness and Communion with God, and so became dead in Sin, and wholly defiled in all the Faculties and parts of Soul and Body. Our first Parents being the Root, and by God's Appointment standing in the room and stead of all Mankind, the Guilt of this Sin was imputed, and corrupted Nature convey'd to all their Posterity, descending from them by ordinary Generation, from this original Corruption, whereby we are utterly indisposed, disabled, and made opposite to all Good, and wholly inclined to all Evil, do proceed all actual Transgressions. Every Sin, both Original and Actual, being a Transgression of the righteous Law of God, and contrary thereunto, doth in its own Nature bring Guilt upon the Sinner, whereby he is bound over to the Wrath of God, and Curse of the Law, and so made subject to death, with all Miseries Spiritual, Temporal and Eternal.

VIII of Man's State by Nature.

THE State of Man by Nature in the Fall is first a State of Sin and Disobedience, and consequently of most miserable Blindness, Darkness, Alienation, Bondage, Poverty, Weakness, [6] Death, Wrath and Curse; yea of the Elect themselves, while in a State of Nature.

IX of Free Will.

MAN in his Innocency had Freedom and Power to will and to do that which was good, and well-pleasing to God, but yet mutable, so that he might fall from it; And by his fall into a State of Sin, he hath wholly lost all Ability of Will to any Spiritual Good, accompanying Salvation; so that a natural Man being altogether averse to Good, and dead in Sin, is not able by his own Strength to convert himself, or to prepare himself thereunto. When God converts Sinners, and translates them into a State of Grace, he frees them from their natural Bondage under Sin, and by his Grace alone, according to his Promise, enables them freely to will and to do that which is spiritually good. In this Work God changeth the Inclination of the Will, but doth not force it against its Inclination: It being a rational Faculty is wrought on rationally. No Man can be forced to believe against his Reason, or love against his Will, or desire against his Inclination. Belief is wrought by Persuasion, and no Man can be persuaded by Force. It's a Contradiction for the Will to move against its Will; a Force on it destroys the Nature of it; for if forced, it ceaseth to be a Will. The Will, therefore, is drawn, as if it would not come: And it comes as if it were not drawn. God is tender of the Creatures Liberty, as well of his own Sovereignty. No Man by reason of remaining Corruption doth perfectly will that which is good, that Felicity is reserved for a State of Glory.

[7] X of God's Covenant with Man.

GOD for the bringing forth and making known of his Wisdom, Power, Justice, Love, Mercy and Goodness, is pleased in his admirable Condescension, to express and set forth his Will unto Man by way of Covenant. The first Covenant that God made with Man was a Covenant of Works, wherein Life was promised to Adam, and in him to all his Posterity, upon Condition of Perfect, perpetual, constant, and personal Obedience: Man by his Fall having made himself incapable of Life by this Covenant of Works made with Adam, God, of his everlasting Love, according to his eternal Purpose, was pleased to make manifest, and bring to Light another Covenant, called the Covenant of Grace, the second Covenant, which indeed was the first in being, though not in Manifestation; in Intention, tho not in Execution this Covenant of Free Grace was made with Christ, as the second Adam (tho in Being and Truth he was the first, set up from Everlasting, as the Covenant-Head of his Elect) and in him with all the Elect, as his Seed: As the Assemblies larger Catechism saith, God by this Covenant freely offereth unto Sinners Life and Salvation by Jesus Christ, requiring of them Faith in Christ that they may be saved, and promising to give unto those that are ordained unto Life his holy Spirit, to make them willing and able to believe.

[8] XI of Christ the Mediator.

IT pleased God in his eternal purpose to chuse and ordain the Lord Jesus his only begotten Son, according to a Covenant made between them both, to be the Mediator between God and Man; the Priest, Prophet, and King of his People, the Head and Saviour of his Church, the Heir of all things, and Judge of the World: Unto whom he did from all Eternity give a People, as his Seed, in time to be redeemed by him, called,

justified, sanctified, and glorified. This Son of God, and Covenant-Head of his People, the second Person in the Glorious Trinity, being very and Eternal God, of one Substance and equal with the Father, did, when the fulness of time was come, take upon him Man's Nature, with all the essential Properties, and common Infirmities thereof, yet without Sin; being conceived by the Power of the Holy Ghost in the Womb of the Virgin Mary, of her Substance; so that two whole perfect and distinct Natures, the God-head and the Man-hood, were inseparably joined together in one Person, without Conversion, Composition, or Confusion; which Person is very God and very Man, yet one Christ, the only Mediator between God and Man. The Lord Jesus in his humane Nature, thus united to the Divine Nature, in the Person of the Son, was Sanctified and anointed with the Holy Spirit above measure, having in him all the Treasures of Wisdom and Knowledge, in whom it pleased the Father that all fulness should dwell, to the end that being holy, harmless, undefiled, and full of Grace and Truth, he might be thoroughly furnished to execute the Office of a Mediator and Surety. Which Office he took not unto himself, [9] but as he was called thereunto by the Father, who also put all Power and Judgment into his hand, and gave him Commandment to execute the same: This Office our Lord Jesus, in Conjunction with the Father's Will, and Purpose of Grace, did most willingly undertake; which that he might discharge, he was made of a Woman, and made under the Law, and did perfectly fulfil it, and underwent the Punishment due to us for Sin, which we should have born and suffered; being made Sin and a Curse for us, enduring most grievous Torments immediately from God's hand of Justice in his Soul, and most painful sufferings in his Body; was crucified, and died, was buried, and remained under the Power of Death for a time, yet saw no Corruption; and on the third day he

rose from the dead, with the same Body in which he suffered, with which he also ascended into Heaven, and there sitteth at the right hand of God the Father, making Intercession, and shall return to judge Men and Angels at the end of the World.

XII of Effectual Calling.

ALL those whom God hath predestinated unto Life, he is pleased in his appointed and accepted time, effectually to call by his Word and Spirit, out of the State of Sin and Death, which they are in by Nature, to Grace and Salvation by Jesus Christ, enlightening their Minds spiritually and savingly to understand the things of God; taking away their Heart of Stone, and giving unto them an Heart of Flesh, renewing their Wills, and by His Almighty Power inclining them to that which is good, and effectually drawing them to Jesus Christ, yet so as that they come most [10] freely, being made willing by his Free Love and Grace. So that this effectual Call is of God's free and special Grace alone, not from anything foreseen in Man, who is altogether passive therein, until being quickened and renewed by the Holy Spirit, he is thereby enabled to answer this Call, and to embrace the Grace offered and conveyed therein. Elect Infants, dying in Infancy, are regenerated and saved by Christ, who worketh when and where, how, and upon whom he pleaseth.

XIII of Justification.

THOSE whom God effectually calleth, he also freely justifieth, not by infusing Righteousness into them, but by pardoning their Sins, and by accounting and accepting their Persons as Righteous; not for anything wrought in them, or done by them, but for Christ's sake alone; nor imputing Faith it self, or any other Evan-

gical Obedience to them as their Righteousness; but by imputing Christ's active Obedience in his Death, for their whole and sole Righteousness unto Justification of Life, they receiving and resting on him and his Righteousness by Faith, which Faith they have not of themselves, it is the Gift of God: Faith thus receiving and resting on Christ and his Righteousness, is the only and alone receiving Instrument of Justification; yet it is not alone in the Person justified, but is ever accompanied with all other saving Graces, and is not a dead Faith, but worketh by Love. Christ by his Obedience and Death did fully discharge the Debt of all his elect Body, and did by the Sacrifice of himself in the Blood of his Cross, undergoing in their stead the [II] Penalty due to them, make a proper, real and full Satisfaction to God's Justice for all their Sins: Yet inasmuch as he was given by the Father for them, and his Obedience and Satisfaction accepted in their stead, and both freely; their Justification is only of Grace, that both the Exact Justice and rich Mercy of God might be glorified in the Justification of Sinners. God did from all Eternity decree to justify all the Elect; and Christ did in the Fulness of time die for their Sins, and rise again for their Justification; so that they, as considered in Him their great Covenant-Head and Representative, were with Him in his Justification justified; but none are justified personally and individually until the Holy Spirit doth work Faith in their Hearts, and actually apply Christ unto them in their Effectual Calling; then it is, and not till then, that the Holy Scripture doth pronounce a Sinner Justified i.e. Justified by Faith. Though Persons thus Call'd and Justify'd, can never finally fall from a State of Grace; yet they may, and many oft do, fall into Sin, and under God's fatherly Displeasure, and sometimes to the total, the transient forfeiture of all sensible Light and Comfort. From which Estate God in his ordinary way never recovers

any, till he have first humbled them, and brought them in good earnest to renew their Repentance and Faith, confess their Sins, and beg Pardon.

XIV of Adoption.

ALL those that are freely justified, God vouchsafeth in and for his only Son Jesus Christ, to make Partakers of the Grace of Adoption, by which they are taken into the Number, and enjoy the Liberties and Privileges of the Children of God, [12] have his Name put upon them, receive the Spirit of Adoption, have access to the Throne of Grace with boldness, are enabled to cry Abba, Father, are pitied, protected, provided for, and chastened by him as by a loving Father, and never cast off, but sealed to the day of Redemption, and inherit the promise of everlasting Salvation.

XV of Sanctification.

THEY who are effectually called, freely justified, and truly regenerated, having a New Heart and a new Spirit created in them, are further sanctified really and personally through the virtue of Christ's Death and Resurrection, by His Word and Spirit dwelling in them: The Dominion of the whole Body of Sin is destroy'd, and the several Lusts thereof are more and more weakened and mortified, and they more and more quickened and strengthened in all saving Graces, to the practice of true Holiness, without which no Man shall see the Lord. This Sanctification is the work of God's Free Grace, whereby they, whom God hath before the Foundation of the World chosen to be holy, are in time, through the Powerful Operation of his Spirit, applying the Death and Resurrection of Christ unto them, renewed in their whole Man, after the Image of God, having the Seeds of Repentance unto Life, and of all other saving Graces so stirred up, increased and strengthened, that they more and more die unto Sin,

and live unto Righteousness, have their Fruit unto Holiness, and the end everlasting Life.

[13] XVI The difference between Justification and Sanctification.

ALTHOUGH Sanctification be inseparably joined with Justification, yet they differ in that the one is an Act of God without us, imputing the Righteousness of another to us; the other is an Act of God the Holy Ghost in us, working and creating Righteousness in us: God in Justification imputeth the Righteousness of Christ; in Sanctification the Spirit infuseth Grace and enableth to the Exercise thereof: In the former Sin is pardoned: In the other it is subdued: Justification doth equally free all Believers from the Wrath and Curse of the Law, and that perfectly in this Life, that they never fall into Condemnation; Sanctification is neither equal and alike in all, nor in this Life perfect in any, but is growing up to perfection.

XVII of Saving Faith.

FAITH in Jesus is a saving Grace, whereby we receive and rest upon him alone for Salvation, as he is offered to us in the Gospel: So the Grace of Faith, whereby the Elect are enabled to believe, to the saving of their Souls, is the gracious Work of the Spirit of Christ in their Hearts, and is ordinarily wrought by the Ministry of the Word, by which also, and by the Administration of the Sacraments, Prayer, and other Means, it is increased and strengthened. This Faith, although it be different in degrees, and may be weak or strong, yet it is in the least degree of it different in the kind or nature of it (as are all other [14] saving Graces) from the Faith and common Grace of Hypocrites and temporary Believers, and therefore though it may be many times assailed and weakened, yet it gets the Victory, growing in many to the attainment of full Assurance

through Christ, who is both the Author and Finisher of our Faith. By this Faith a Christian believeth to be true whatsoever is revealed in the Word of God; yet the principal Act of this saving Faith is accepting, receiving and resting upon the Lord Christ alone for Justification, Sanctification, and eternal Life, by Virtue of the Covenant of Grace.

XVIII of Repentance unto Life.

REPENTANCE unto Life is a saving Evangelical Grace, whereby a Person being by the Holy Spirit made sensible of the manifold Evils of Sin, doth by Faith in Christ humble himself for it: And with godly Sorrow and detestation of it, and Self-abhorrence for it, pray for Pardon and Strength of Grace, with a Purpose and Endeavour, by Supplies of the Spirit, to walk before God unto all well-pleasing in all things: and whereas there is none that doth good and sinneth not, and the best of Men may, through the Power and deceitfulness of their Corruptions dwelling in them, with the Prevalency of Temptation fall into great Sins and Provocations, God hath in the Covenant of Grace mercifully provided that Believers so sinning and falling be renewed through Repentance unto Salvation: Repentance unto Life being an Evangelical Grace and so of a Gospel, New-Covenant Nature, the Doctrine of it is to be preached by every Gospel-Minister, as well as that of Faith in Christ.

[15] XIX of the Perseverance of the Saints.

THEY whom God hath accepted in his well-beloved Son, effectually called and sanctified by his Spirit, can neither totally nor finally fall away from a State of Grace, but shall certainly persevere to the end, and be eternally saved. For this Perseverance of the Saints depends not upon their Free-will, but upon the Immutability of the Decree of Election, from the free

and unchangeable Love of God the Father, upon the Efficacy of the Merit and Intercession of Jesus Christ, and Union with him, the Oath of God, the abiding of his Spirit, and of the Seed of God within them, and the Nature of the Covenant of Grace: from all which ariseth also the certainty and Infallibility thereof: And though they may many times through the Temptation of Satan, and of the World, the prevalency of Corruption remaining in them, and the neglect of the Means of their Preservation, fall into grievous Sins, and for a time continue therein, whereby they incur God's Displeasure, and grieve his Holy Spirit, have their Graces and Comforts impaired, their Hearts hardened, and their Consciences wounded, also hurt and scandalize others, and bring temporal Judgments upon themselves; yet they are and shall be kept by the Power of God thro' Faith unto Salvation.

[16] XX of the Assurance of Salvation.

Although temporary Believers, and other unregenerate Men may vainly deceive themselves with false Hopes, and Carnal Presumptions, of being in the Favour of God, and state of Salvation, which hopes of theirs shall perish as the Spider's Web: Yet such as truly believe in the Lord Jesus, and love him in Sincerity, endeavouring to walk in all good Conscience in Gospel-Obedience before him, may in this Life be certainly assured that they are in the state of Grace, and may rejoice in hope of the Glory of God, which hope shall never make them ashamed. This Certainty is not a bare conjectural and probable perswasion, grounded upon a fallible Hope, but an infallible Assurance of Faith founded on the Word of God, revealed in the Gospel, upon the inward Evidence of Grace, and on the Witness of the Spirit testifying our Adoption, and as a Fruit thereof making the Heart more humble, and the Life more Holy. This infallible Assurance doth not so

belong to the Essence of Faith, but that a true Believer may wait long, and conflict with many Difficulties before he be partaker of it; yet being enabled by the Spirit to know the things which are freely given him of God, he may without extraordinary Revelation, in right use of ordinary Means, attain thereunto; And therefore it is the duty of every one to give all diligence to make their calling and Election sure, that thereby their Hearts may be enlarged in Peace and Joy in the Holy Ghost, in Love and Thankfulness to God, and in Strength and Cheerfulness in the Duties of Obedience, the proper Fruits of this Assurance: So far is it from inclining to Looseness. [17] Also true Believers may have the Assurance of their Salvation divers ways shaken, diminished, and intermitted, as by negligence in preserving of it, by falling into some special Sin, which woundeth the Conscience and grieveth the Spirit, by some sudden or vehement Temptation, by God's withdrawing the Light of his Countenance, and the Discoveries of his wonted Love and Grace, suffering even those that fear him to walk in Darkness and have no Light; yet are they never utterly destitute of that Seed of God, and Life of Faith, that Love of Christ and the Brethren, that Sincerity of Heart and Conscience of Duty, out of which, by the Operation of the Spirit of Grace, this Assurance may in due time be revived, and by the which in the mean time they are supported from utter despair.

XXI of Good Works.

Although that good Works, which are the Fruits of Faith, and follow after Justification, cannot put away our Sins, and endure the Severity of God's Judgment, yet are they pleasing and acceptable to God in Christ, and do spring necessarily out of a true and lively Faith, insomuch that by them a lively Faith may be as evidently known as a Tree is discerned by the Fruit;

being such good Works as God hath commanded in his holy Word, and not such as without the Warrant thereof, are devised by Men out of blind Zeal, or upon any Pretence of good Intention, or Decency, whatsoever. These good Works done in Faith, and in Obedience to God's Commandment, are the Fruits and Evidences of a true and lively Faith, and by them Believers manifest their Thankfulness, strengthen their Assurance, edify [18] their Brethren, adorn the Profession of the Gospel, stop the Mouths of Adversaries, and glorify God, whose workmanship they are, created in Christ Jesus unto good Works, that having their Fruit unto Holiness, they may have the end everlasting Life. Their ability to do good Works is not at all of themselves, but wholly from the Grace and Spirit of Christ, and that they may be enabled thereunto, besides the Grace they have already received, there is required an actual Influence of the same Grace and Holy Spirit to work in them, to will and to do of God's good pleasure; yet are they not hereupon to grow negligent, as to Duty in their Families and Closets etc, as if they were not bound to perform any Duty unless upon some special Motion of the Spirit, but they ought to be diligent in stirring up the Grace and Gift of God that is in them, which may be neglected, as Paul shows, in his Exhortation to Timothy, 1 Tim 4. 13, 14, 15, 16 Chap. 6. 11, 12, 13, 14. 2 Tim. 1., 6, 7, 8. Chap 2. 1, 2, 3. Yet they who in their Obedience attain to the greatest Height which is possible in this Life, are so far from being able to super-erogate and do more than God requires, that they fall short of much, which in Duty they are bound to do. So that we cannot by our best Works merit the pardon of Sin or eternal Life at the hand of God, nor in any manner profit him; much less satisfy for the debt of our former Sins, but when we have done all we can, we are unprofitable Servants, and because as they are good they proceed

from his Spirit, and as they are wrought by us they are defiled and mixed with so much Weakness and Imperfection, that they cannot endure the Severity of God's Justice. Yet notwithstanding the Persons of Believers being accepted through Christ, their good Works also are accepted in him, [19] not as though they were in this Life wholly unblameable and unreprieveable in God's Sight; but he looking upon them in his Son, is pleased to accept and reward them, altho' accompanied with many weaknesses and Imperfections. Works done by unregenerate Men, although for the matter of them, they may be things which God commands, and of good use both to themselves and others; yet because they proceed not from a Heart purified by Faith, nor are done in a right manner, according to the Word, nor to a right end, the Glory of God, they are therefore sinful, and cannot please God, nor make a Man meet to receive Grace from God, yet the neglect of them is more sinful and displeasing to him.

XXII of the Law of God.

God gave to Adam in the State of Innocency a Law of universal Obedience written in his Heart, and a particular Precept of not eating the Fruit of the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil, as a Covenant of Works, by which he bound him and all his Posterity to personal, entire, exact and perpetual Obedience, promising Life upon the fulfilling, and threatening Death upon the breach of it, and endued him with Power and Ability to keep it. This Law thus written in the Heart, and given forth in Precept, continued to be a perfect Rule of Righteousness after the fall of Man, and was delivered by God upon Mount Sinai in ten Commandments, and written in two Tables; the four first containing our Duty towards God, and the other six our Duty to Man. This Law called Moral, doth for ever bind all, as well justified Persons as

others, to the Obedience of it, and that not only in regard of the Matter contained in it, but also in respect of the Authority [20] of God the Creator, who gave it; Neither doth Christ in the Gospel any way dissolve, but much strengthen the same; so although Believers be not under the Law as a Covenant of Works, to be thereby justified or condemned, which is a Glorious Truth; yet it is of great use to them, as well as to others in that as a Rule of Life, informing them of the Will of God, and their Duty, it directs and binds them to walk accordingly, discovering also the sinful Pollutions of their Natures, Hearts, and Lives, so as examining themselves thereby, they may come to further Conviction of Humiliation for, and hatred against Sin, together with a clearer Sight of the need they have of Christ, and the Perfection of his obedential Righteousness. It is likewise of use to the Regenerate, to restrain their Corruptions, in that it forbids Sin, and the Threatenings of it serve to show what even their Sins deserve, and what Afflictions in this Life they may expect for them, although freed from the Curse thereof threatened in the Law. The Promises in like manner shew them God's Approbation of Obedience, and what Blessing they may expect upon the performance thereof. Although not as due to them by the Law, as a Covenant of Works, but through Christ, being the King, Lord, and Law-giver of his Church, Isa. 2. 3 Chap. 33. 22. Heb. 7. 16 and faithful as a Son in all his House, Heb. 3. 6. whom in all things we are to hear and obey Mat. 17. 5 Acts 3. 22, 23. in that God in these last days speaks to us by him whom he made Heir of all things, Heb. 1. 1, 2. Neither are the fore-mentioned Uses of the Law contrary to the Grace of the Gospel, but do sweetly comply therewith, the Spirit of Christ subduing and enabling the Will of Man to do that freely and chearfully, which the Will of God, revealed in the Law, required to be done.

(Conclusion in next issue.)

An Account of the Estate of Mary Hall Deceased October 27 1714 is

1714		Dr
Nouem ^r	to John Sauage for a	
14	ffunerall sarmond	000 10 00
	Expences at severall times	000 06 06
	to Coach heyr	000 01 06
	to the hurs & waishing clothes	000 08 06
	to Admnnisteration	001 13 10
14	to the vndertakers bill	014 05 00
	Due to George Jarvis in his Church Book	001 13 06
	to a Letter	000 00 04
	Spent on the praisers payd M ^r Hawkins	000 04 08 000 00 10
21	to Benjamine Johnson	010 00 00
22	to a letter	000 00 04
30	to mrs Arnold	000 10 00
	to Susannah Boucher	000 10 00
	to mrs Addams at Bednall green	000 05 00
	to mrs Humber	001 00 00
Decem ^r 21	to Richard Addams seni ^o his Legacy	010 00 00
	to George Addams his Legacy	010 00 00

	to William Addams his Legacy	010	00	00
	to Richard Addams junio his Legacy	010	00	00
	to Sarah Addams her Legacy	010	00	00
26	to Rent at pinners hall more then Rcd	000	15	09
28	to mrs turner	000	10	00
31	to the Apothecaryes bill	000	06	08
January	to John Haydon senior	001	01	06
24	to John Haydon Junior	000	10	00
	to mr Hawkings	005	00	00
	to mr Jarvis	005	00	00
March	to Jane Smith	001	00	00
15	to Mary Smith	001	00	00
	to Elizabeth Arnold	000	10	00
	to Tho North & his wife	001	00	00
	to Elizabeth Mickell	000	05	00
	to m ^r Thomas a minnester	000	05	00
March 18	Spent on mr farrant	000	01	00
1715				
27	to John fflowle	001	10	00
	to mr Batt for Edward Stennetts youse	005	00	00
	to Martha fflowle	001	00	00
Ap 19	to money payd mr ffarrant spent on mr ffarrant and mallory	001	01	06
		001	01	.8
117:9:20	spent more on mr ffarrant	000	01	00
30	spent on m ^r mallorey and our selves	000	01	04
May 3	to Edith Addams	010	00	00
	to expense	000	01	.6
	to mrs Hill	001	00	03
	spent	001	01	00

An Account of the Estate of Mary Hall

91

	to mrs Waters	000	10	00
	to expence	000	01	..
Dem ^r 28	to mr Hollis ffor Rent	001	00	00
28	to m ^r Humber for the vse of m ^r Turner in Chertsey	001	00	00
1716				
March	to George Jarvis to ballans			
28	his church booke	000	18	04
1716	to Severall disbursments for			
July 28	the vse ye congregation	005	07	06
1717	to money payd for vse of			
April 30	the Church	006	00	00
1718	Money payd for the vse of			
Novem 25	the Church	007	00	00
1721	Mony payd for the vse of			
Novem 9	the church	003	00	00
172 $\frac{1}{2}$	Mony payd for the vse of			
January 17	the church	004	00	00
	payd to the vse of the Church at severall times	007	12	11
		<hr/>		
		165	02	11

London anno 1714.

		Cr		
p contra is				
1714	Received of her money 23			
octor 28	guineys	024	14	06
	Receiued more	001	12	05
	Receiued money Lent on a Bible	000	01	06
	By two east India Bonds ffor	100	00	00
nouem ^r	By two months intrust on the			
30	bonds	001	00	00
Decem ^r 6	By three spoones sence ffor	001	13	06

12	By John Haydon ffor two books	000	10	00
20	By peate sould m ^r Marloe By Richard Addams for Dis- bursements on theyr Afayrs	013	05	06
March 2	By William Mason	003	00	00
1715	By m ^r Mayo	005	00	00
Ap 30	By m ^r ffox	001	14	00
may 4	By money Rcd of George Jarvis	020	00	00
octob 27	By m ^r Batt ffor candles on Judah Skipp act ^t	000	05	00
1716	By money Receiued of			
march 28	George Jarvis	005	07	06
		<hr/>		
		165	02	11

A document of this kind has interest for students of many kinds, and the economist may profit by comparing the expense in various ways, or by comparing with accounts of others executors. For our purpose it may be analyzed as to its Baptist information, with the explanation that the apparent executors were the deacons of the Pinners' Hall Sabbatarian church, who entered this account on spare pages of their minute-book. It is the more welcome, as there is no other entry between 1703 and 1726 except four cases of discipline just after Stennett's death in 1713.

Mary Hall had been baptized elsewhere, and joined this church on 12 April, 1690. In October, 1691, Hannah Hall was baptized and admitted, dying in 1713. The surname never occurs again. It is conceivable that they were related, and that they were connected with Samuel Hall, baker, known to Marius D'Assigny, in 1709 as a Baptist preacher in London.

Not much light is thrown on the internal history

of this church. It is a puzzle why ordinary entries cease in 1703; we are loath to believe that Stennett, who had just been invited to help the ordinary First-day Baptist Church at Barbican, neglected this church henceforward; but whereas he had added to the church 35 men and 78 women in the previous thirteen years, the roll from this time forward is not kept with dates annexed, and for the ten years remaining of his career, shows only 13 men and 15 women added. His death did galvanize the church to momentary energy, but no entry is made to deplore the loss of his services. Mary Hall's estate yielded £5 for Edward Stennett, probably his father, for Joseph was only 49 at his death, and no other Edward is known. The church evidently fell into financial difficulties, for 15s. 9d. was needed at the end of 1714 to make up the rent paid to the real lessees; and a year later £1 had to be paid to Hollis, the treasurer of that congregation. Then come many ominous entries, to balance the church book &c, till nearly £34 was absorbed in six years to meet the current expenses. The only clue to any ministerial aid, beside the funeral sermon by John Savage, Elder at Mill Yard, is a disbursement to Mr. Thomas. He may be Timothy Thomas from Wrexham, who was brought up by his grandfather John Evans, colleague of Dr. Williams, the brother-in-law of Stennett. Timothy had settled at Pershore in 1696, and it was from Tewkesbury that the next pastor came.

Other Sabbath-keeping Churches are glanced at here: Tewkesbury was centre of a group including a Haydon family, though the John Haydons here belonged now to Mill Yard. Upton-on-Severn was the home of William Hawkins in 1690. Mary Batt had joined from Salisbury, Edward Stennett was pastor at Wallingford, Turner belonged to the Chertsey Church. Mill Yard accounts for Mayo as well as Haydon and Savage.

Ordinary Baptist Churches of the Particular group, are represented in this account. Susannah Boucher, apparently of Huguenot descent like the Guills who figure in this church, and also as parents of Dr. Gill, had come from the Horsleydown Church of Benjamin Keach, as had also the Fowles. Indeed there had been a rather steady flow from this source, even Keach's own daughter, Hannah Green, having deserted him to keep the Sabbath here. He was so annoyed that he preached and published on the subject, without much arresting the flow. It is to his credit that the friendship of the ministers remained very close. From the church of his son Elias, had come William Arnold. The number of bequests to the Adams family suggests a possible relationship. Richard Adams seems to have been concerned with nearly every London Baptist movement, even in his old age; for as was shown in our volume II, page 161, he was pensioned off from Devonshire Square, and was corresponding with Portsmouth. It is somewhat curious that a member thence came to this church in 1741, and in 1767 a second Thomas Whitewood, perhaps grandson of Adams' friend, became pastor here for a few months.

So many sparks of light can be struck from a flinty old account, into a subject dry as tinder to many.

Early Baptist Writers of Verse.

CHEARE, BUNYAN, KEACH.

MY subject might easily be mistaken for one of a merely dilettante order; but only by those who are ignorant of the elements that went to the making of early Baptists. They were not "idle singers of an idle day"; their verses were not the outcome of loitering moods and luxurious conditions. Halcyon days and assured material possessions afforded them no opportunity for cultivating the company of the Muses. The only leisure found by them for putting their thoughts into metre and rhyme were periods of imprisonment. Nor did the austere language of Zion allow of any appeal to Pagan sources for the kindling of the poetic flame; their one fount of inspiration was the Holy Spirit.

Three writers only are included in my scope at this time, all belonging to the seventeenth century, and all prison writers. viz., Abraham Cheare, John Bunyan, and Benjamin Keach. Cheare died in gaol, Bunyan spent over twelve years in imprisonment. Keach endured incarceration, and was condemned to stand upon the pillory at Aylesbury with a painted paper upon his head, with the inscription: "For writing and printing and publishing a schismatical book." This book was openly burnt by the public hangman.

Cheare, the eldest, was born 28 May, 1626, and died 5 March, 1667-8; Bunyan, born 1628, closed his pilgrimage 1688; Keach, the youngest, born 1640, lived on till 1704. And in their verses the same order may be observed. Cheare dated some lines 1663, a year later Bunyan and Keach published their earliest poems. A compact assemblage of facts as to the dates and publications of these early verse-writers may not be unworthy the work of our Society, and may include data not always easy to find. In the case of Cheare, much help has been derived from Mr. Henry M. Nicholson's history of George Street Church, enriched in 1904 by many extracts from the records at Plymouth and Exeter. The name appears there in many forms, Chare, Chaire, Cheere, Chere, Cheare, which last seems what he himself preferred.

Four publications bearing his name are extant. In August 1656 he joined with four other "weak and unworthy children"

in emitting "Sighs for Sion." Two years later he and Robert Steed issued "A Plain Discovery of the Unrighteous Judge and False Accuser," namely, Richard Bellamy of Tiverton; a copy of this is owned by our President. Soon after his death, a friend who had been constantly with him printed his "Words in Season," covering 294 pages. Then on 12 February 1672-3 came forth the work which enshrines most of his verse. This proved so popular that three if not four editions were called for within a year, this being the time when the penal laws were not enforced; and it was reprinted even in 1708. This work again was composite, but Cheare's verse occupies seventy-six pages, and Jessey's prose only sixteen, the editor bringing up the total to ninety-eight. My copy is one of the second edition, but is nevertheless dated 1673. The title is sufficiently long, after the fashion of the times. But on the ground of it being a pioneer book, as well as upon other points of absorbing interest, it claims complete transcription. It runs thus:

"A Looking Glass for Children. Being a Narrative of God's gracious Dealings with some Little Children; Recollected by Henry Jessey in his life-time. Together, with Sundry seasonable Lessons and Instructions to Youth, calling them early to remember their Creator: Written by Abraham Chear, late of Plymouth.

"The Second Edition, Corrected and Amended. To which is added many other poems very sutable. As also some Elegies on Departed Friends: made by the said Abraham Chear. All now faithfully gathered together, for the benefit of Young and Old by H. P. . . . London, Printed for Robert Boulter, at the Turks-Head in Cornhill, 1673."

To these books, available still, must be added a letter, and the early records of the Plymouth church, borrowed and summarised by Dr. Rippon about 1800, in his Register, volume 3, page 273. Crosby stated loosely that he was "ejected" from Plymouth, and then ministered at Looe; mistakes corrected even by Ivimey. Drawing on the sources named, we obtain the following sketch of his life.

He was the fifth child of John Cheare, who leased two of the four Fulling Mills built by Sir Francis Drake in Plymouth; and he was bred to his father's trade, retaining the lease of one mill till a year before his death. When free, he never lived out of the town a month together, except for one journey to London. He was put into the trained bands which were called out in 1644 to resist the siege by the King, but he owns that he never

was accounted worthy of promotion to be so much as a corporal; this was natural, as he was only eighteen years old. He also says that for some few weeks, unknown to him and against his will, he was mustered a chaplain to the fort, but quickly got himself discharged of that again. This shows that within a few years he had awakened to religion; as to which his own account is that about 1648, he being convinced of his duty to the Lord, by evidence of Scriptural light, joined himself in a holy covenant to walk in all the ordinances of the Lord blameless, to the best of his light and power, in fellowship with a poor and despised people.

The records in Rippon's hands began with that year, and showed that he was then chosen pastor, a great responsibility for a young man of twenty-two. Rippon adds that his call "is said to have been signed by 150 members," but he evidently doubted the hearsay, even if it be remembered that many lived as far afield as Looe, Penryn, Falmouth, and Holsworthy, and that he alludes to his "frequent little journeys." He gives a detailed account of the baptism of Captain Langdon in Cornwall, in a letter among the Gifford manuscripts at Bristol.

In 1651 the church bought a site on the Pig Market and set apart a house for meeting, where three years later it was disturbed at worship by Thomas Arey, the Quaker missionary. Association life had begun by now in the west, but Cheare does not seem to have joined in this till after Jessey's tour of 1655. Messengers went from Looe and Plymouth to the meeting at Exeter on 6 October 1656, but Cheare's name does not appear as signing the minutes. He was evidently marked as full of promise, for the Bridgwater church suggested that his church ought to set a man free for general itineracy; and it was in this year that he joined with Forty, Pendarves, Glasse, and Steed in the Sighs addressed to their churches. In 1658 he was again at the Dorchester Association. Next year the Presbyterians came into power, and the Baptist Association meetings seem to have ceased, while at Plymouth the constables began prosecuting those who were absent from church in sermon time.

With the Restoration, Cheare's serious troubles began. At Easter 1661 he was in Exeter gaol for "encouraging religious assemblies," but he was freed after three months, probably in connection with the coronation, and promptly resumed his work. The Presbyterians were still in local power on 26 June 1662 when he wrote to a friend in prison, "My Father graciously indulges me and the lambs here, giving us an undeserved covert even where Satan's Seat is, while other flocks are dispersed and

scattered." But the Royal Commissioners to enforce the Corporation Act arrived in August, and installed persecuting Episcopalians into office. On the seventeenth he preached a farewell sermon, foreseeing that matters would not stop with ejecting parish ministers on Bartholomew's Day. Sure enough, the Oath of Allegiance was tendered to him, under an Act of 1610, and as he declined to take any oath, he was committed by the new mayor to Exeter gaol. Several letters he wrote thence fell into Rippon's hands, and fortunately he printed one of the earliest, written 17 September to William Punchard. While speaking plainly of the holes of the earth, slaughter-houses of men, walls enclosing good and bad, yet he found comfort in the thought that a week in a prison gave plainer discovery of a man's spirit than a month in a church.

He was given two or three opportunities of reconsidering, and taking the oath; Baptists were busy discussing in print whether this were permissible, and both opinions were held. Cheare, however, still declined, and at Midsummer Sessions 1663 he was at last sentenced for premunire. This involved outlawry, forfeiture of all property, imprisonment during the royal pleasure. In August 1665 he got leave to visit his people, but was soon discovered at large and imprisoned at the Plymouth Guildhall for a month. On 27 September he was sent to the little island of St. Nicholas in the harbour, and there he stayed till death.

His friend and apologist shows that the head and front of his offending consisted in being a ringleader of a resolute and uncompromising sect. That he was never concerned in, nor truly charged with any plot, mutiny, or tumult; that he never caused any disturbance, or gave the least occasion of fear or jealousy. Thus this loving and tender-hearted man, whose offence simply was the leading of people to worship God after the precedents of the primitive Christian Church, was not only unjustly imprisoned, but became a victim of the harsh treatment he was called upon to endure. He died triumphantly, however, and the precious little book of which we speak was one of the chief fruits of his long incarceration.

His editor, H. P.—possibly one of the Punchard family, of London—under the inspiration of our author, rises into verse himself in commending Cheare's work. He says:

"Go little Book, and speak for them that be
Launch'd with great safety to Eternity;
Engaging others, by what they did find,
Their everlasting Peace chiefly to mind.

Observe the Lessons given by Abram Chear,
That they your Soul may unto Christ endear."

Accounting for the production of these efforts, he says: "Here follows some of the Fruits of Mr. Abraham Chear's spare hours improvement, whilst a Prisoner: Made and directed to some he was nearly related to, and dearly affected."

One of the most touching items in the book is Cheare's own account of his imprisonments, described as "Verses affixed to the Wall of the Prison, at the Guildhall in Plymouth: where A. C. was detained a month, and thence sent to the Island, the 27th September, 1665."

"Nigh four years since, sent out from hence,
To Exon Gaol was I,
But special Grace in three months space,
Wrought out my liberty.
Till Bartholomew in sixty-two,
That freedom did remain;
Then without bail to Exon Gail,
I hurried was again,
Where having laid, as do the slain
'Mong dead men wholly free;
Full three years' space, my native place,
By leave I came to see.
And thought not then, I here again
A moneth's restraint should find,
Since to my Den, cast out from men,
I'm during life design'd.
But since my lines the Lord assigns
In such a lot to be,
I kiss the rod, confess my God
Deals faithfully with me.
My chargéd crime, in His due time,
He fully will decide,
And until then, forgiving men,
In peace with Him I bide."

There are other verses that relate to his personal experience. Immediately following these wonderful records of hardship, are lines almost more impressive:

"On the beginning of his recovery from a great sickness,
on the Island of Plymouth.
To His truly Sacred Majesty, the High and Mighty Potentate.
King of kings, and Lord of lords, Prince of Life and

Peace, Heir of all things, and Head over all to the Church.

The humble prostration and thankful acknowledgement of a poor Prisoner of Hope, whose life upon all accounts hath been marvellously preserved, and delivered with a great Salvation from the pit of Corruption."

This really noble poem of thanksgiving and praise should be read by all Free Churchmen, but it is too long for complete insertion, I can only quote a few lines:

"Most glorious Sovereign to thy feet is brought,
The trembling Offspring of a contrite thought,
By a poor Captive who attempts to raise,
An Eben-ezer to his Saviours praise.
A lasting Pillar as in Conscience bound,
In due remembrance of choice favours found;
With Grace to succour in a needful hour,
From death's dominion, and the Tempter's power."

Great interest also generally attaches to the book on account of its many allusions to his friends and members of his flock. Thus, an "Anagram on John Edwards junior, who died in the Prison at Exon the 27th year of his age." Again, an "Anagram on Mrs. Margaret Trenick, of Plymouth; who departed this life on the 30th day of the second month, 1665." And once more, "A Mourner's Mite, towards the right Remembrance of that Labourer in the Gospel, Thomas Glass, who rested from his work on earth, the 30th day of the 7th month, 1666." Several poems also are addressed to relations of his named Lark, as, "To my Cousin, W. L."; "To my Kinsman, A. L."

But it is time I addressed myself to the main purpose of the book. It is "A Looking-Glass for CHILDREN." Children "writ large." It is not misnamed; a book more sympathetic with child-life, and with a more sincere desire to lead children to Christ is not to be found. A fact of great importance, that has not received the recognition it claims, comes under our notice at this time; viz., the deep and loving interest these early Baptists took in children, and the real and adapted methods they devised to reach them and make them true Christians. Close familiarity with the literature of the time will lead any appreciative reader to this conclusion. I bring before you three authors whose compositions commenced about the period of the Restoration, and they all lay themselves out distinctly to the end of winning the children. It may also be said that their most successful efforts in verse are attained in this particular realm. What could

be better than Cheare's opening lines on "Remember now thy Creator in the days of thy youth."

"Sweet children, Wisdom you invites
To hearken to her Voice,
She offers to you rare delights
Most worthy of your choice.
Eternal blessings in her wayes,
You shall be sure to find;
Oh! therefore in your youthful dayes,
Your great Creator mind."

Extending, as it does, to fourteen verses, the poem warns against the world, enjoins Scripture precepts and prayer, enforces early piety, and gives notable examples—as Isaac, Samuel, Josiah, and Timothy—and concludes by urging personal consecration in the following feeling and truly poetical lines:

"This Garland, wreath'd of youthful flowers
To Jesus you would bring:
This Morn made up of golden Hours,
You would present the King.
You'd humbly bow without delays,
Grace in His sight to find;
And gladly now, and all your days,
Your Great Creator mind."

A poem thus headed: "Written to a young Virgin, Anno 1663," is one of the choicest. It has an introduction in verse that is a gem in its way. I select the lines:

"Sweet Child
When I bethink what need there is of care,
For precious souls to save themselves from snare:

This song, I thought, you now and then might sing
If God would follow it, to mind to bring
Your state by nature and the Gospel Path
To set you free from everlasting Wrath.
If, morn by morn, you in this Glass will dress you,
I have some hopes that God by it may bless you."

It will be noted that the author, in his earnest desire for the salvation of the soul is oblivious to any appeal there may be to vanity on account of physical beauty, as a motive to secure the end proposed.

"When by Spectators I am told,
 What beauty doth adorn me:
 Or in a Glass when I behold,
 How sweetly God did form me.
 Hath God such comliness display'd
 And on me made to dwell?
 'Tis pitty, such a pretty Maid
 As I, should go to Hell."

This song, as Cheare calls it, is charming all through with human and inconsequent touches. So like a consciously pretty girl placing the pleasures of a worldly life over against those of a grave religiousness. But the sterner side of Puritan theology comes out in the tenth verse, which is the last, in which the "tenders" i.e. offers of "new Cov'nant Grace"—are introduced: and the child is informed that notwithstanding her beauty, she is lost by her sin and must be plucked from the pit:

"Would Christ my Spirit lead along,
 These tenders to embrace,
 I should have matter for a Song,
 To Praise His Glorious Grace.
 How first of goodness I was seiz'd,
 From what a state I fell;
 To what a glory God hath rais'd,
 A Fire-brand pluckt from Hell."

Popular, undoubtedly, this song became. In my earliest edition of Keach's "Instructions for Children," dated 1691, if I may anticipate for a moment, I find it quoted, with this introductory remark: "Moreover I would have you get that little Book called, 'A Token for Children,' and another called, 'A Looking-Glass for Children.' Next to your Bible, pray read them pretty Books." But he has reduced the song to seven verses.

This little book abounds with expressions of spontaneous affection and artless persuasiveness, quite irresistible. "To my Cousin, T. H., at School," he writes:

"My thoughts to Meeter were inclin'd,
 As thinking on a Scholar's mind
 It might at first with fansie take,
 And after deep impressions make."

"To my Cousin, John H.," he says:

"Sweet John, I send you here,
 A Song by heart to learn;
 Not it to say, as Parrets may,
 But wisely to discern."

Again, "To my Cousin Sam. B.":

"Dear Cousin Sam, my pretty Lamb,
This Song to you I send;
Whatever play aside you lay,
Learn this from end to end."

Such charming little poems were repeatedly written, and all from prison; that the children who received them must have wept with a great yearning to get into the presence of such a loving and earnest well wisher.

Of a different type and scope is "A Description of an Elect Person, in his threefold state, by Nature, Grace, and Glory; Collected by Va. Powel, in the close of his Catechism." But when "translated into familiar verse for children" by Cheare, the resentment generally awakened by the presence of the "elect person" is quite dissipated. This is a long and orderly poem of thirty-five verses. Each verse contains allusions to Nature, Grace, Glory, and Rest in proper sequence. Thus:

"The form of Godliness I loath'd	Nature.
Which Sons of God profess;	
Now with its power compleatly cloathed	Grace.
With all my heart I press.	
The price of that high Call at last,	Glory.
I am in hope to gain.	
Lord! Why should all this Grace be cast	Rest.
Upon a Wretch so vain?"	

It will not be denied by any well instructed and gracious person that we are here brought into contact with a rare spirit, a sweet and saintly soul. Nor will any generous nature, however cultured, deny that this man possessed a real and delightful, if limited, lyrical gift. I shall not be misunderstood when I say that, in direct simplicity and profound mystical suggestion combined, he frequently reminds me of William Blake.

As authors of verse, Cheare and Bunyan were practically contemporaries. But we have seen that one item at least in Cheare's collection was written in 1663—and possibly printed in broadside, as the custom was, at the same date. Bunyan's imprisonment commenced in 1660. His first compositions in verse included "Serious Meditations" upon the "Four Last Things," "Eball and Gerizzim," with "Prison Meditations." These were published in 1664, possibly in separate form. Ofor tells us he had a third edition, dated 1688, which I suppose perished in the fire that destroyed so many volumes of his collection. My

copy is the fourth, so is that also in the British Museum, and none earlier is known to-day.

A further item is one of mystery and romance. In the first record of it, viz., in 1692 it is described by Doe as: "Meditations on seventy-four things." In the bibliographical list of 1698, and by the same compiler, but with more detail, it is set forth as "A Book for Boys and Girls, or Country Rhymes for Children, in Verse, on Seventy-four things. Published 1686. In about six sheets 12mo."

Then followed an edition of 1701, which caused all the perplexity. Here the title was changed to "A Book for Boys and Girls, or Temporal Things Spiritualized." But instead of "seventy-four things" this issue contained only "forty-nine things." This title was again changed by the addition of a new headline, viz., "Divine Emblems." So it remained, including only forty-nine items, sometimes illustrated, sometimes not, through very many editions down to 1890, when Dr. Brown edited "a facsimile edition of the unique first edition" of 1686, which was published by Elliot Stock. No copy evidently had fallen into the hand of any responsible bibliographer through well nigh two hundred years. The copy that ultimately came to light had been in the Stowe collection, the library of the Duke of Buckingham. On the breaking up of that library it became the property of a gentleman in New York for forty guineas; it fell into the hands of Mr. Henry N. Stevens, of Great Russell Street, and is now deposited in the British Museum, from which the reprint was taken. The story of the reduction of the emblems in number is too long to enter upon here; but in all probability some editor, thinking himself wiser than the author, regarded certain emblems as too plain—for some were changed—and other matter was frequently added. Books as well as men pass through strange adventures!

In reading Bunyan's poems the constraint to quote is not overmastering, yet at times the sentiment is so just, and the spirit of the lines so brave, that a moral compulsion is felt when poetic admiration is not deeply stirred. Thus, in "Prison Meditations," there are sentiments equal to Lovelace's well known lines on imprisonment; if lacking his supreme art in expression, they include sources of joy and motives to endurance to which he was a stranger.

"I am (indeed) in Prison (now)
 In Body, but my Mind
 Is free to Study Christ, and how
 Unto me He is kind.

For though men keep my outward man
 Within their Locks and Bars,
 Yet by the Faith of Christ I can
 Mount higher than the Stars.

Their Fetters cannot spirits tame,
 Nor tye up God from me;
 My Faith and Hope they cannot lame;
 Above them I shall be.

I here am very much refresh't
 To think when I was out
 I preachéd Life, and Peace, and Rest,
 To sinners round about.

My business then was Souls to Save,
 By preaching Grace and Faith,
 Of which the comfort now I have,
 And have it shall to death."

Still another book of poems awaits us, entitled "Meditations on the Several Ages of Man's Life: To which is Added Scriptural Poems," i.e., on Ruth, Sampson, Christ, Sermon on the Mount, Jonah, Joseph, and the Epistle of James. Licensed according to Order. London: Printed for J. Blare, at the Looking Glass on London Bridge, 1701." There is reason to believe the book has not been reprinted; it certainly escaped the notice of the early editors, but I am fortunate in owning a copy and knowing the location of a second. There are seven emblems of the seven traditional ages, with a verse under each; but the main part of the work is in prose. This section has been regarded as an imposture, and it certainly was issued by the publisher who put out the third part of the Pilgrim's Progress. The Scriptural Poems, however, are regarded as genuine, and internal evidence looks in this direction. The address to the reader in verse is unusually interesting. I can only insert a few lines:

"Nor could'st thou hope to have it better done:
 For I am no Poet, nor a Poet's Son,
 But a Mechanick, guided by no rule,
 But what I gainéd in a Grammar School."

He then expresses a wish that men of poetic genius would versify the Scriptures, and concludes with a delightful reference from our greatest devotional poet:

“ If what the Learned Herbert says, holds true,
 A verse may find him, whom a sermon flies,
 And turn delight into a sacrifice;
 Thus I conclude, and wish it as delighting
 To thee in reading as to me in writing.”

For the rest, we are all acquainted with the introductions and verses scattered up and down the Pilgrim and the Holy War. My favourite of all the descriptive poems is the Epilogue to the Holy War, in which the author makes good his claim to have originated the whole of the Pilgrim. He answers the charge: “Some say the ‘Pilgrim’s Progress’ is not mine,” but declares: “—the whole, and every whit, is mine.” Then finally reaches his quaint ending:

“ Witness my name, if anagram’d to thee,
 The letters make NU HONEY IN A B.”

Perhaps my readers will forgive a minute reference of interest. Do we not find an echo of one of Cheare’s double anagrams here? It is on CALEB VERNON, and is most ingenious:

“ Through Adam’s nature I UNCLEAN was BORE,
 Through grace (betime) Christ’s NUE CLEAN ROBE I wore.”

In this instance, surely, Cheare provided a hint.

Dr. H. S. Burrage classes Bunyan with our hymn writers, and we do not grudge him his place; but the efforts on which he bases his claim are slight, viz., Mercy’s hymn, and the shepherd boy’s song, both from the second part of the Pilgrim. Respectively: “Let the Most Blesséd be my Guide”; “He that is down needs fear no fall.” Andrew Lang, however, has done justice to Bunyan as a British poet by including his verses on a Pilgrim in his distinguished anthology called “The Blue Poetry Book.” The words are familiar:

“ Who would true valour see,
 Let him come hither:
 One here will constant be,
 Come wind, come weather.
 There’s no discouragement
 Shall make him once relent,
 His first avow’d intent
 To be a pilgrim.”

Whether Keach’s voluminous productions of versified Puritanic theology and Baptist sentiment created his constituency, or that his readers had a hunger for rhymed religion, one

can scarcely determine; possibly something of both. But, however this may have been, one thing is certain: his books of verses had a great vogue. They ran through many editions in the seventeenth century, and continued popular well on to the end of the eighteenth century. In the Chap-book form, illustrated with crude but quaint woodcuts, bound either in sheep or buckram, and sold by hawkers from door to door, or at country fairs, their circulation was enormous. These books made religion, as was said of our early versions of the English Bible, "to be understood of the common people." They were handy, could be carried in the pocket, and the rhymes gave a piquancy to truth. The explanation of this popularity is an open secret to a sympathetic student. Keach's influence depended upon no literary skill; he was sound, sincere, and pungent. And this combination proved to be sufficient. And no wonder; we should wonder more if he had failed.

Keach entered the lists of authorship at quite an early age. His "Childs' Instructor, or a new and Easy Primer," was published, as we have seen, as early as 1664. It was so successfully destroyed that every copy of the first issue seems to have disappeared. Subsequently, however, in London, he reproduced it; but for this effort he had to depend upon his memory, for he could secure no copy of the first issue, though he sought diligently. For its reproduction he was fined £20. No more useful book for a child can be conceived of. It is educational; containing the alphabet, instructions in spelling and composition, lists of numerals and exercises in arithmetic, religious injunctions, verses and hymns; with an eulogistic preface by "Hansard Knowles." Altogether, a book calculated to make a studious child's heart leap for joy.

Notwithstanding the fiery baptism of his first literary effort, Keach lost none of his impassioned enthusiasm as a propagandist of Baptist doctrines and practices. Publications, however, for a few years ceased, though his tongue and pen were both busy. He is reputed to have published in 1670 a tribute of verse to the memory of his first wife, though no copy is known. By 1673 "War with the Devil: Or, the Young Man's Conflict with the Powers of Darkness," was advertised for sale, the earliest copy known being 1676. Like some other Baptist preachers, John Bunyan for instance, he came into resentful contact with the Quakers, and in 1675 published "The Grand Imposter Discovered: Or, The Quaker Doctrine weighed in the Ballance and found wanting." After an elegy on John Norcot next year, there came in 1679 what some regard as his most successful effort in

verse: "The Glorious Lover: A Divine Poem upon the Adorable Mystery of Sinners' Redemption." In 1681 he published "Sion in Distress," a wail at persecution, which he balanced in 1689 with "Distressed Sion Relieved." All these in verse, beside many brief productions scattered up and down, in his "Key to Open Scripture Metaphors," that enormous folio, consulted by Scripture students even down to the present day; also in other writings.

It was not, however, merely in the department of religious and devotional verse Keach achieved his fame; but as an advocate of singing in religious services, and as a composer of hymns, he left the deepest impression upon his own times. I have not at any time raised Keach to the dignity of a Christian poet; and the distinction between poetry and hymns is a commonplace. We love to have these elements combined if possible; but a hymn may admirably accomplish its purpose with the almost complete absence of poetry. This gradation we need not discuss.

Although on the Continent the Anabaptists were remarkable for their hymns, yet in England a disuse of singing in many Baptist meetings had been brought about by various causes during the seventeenth century. In times of fierce persecution the sound of praise had occasionally betrayed the place of private meetings. Thus caution by frequent repetition might easily crystallize into a confirmed resentment against that which exposed to disturbance and imprisonment. Again, a decided hatred of the formal usages of the dominant church threw them out of sympathy with music, even vocal; they complained "'Tis as bad as Common Prayer." Further, another party made a distinction between psalms and paraphrases of psalms, and hymns of modern composition—the first were Scriptural and allowable, the second to be prohibited. And finally the culminating offence seems to have been the singing of a sacred hymn by a mixed congregation, viz., by non-members who remained to witness the observance of the Lord's Supper without themselves partaking of the elements. With patience, prudence, and Christian love, Keach for years combatted these objections, and stood resolutely for hymns of modern composition and praise in the mixed congregation. He emerged from the fray with the loss of some of his church members; but the issue was the gladdening of the congregation with the jubilant song and the hallelujah of praise.

As early as 1675, in "War with the Devil," Keach had essayed a small collection of "hymns and spiritual songs," containing, amongst others, "A Mystical Hymn of Thanksgiving." It has the verse:

“ My soul mounts up with Eagle’s wings,
 And unto Thee, dear God, she sings;
 Since Thou art on my side,
 My enemies are forc’d to fly
 As soon as they do Thee espy;
 Thy name be glorifi’d.”

“ Divine Breathings ” is comprehensive in scope and inclusive of strange rhymes, and does not abjure maledictions. Thus:

“ Let Grace and Knowledge now abound,
 And the blest Gospel shine so clear,
 That it Rome’s Harlot may Confound,
 And Popish darkness quite cashier;
 O let Thy face on Sion shine,
 But plague these cursed foes of Thine.
 Nay, precious God, let Light extend
 To China and East India;
 To Thee let all the people bend,
 Who live in wild America;
 O let Thy blessed Gospel shine
 That the blind Heathen may be Thine.
 Send forth Thy Light like to the morn
 Most swiftly Lord, O let it fly
 From Cancer unto Capricorn;
 That all dark nations may espy
 Thy glorious Face on them to shine,
 And they in Christ for to be Thine.”

This intrepid champion of singing has made good his claim to the gratitude of Baptists of all time. Two books set forth his courage and his rhyming ability. These were both published in 1691. “ The Breach Repaired in God’s Worship: Or, Singing of Psalms, Hymns, and Spiritual Songs, proved to be an Holy Ordinance of Jesus Christ,” tells the story of the fiery conflict. He affirmed that there is no “ more reason against compiling sacred hymns to be sung out of the Word of Christ than there is to object against pre-compiled sermons.” Having fought this battle in the interest of praise, he felt it incumbent upon him to provide hymns for the sanctuary. Thus he promptly published his “ Spiritual Melody, containing near Three Hundred Sacred Hymns.” Both works are scarce, the “ Spiritual Melody ” being absolutely rare. The book has the distinction of being the really first Baptist Hymnal. A fair illustration of the kind of hymn it contains is the following:

“ O Virgins know, both Fools and Wise,
 The Bridegroom is at hand:
 He comes, He comes, let it suffice,
 But who with Him shall stand?

Cast off your drowze, let's all awake,
 'Tis not a time to slumber:
 But speedily our Lamps let's take
 And haste to the Wedding-Chamber:
 For certainly our dearest Lord
 Will quickly come away;
 The mid-night cry will soon be heard—
 His chariots will not stay.”

Out of this “near three hundred hymns,” few have survived. Indeed, a modern authority affirms that “none of them are now in use.” Nevertheless, many sacred poets and hymn-writers have not filled so large a space in the devotional and praise service of men as our author.

Mr. Spurgeon's estimate of Keach's poetry is decidedly frank and not flattering: “As for the poetry of Keach's works, the less said the better. It is a rigmarole almost equal to John Bunyan's rhyming, but hardly up even to the mark of honest John.”

From this brief review it will appear that both the defence and spread of Baptist principles, in the earliest times in England, were greatly aided by these writings in verse. Further, they enshrine and perpetuate records of persecution bravely born in the cause of religion. For an alternative title of this paper might have been “Baptist Prison Poems.” Again the title might be varied, and with equal fitness phrased as “Divine Poems and Songs for Children and Young People.” Their great aim was to gather into the fold of the Church, and to guard from the power of an evil world, the youth of the nation. And whatever the critical estimate of succeeding generations may be with regard to literary grace and poetical power in these productions (and we cannot expect it to rise) it is certain that the verdict upon the saintliness and heroism of these men cannot decline. They were not bards, but fervent preachers. They did not even produce the “polished line,” but they suffered for the truth. We do not covet authority to canonize men as saints, but these of whom we speak needed no papal patent to prove them followers of the Lamb. Our Free Churches must recognise them as apostles of freedom, and they must be venerated evermore as the early fathers of our beloved English Baptist churches.

JOHN C. FOSTER.

A.D. 1662 - Uniformity or Unity ?

THE year 1662 stands out in the religious annals of this country. The passing of the Act of Uniformity, and the consequent wholesale eviction of clergymen from their livings, and of schoolmasters and the fellows of colleges from the enjoyment of their scholastic privileges, has made an indelible impression on the imagination of the English people. The only parallel is that of the Disruption, in Scotland, where, in 1843, four hundred and seventy ministers of the Established Church vacated their charges as a protest against the domination of the Civil Courts in spiritual matters. The eviction was not by any means the first that had taken place in England. Indeed, for a century and more, ever since the suppression of the monasteries by Henry VIII., one party after another had inflicted the same penalty on those who differed from them in religion. Mary, on her succession, ordered the expulsion of all the married clergy. James I., on whom the hopes of toleration, both of Papist and Puritan, were placed in vain, declared of the latter, "I will make them conform or I will harry them out of the land," and, in pursuance of his threat, three hundred Puritan clergymen were deprived of their livings. Cromwell's ejectors, on the other hand, turned out many Episcopalians. There had been no monopoly of eviction since the Reformation. What then has caused this particular event to lay hold on the imagination of the Church?

The causes are doubtless complex. Not only was the number of individuals involved larger than in any previous eviction,—the total is generally placed at 2,000—but so strong a hold had the principles of the Reformation taken upon the people that the numbers effected by the ejection of their pastors probably reached to one third of the whole community. Moreover, by their refusal to conform where the inducements were so great, those who did leave their benefices in obedience to the dictates of conscience proved themselves to be men of strong conviction and sterling worth. The very cream of the clergy were driven into Dissent; the Church of England could ill afford to lose men like Richard Baxter and John Owen.

Two hundred and fifty years have passed since the fateful "Black Bartholomew's Day," 24th August, 1662, and there has been much celebration up and down the land of this decisive breach between Episcopacy and Nonconformity, which latter may be said to have finally set out upon its career from that date. It is needless to add anything to what has been said so well by many eminent men on the general question, but the main issue on that memorable day is one which deeply affects us even now. Then the blow was struck which shattered beyond all hope of recovery the solidarity of the Church of Christ in England, for, although many congregations of Separatists already existed, the great bulk of the people held for a national Church, each party, however, desiring to impose upon the nation the type which it favoured. Men sought *Uniformity* under the mistaken impression that thus they could command *Unity*; and possibly an examination of the relation between these two ideas in the light of the events of 1662 may help us in our thinking on some of the problems which engage the attention of the Christian Church to-day.

The ideal which dominated the minds of men in the Middle Ages was that of a Universal Church under Papal domination. When this ideal was shattered by the Reformation, the conception of uniformity did not fall with it. The Sovereign became the Head of the Church, and his or her religion was held to be binding upon the people of the realm, any deviation therefrom being regarded as a political offence. Thus Mary, on her elevation to the throne, at once rescinded all the Protestant legislation of Edward VI., and imposed Romanism upon the realm with an iron hand. She sent for Cardinal Pole that he might receive England once more "into the unity of our Mother the Holy Church." Elizabeth in turn rescinded the legislation of Mary and restored that of Edward. She passed the Act of Supremacy, which vested in the Crown the control of the Church. Without herself possessing any real religious sense, she regarded the differences which separated Christians as trifles, sought a *via media* which should unite all moderate men, and imposed it upon the nation. Her own indifference to spiritual things did not prevent her from exacting absolute conformity, and she firmly refused any suggestions from her Parliament for the regulation of religion. The religious practice of the people must conform to her will.

The ideal, however, seemed to be uniformity of worship rather than unity of doctrine. Even Laud acknowledged the right to full freedom of thought, especially among the learned,

while he rigidly enforced uniformity of worship. Nor was this ideal confined to Episcopalians. With equal zeal the Presbyterians demanded the universal adoption of Presbyterian forms of worship. Thus when Pym, in the early stages of the Civil War, sought the alliance of the Scots, the price demanded was the imposition of Presbyterianism on England and Ireland. And when Charles I. was a prisoner in the hands of the Scots at Newcastle, one of the terms which they, in conjunction with the English Parliament, sought to impose upon him, was the establishment of the Presbyterian worship.

And the Act of Uniformity was not by any means the first of its kind. A century earlier a similiar act made the first Prayer Book of Edward VI. compulsory, and "An Act for the Uniformity of Common Prayer, and Service in the Church, and Administration of the Sacraments," passed *Primo Elizabethæ*, stands at the head of the Book of Common Prayer to-day. It is indeed the revival of an Act of the Parliament "holden in the fifth and sixth years of our said late Sovereign Lord King Edward the Sixth." Uniformity was the almost universal conception of the age.

What was the result of this measure? There is no need to speak here of the growth of the great Nonconformist denominations, the Presbyterians, Independents, Baptists, and Quakers, even under the repressive policy of Clarendon. The Act of Uniformity was the charter of Nonconformity. The great schism, about the sinfulness of which we have so often heard, was the result of Prelatic intolerance. The members of the Royalist Parliament of Charles II., rather than the King himself, who would have tolerated Puritans in order to secure a like toleration for Papists, were the great schismatics.

But even within the Church of England what results have been secured? How different is the form of worship in most of its churches to-day from that imposed by Elizabeth in the Act under which they now exist! If Laud, High-Churchman as he was (but no Papist) were to return to England to-day, with what amazement would he look round the churches of our land! Nowhere has the Act of Uniformity proved more futile than in the Church, the worship of which it was intended to regulate. Nowhere is the absolute failure of the ideal of Uniformity so amply demonstrated. And, indeed, uniformity in the Church of Christ is an absolute impossibility. The more virile the Church, the more impossible does it become. As "there are diversities of gifts, but the same Spirit," so "there are diversities of ministrations, and the same Lord."

But if we must give up the idea of Uniformity, must we equally abandon the hope of Unity? In these latter days there have been great yearnings after the unity of the Christian Church. The ideal of her Lord, "that they may all be one; even as Thou, Father, art in me, and I in Thee, that they also may be in Us," has laid hold on the imagination of many earnest Christians. The grave social problems of our land, and the overwhelming task presented by our Foreign Missionary work, have brought enthusiasts face to face with the urgent necessity of presenting a united front to the forces of heathenism at home and abroad. Notable advances have been made in the direction of union, as, for example, in the amalgamation of the General and Particular Baptists, the formation of the United Methodist Church and of the United Free Church of Scotland. It is well that, where differences are not vital, the union should be complete. But much more than this has been achieved; for there can be unity of spirit where concrete union is yet very far from possible. This has been remarkably illustrated during the last few years, first in the Commissions preparatory to the World Missionary Conference, and since then in the Annual Conferences of the great Missionary Societies. There, members of widely different communions, from the High Church of England through the whole range of the denominations to Baptists or Quakers, have met and wrought, in perfect fellowship, without any sense, even the most remote, of strain or mutual suspicion. A common task and common aims have held them in perfect accord. There, even conformity of worship is achieved; for all unite with equal devotion, now in extempore prayer, again in the beautiful phrases of Cranmer's Book of Common Prayer or in the recital of the great creeds of Christendom.

The phrase "organic unity" has often been used in connection with the Church as indicating something impossible of attainment. But surely organic unity is the one thing which the Church enjoys. The conferences which have just been referred to are composed of men and women who are "in Christ." Each meets his brother there in a unity which is organic and therefore perfect. The necessity of the day is that the Church should realize in practice the unity which already obtains in Christ Jesus. That hard words or sneers should be for ever banished in the realization of common interests and profound agreements.

For the real basis of Unity is not Uniformity but Liberty. When the early Church met in its first Council at Jerusalem, the question under debate had a close resemblance to that which is a main issue in the present day. The necessity of the

sacraments of Judaism to salvation was the subject of dispute. The conclusion of the Council was that there should be liberty. The only necessary condition imposed upon converts from among the Gentiles was the renunciation of idols and of the obscene rites which accompanied idol worship. Under the direction of the Holy Spirit an unholy schism was averted. It is difficult for the Free Churchman who has reached the full consciousness of salvation through simple faith in Jesus Christ to believe that sacraments can have any efficacy—to believe otherwise, indeed, than that they may be a grave hindrance to the Gospel. Yet surely we may say of the Sacramentarians what St. Peter was compelled to admit in regard to the Gentiles, "God, which knoweth the heart, bare them witness, giving them the Holy Ghost, even as he did unto us; and He made no distinction between us and them, cleansing their hearts by faith." It is for them to reconcile sacramentarianism with salvation by faith. It is for us to prove to them by consecrated lives that we have been "saved through the grace of the Lord Jesus, in like manner as they."

The one great service which the Act of Uniformity rendered to the Church of Christ was that it drove out into the wilderness a large number of godly and consecrated men who there came to recognize that religious liberty was essential to the well being of the Church—that a Free Church in a Free State was the grand ideal towards which the Church of Christ must ever advance. It may be that, before long, we shall see the whole Church of Christ in this land emancipated from the bonds of the State. The present negotiations between the two great Presbyterian churches in Scotland may have this interesting result; whereas the conflict between the laws of the State and the Canon law of the Church of England, which are equally binding on all true Churchmen, may well make the present bondage of the Church to the State intolerable to men of tender conscience. The emancipation of the Church from the State might obviate one evil from which the Church has suffered from the days of Constantine, viz. the baneful influence of politics on the spiritual life of the community. In any case, a great step would have been taken, towards that liberty which is the absolute essential of unity.

But when we speak of unity we do not necessarily think of the merging of the various denominations in one administrative body. The Church of Christ profits by the witness of every denomination that has a message of its own for the World. If our own distinctive practice of Believers' Baptism, with its

assertion of the necessity of conversion and of a new life to be lived in the power of the Spirit of God, were discontinued, how great would be the impoverishment of the Church! Whilst holding the principles which we profess with no less strenuous grasp, surely we may enter with greater zeal into the corporate life of the Church of Christ; our outlook may well be wider than it is, and our judgment of those who differ from us tenderer. In any case, strife should cease. In Sir Thomas More's "Utopia" it was "lawfull for everie man to favoure and folow what religion he would, and that he mighte do the best he could to bring other to his opinion, so that he did it peaceablie, gentle, quietly, and soberlie, without hastie and contentious rebuking and invehing against other. If he could not by faire and gentle speeche induce them unto his opinion yet he should use no kind of violence, and refraine from displeasaunte and seditious woordes. To him that would vehemently and ferventlye in this cause strive and contende was decreed banishment or bondage."

While it is unlikely that we shall ever reach the ideal of the gentle Sir Thomas, in which the whole community worship together in the morning and each goes his several way in the afternoon, there is no saying how far the principles of liberty and toleration might carry us. The one condition of salvation in the New Testament is faith. The Church is a company of believers, and men who have a common faith in the Lord Jesus Christ, not necessarily a common creed, are united in Him.*

On the other hand, the only uniformity imposed by the New Testament is that of conformity to the image of God's Son, and it would be well if the past centuries should have sufficed for the endeavour after a uniformity which Christ has never imposed, and that the Church should henceforth give "diligence to keep the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace."

GEO. W. MACALPINE.

* Since this article was in print the writer has read Principal Forsyth's last volume, *Faith, Freedom and The Future*, in the closing chapter of which the whole question of the Unity of the Christian Church, and the contribution of the Free Churches towards it, is admirably discussed.

Was John Skinner ejected in 1662 ?

THE answer to this interesting problem reveals to us the immense value to the grubber in archæological dust, of old lists and old letters, circular letters, official letters, private letters, whose intrinsic value is often gone, that may not be more than ghostly voices of the past—lists and letters that seem to the superficial to have “Had their day, and passed away”—the tidy housekeeper can see no other use for them than to light the fires, and fill the spill-vase.

Such are two letters that alone connect John Skinner with the Parish from which Calamy says he was ejected in 1662, but can give no particulars.

Save for these letters, John Skinner would be, so far as Weston-under-Penyard is concerned, *non est*, by them, *redivivus*. How little did Skinner think, as he signed them in the quaint hand of the times, that 260 years later men would be poring over those signatures with loving interest.

These letters are (1) a circular (or rather a joint) letter sent by a group of Herefordshire Baptist Churches to a young church at Hexham, and (2) a letter sent by the “Gathered Church” (as distinct from a Parochial community) in Weston, to Oliver Cromwell in 1653. The former is incorporated in the precious Records of the Hexham Church, now bound up with the old Church Records of Fenstanton and Warboys published by the Hanserd Knollys Society; the second is to be found in a collection of “Original Letters, sent to Oliver Cromwell,” published by Nicholls, and now very scarce.

The letter to Hexham was sent by a group of Baptist Churches in Herefordshire, holding “Particular” views, and probably the “Six Principles” (Heb. vi. 1, 2) and with a leaning to open communion, in which Hexham shared.

The letter is signed by Skinner, and three brethren, on behalf of Weston; by William Pritchard, and two brethren, on behalf of Abergavenny; by William Skinne (? Skinner) for “the church baptized in the Forest of Dean”; by famous John Tombes, B.D. two elders for Lintile (? Linton) in Hereford; for Bewdley; Thos.

Bolstonne and two others; for Netherton, in Gloucestershire, Richard Harrison, and Paul Frewen, both popular ministers, and William Drew; the city of Hereford by R. London, and two others; and the church at Wormbridge by John Bell.

The second letter forms one of a number of letters sent by the pastors of "Gathered Churches" to Cromwell in the same year, 1653. The Gloucester and Hereford group include two letters from Leominster, one signed by John Tombes, the Rector, who was also Pastor of the "Gathered Church," and the other by 16 persons who had seceded from Tombes' "Gathered Church." Tombes, by the way, had just been appointed one of the "Triers."

Five elders sign for Hereford, and six for Oxenden. Richard Harrison, Paul Frewen, William Drew, and four others sign for Dymock. Evidently the "Church at Netherton" and the "Church at Dymock" are identical. Giles Watkins, still pastor in 1692, signs for Cirencester, John Bell for Wormbridge, and John Skinner, for Weston-under-Penyard.

Was Skinner the Rector of Weston, as well as Pastor of the "Gathered" Baptist Church, as Tombes was at Leominster?

Calamy asserts that he was, and on his authority the Editor of the B.H.T. passed him as an "ejected" Baptist minister in his list B.H.T., No. i., Vol. i. In addition, a marble tablet, somewhat recently placed on the walls of Ryeford chapel, repeats the assertion. The editor has, however, allotted to me, living on the spot, the pleasant task of a further investigation as to whether Skinner was ever the Incumbent of the parish.

Prebendary Hawkshaw, the present Rector, says "No," and in support his gifted daughter, Mrs. Blake, gives the results of a diligent search. (1) Weston was not a separate parish until 1684. In 1662 it was merely a Chapel of Ease to Ross—so Skinner could not have been the Rector. (2) No mention is made of Skinner in the Weston Church Records, which have been carefully kept since 1568, and are in excellent preservation.

Weston is about two miles from the central Church at Ross. An extract from Fosbrook's "Ariconensis," kindly supplied by Archdeacon Winnington Ingram, gives the following pretty vignette of the Commonwealth minister at Ross, who held the living for twelve years:

"One, Jonathan Smith, was a "Thrum" Vicar of Ross from before 1658 till 1661. He was born in Rochester in 1609, was educated in Ireland, was apprenticed to a tailor in Canterbury, and was afterwards a bankrupt hosier at Sandwich; he officiated at Ross for 12 years, was expelled from Ross at the return of

Charles II., and died in 1670, aged 72 [the curious arithmetic is Fosbrook's, not mine. J.S.]. He incurred the displeasure of the loyal town of Ross by celebrating the defeat of the King at Worcester, by a feast of cakes and ale, and was otherwise distasteful to his parishioners." Apparently also to the historian, whose choice of a nickname is meant to imply that he could not perform parish duties well, but only thrum like a poor player on the lute.

Skinner was Pastor of the Baptist Gathered Church at Weston, about the time that Smith held the vicarage of Ross, as our two letters have shown. What were the relations between the men? Was Skinner just an ordinary curate, paid out of Smith's stipend of some £250? More probably there were no official relations at all. Smith and his son (the vicar of Hempsted) declared themselves in 1672 as Congregationalists, and would not believe in one minister controlling another. But Smith might be glad to let Skinner have the use of the Chapel of Ease, legally under the vicar's control, for the worship of his Gathered Church.

Moreover, we may look again at the letters of 1653, and notice that John Tombes is at the centre of this group. Now, after he became a Baptist, he was chosen minister of Bewdley by the people, and there he gathered also a separate Church. To the living of Bewdley he added also the living of Ross; but when he was restored to the living of Leominster he apparently resigned Ross, and Smith followed. Without discussing the conduct of Tombes, may we not infer that all the Baptist movement in this district was due to him? His precedent would suggest that Skinner, in charge of a Gathered Church, would readily be allowed the use of the Chapel of Ease. Any such arrangement, being quite unknown to the law, would speedily end at the Restoration, long before any Act of Uniformity, in such a "loyal town of Ross." Skinner evidently withdrew, and when we remember that there was a William Skinne[r] connected with the Forest of Dean church, we see he would have a haven of refuge not far away.

In 1672 we tread again with sure foot. On 26 May, application was made for five licences, by Owen Davies, perhaps the dissenting minister at Mitcheldean, hard by. They were desired by John Skinner for his house at Clearwell, John Chapman for Ruardean, Richard Perkins for Weston-under-Penyard, Jonathan Smith for Ross, and Francis Harris for Painswick. Here is substantially the same group of churches as twenty years earlier, not crushed by persecution; it would take us too far afield to follow up the absentees. Four years later, 110 Dissenters were found at Ross.

according to the Compton MS.; but as in 1672 there was a Presbyterian licensed there, it is impossible to say how many of these belonged to the congregation of Skinner and Perkins.

Possibly we get a last glimpse of our friend at the General Assembly in London, September 7, 1689. In company with the aged Hanserd Knollys was a John Skinner. Both are missing from the Assembly three years later. Knollys has entered upon his well-earned rest, in his 93rd year. Not unlikely that John Skinner of Weston shortly preceded or followed his old friend to the House of Rest. The Weston Baptists were represented in London in 1689, and 1692 by Richard Perkins, whom we saw there in 1672.

In 1724 ground was bought of the Earl of Kent at Ryeford, a small hamlet of Weston; and about a mile from the church to-day there still stand the quaint little Meeting House with its one Gallery, and the Manse built thereon; and still to be seen is the old dignified Carolean chair, probably once occupied by the first minister.

A certain aureola surrounds the brow of the "Ejected Minister," and I give place to none in my homage to the memory of the "brave 2,000," but may I not suggest that at the least surely no less worthy were the men who never availed themselves of the emoluments and prestige of the Establishment wrested from the Bishops by the Presbytery, who often suffered bitter persecution at the hands of the New National Church, so that as Anabaptist John Milton cried, "new Presbytery is old Priest writ large," whose request to form Congregational Churches was burnt by the hand of the common hangman. And such was John Skinner, who never notched his conscience by occupying a position in the Establishment, which his very standing as Baptist Congregationalist condemned. And Ryeford has the distinction of being one of the oldest Baptist Churches in the country with an authentic and contemporary record.

JOHN STANLEY.

The Use of Parish Churches, 1641-1662.

UNDER normal circumstances a patron presents an incumbent to a living, and once the bishop and the presentee have fulfilled a few formalities, the incumbent and the churchwardens control the premises. Parishioners have certain rights, and if the tithes have been alienated, the lay-rector has certain duties, such as keeping the chancel in repair. But the incumbent has sole control of the pulpit.

In the early days of the Reformation, few ministers were capable of preaching. The king and the bishops licensed certain men, of whom Latimer is a good instance, to use any pulpit within their jurisdiction—of course when the incumbent was not conducting service. The Puritans tried to extend the system, and endow Lectureships, whose holders had no right to christen, bury, or perform any parochial duties, but were simply to preach. Such a system still survives in the well-known Hulsean and Bampton lectureships and in other kindred foundations. But in early Stuart days it seemed such a formidable engine for the Puritans, that it was frowned upon by the court.

When, therefore, the Puritans seized power in the early days of the Long Parliament, it was promptly revived and put into wide operation. A Committee for Preaching Ministers was appointed on 19 December 1640, and on 14 June 1641, the Commons bade all deans and chapters of cathedrals permit the inhabitants to have sermons on Sunday afternoons. On 8 September, after a petition from Stepney, the crucial step was taken of making it lawful for the parishioners of any parish to set up a lecture and maintain an orthodox minister at their own expense, to preach every Sunday when there was no other preaching, and once more in the week when there was no weekly lecture. This is an important recognition that parishioners had some rights in the buildings they maintained, and may explain the further steps they took in many places, of challenging utterances from the pulpit and initiating debates. But to this we shall not attend.

So far the rights of patrons to present, of bishops to institute, of incumbents to officiate and collect tithes and fees, were untouched. But the outbreak of civil war brought about a revolutionary change, when the rights of all Royalists were set aside, and were assumed generally by the Parliament or some one of its committees. If a Royalist incumbent fled, or preached against the Parliament, or holding two livings neglected one, or refused the Solemn League and Covenant, or if his life was scandalous, the case was examined, and on proof the living was sequestered. The delinquent was pensioned off, generally on one-fifth the former income, and Parliament appointed a successor. If an incumbent died, and the patron was a Royalist, the Parliament appointed a successor.

Under the Lecture system, parishioners were free to arrange for themselves, but as many incumbents resisted, 114 cases were brought to Parliament for confirmation, the last being on 11 July, 1643. Up to this date we may be sure that all Lectures approved by Parliament would be ordinary Pedobaptist Puritans. We may note, therefore, some who later on figure as Baptists: Timothy Batt, John Simpson, John Tombes, Samuel Fisher.

Between 1 December 1642 and 9 December 1648-9, there were about 952 cases of sequestration with subsequent nomination of Puritan ministers to actual livings, recorded in the Parliamentary Journals. Down to 6 December, 1648, this was the full Puritan Parliament deserted by many of its Royalist members, but not yet purged by Colonel Pride; the Parliament which in June 1646, adopted the Presbyterian system and issued a final ordinance on the point on 29 August, 1648. Therefore, again, any man nominated was a Pedobaptist clergyman, and presumably ordained by a bishop; if any exception be claimed, it must be proved, for the presumption is this way.

Dr. W. A. Shaw has compiled complete lists which are invaluable for the story of the Established Presbyterian Church of England, and all that relates to it. They contain very much curious information, which we scan now only to note Puritans who were not yet Baptists. There is but a single case, Thomas Horrocks; in 1647 he was trying for the living of Stapleford Tawney in Essex; on page 43 of volume I. we have mentioned that the evidence for his ever becoming a Baptist is very scanty and ambiguous. Him apart, we see that not a single Baptist evolved from any Puritan minister who found grace in the eyes of the Long Parliament or its Assembly of Divines.

We can hardly insist too much on the importance of distinguishing between Puritans and Baptists. They were not

Free Church men, but wished to have an Established Church: their strength lay in the ordained ministry and in the class of squires, who returned members to Parliament. Down to Pride's Purge, Baptists had no representatives at all, either in parish livings or in Parliament, with the possible exception of John Fiennes, M.P., son of Lord Say. Moreover down to that same date, the end of 1648, Richard Deane testifies that they were very meagrely represented in the Army. But both Parliament and Army were re-modelled, and the people as distinct from the aristocracy now made themselves felt, so that Baptists soon appeared in the Army. The new "Parliament" was elected by the Council of Officers out of nominations by the Baptist and Congregational churches, and, therefore, the position of Baptists from 1653 onwards was radically different. After the Fifth-Monarchy effervescence, they settled down to quiet but rapid development under the Protectorate Parliaments, holding high positions therein and in the Councils of State, while not only the highest military commands but also high ecclesiastical posts on the various Commissions fell to their lot; till the Presbyterians regained control on 26 February 1660-1, only to lose it to the Episcopalians on 8 May, 1661.

The varying usages of the parish churches during all the twenty years may be well illustrated by the curious career of John Simpson in London, to be traced in the Parliament Journals, the Council-book, and other Domestic State Papers.

He emerges on 22 March 1641-2, when the Commons appointed him Lecturer at St. Dunstan's in the East. He was, therefore, a Pedobaptist at this time, and a clergyman ordained by a bishop. On 29 April, 1642, he was further appointed Lecturer at St. Botolph's without Aldgate: there was no difficulty in lecturing at two buildings, as every Methodist minister knows well. But Swadlin, the incumbent of St. Botolph's since 1628, was a Royalist, and he deserted his cure, so that Simpson, without any further appointment, stepped quietly into his place, to the satisfaction of many parishioners. Doubtless when Parliament appointed a new rector of St. Dunstan's on 29 August 1645, the former rector having died, Simpson dropped lecturing there, for that parish was very small.

Ten days earlier, London was districted out for Presbyterian purposes into twelve "Classical Eldershops." Simpson found St. Botolph's grouped with nine other churches to be governed by three Tryers of whom Spurstow is best known. But he somehow got a footing at Great Allhallows, and if the Tryers of the Third Classis tried to exercise their powers, he was

likely to be asked by what authority he was preaching there; they were, however, three weak men. It is not at all surprising that when the London Synod called for reports, the moderator of this classis replied on 29 April 1652, there was a minister at Great Allhallows, but no elders. The Presbyterian system was working badly; no return from the Botolph's classis remains; and from the First Classis it was reported that Peter's or Paul's Wharf could not be induced to choose elders, nor to have a minister that would act in the government. There was no king in England, and clergymen did what was right in their own eyes, provided the parishioners did not interfere.

Even the Rump could not tolerate such chaos in church affairs now that the Scotch invasion was defeated and the Scotch king was a fugitive. On 18 February 1651-2, a Committee was appointed for the Propagation of the Gospel, and Owen drafted a scheme to govern the churches, while for two years past a Commission with full powers to eject and install had been reorganizing the four northern counties, and for a year past a second had been remodelling Wales, sitting generally at Wrexham under General Harrison, and acting chiefly through Vavasor Powell.

Powell came to London at the end of March, 1653, and soon joined with Simpson at Allhallows, after preaching at the Charterhouse and at Whitehall. For the next few months Simpson, Powell, and Feake were at the height of their glory in Blackfriars, where a fellow-member, Anna Trapnel, fell into trances, and even uttered prophecies at Whitehall. On the dissolution of the Nominated Parliament, they inveighed against Cromwell's treachery, and naturally got into trouble; though Powell escaped to Wales, Simpson and Feake were in January 1653-4 committed close prisoners to Windsor. Their places at Allhallows were filled by a new set of Fifth-Monarchy men, of a milder type; Justice Samuel Highland, Captain John Spencer, and Henry Jessey.

On 20 March 1653-4 Cromwell extended Owen's plan, tested already in Wales and the North, by appointing a general Commission of Tryers for the whole of England and Wales, consisting of ministers and laymen. When a living fell vacant, the regular legal patron nominated, the Tryers verified that he was pious, good, and able to preach; then he was installed. Charges against incumbents were heard by separate and independent county commissions, who had power to deprive and pension off.

Among the twelve laymen was William Packer, who appears

to be the well-known Baptist colonel: among the thirty ministers were John Tombes, Henry Jessey and Daniel Dike. If then Harrison and Powell, not Baptists as yet, lost their authority in Wales, Baptists now had a very fair share in the general testing of the qualifications of ministers—not in the nomination, which remained with the patrons.

Under these new conditions the case of St. Botolph's came up, for Simpson had kept on there all this while, besides his voluntary work at Allhallows. He was in prison, and the parish needed attention; so when it was known that he was indeed set free, but only on order to keep ten miles from London, a new minister was appointed on 12 October, Zachary Crofton, with Royalist and Presbyterian leanings. By February 1656-7, Simpson was allowed to come back, and he at once claimed Botolph's, and got an order from the Council that he might use it on Sunday afternoon and one week-day. Crofton defied this as unconstitutional, so in September the Surveyor was told to seek out some convenient place which Simpson might have. By February 1657-8 a sitting of Council when three of the ten were Baptists, Lawrence, Disbrowe and Jones, allotted to him the square ground of the old Convocation House, adjoining the cathedral on the south west, covered with ruins; and this was put in trust with Major Strange, Captain Edward Palmer, Mr. Barratt, Mr. Swann and three others. He did not relinquish his claim on Botolph's, and continued urging it till January 1658-9.

Meantime a fresh opportunity opened. The two parishes of Dunstan's and Peter's on Paul's wharf were so small and adjacent, that there was a proposal to unite them. The parishioners of Peter's objected, and as Dunstan's had long had a Puritan rector, they proposed on 11 May 1658 that Simpson, former lecturer at Dunstan's, should now be their incumbent. It does not appear how this was settled, and for two years Simpson drops out of notice.

After the Restoration, the ejected Royalist incumbents began to assert themselves by degrees, and Crofton the Puritan at Botolph's found his tenure cut short, Swadlin obtaining possession. Crofton was thrown into the Tower on 14 February 1659-60, for writing in favour of the Covenant, although he had furthered the Restoration. It seems very remarkable that Simpson, a far more dangerous person to the Royalists, was not molested. On 22 October 1660 he was preaching in Bishopsgate church, and openly justifying the judges of Charles I., who had just been executed for treason. Yet no action was taken, a sign that

Charles II. did not yet feel very secure. Even on 24 August 1661, the familiar trio, Knowles, Jessey and Simpson, were again in possession at Great Allhallows, and were maintaining regular services every Monday and Thursday; they had the occasional assistance of Mr. James, in whom we may probably recognize the Seventh-Day Baptist John James, executed on 26 November for seditious preaching; the report of 29 November implies that our trio deserved as much.

With August 1662, the Fourth Act of Uniformity came into force, and then at latest in London all such use of the parish churches came to an end. Pepys tells how great efforts were made to get Royalists who might fill all the London churches, and prevent any being empty, swept, and garnished, ready for re-occupation.

Notes.

The Ejection of 1662.

A popular volume in commemoration of the 2,000 ministers who left their livings, or rather were ejected from them, on St. Bartholomew's Day, 1662, has been written by Rev. John Stanley, F.R.Hist.S. Appearing in the month which marks the 250th anniversary of the event, it is appropriately entitled, "Lest we Forget" (one shilling, A. H. Stockwell). Though, as already intimated, a popular work, it is the outcome of independent research; hence the pages contain many a quotation from State Papers, State Secretaries' Journals, and other contemporaneous records. Moreover, the work of others, including the important volumes of Professor G. Lyon Turner, has been placed under tribute, with the result that the Movement is described in a singularly vivacious and readable manner. After the Movement, come the Men; and just here the book before us is distinctive, for it presents the Roll of Honour, or the names of the men, who resigned their living, rather than "make a nick in their consciences," together with details as to the places they left, the scene of their after-lives and labours, also their denominational relations, date of death, etc. Here, of course, we are on the track of Calamy and Palmer's "Nonconformist's Memorial"; but it is right to say that Mr. Stanley gives us more—he supplements the familiar list with many newly-ascertained facts. There is a cordial Foreword by Dr. Meyer, and tributes are given from the pens of ten other admirers of Puritan heroism and consistency.

J. W. T.

Poetry and Psalmody.

The lyric poetry of the Stuart period does not afford many hints that may have prompted Baptist versifiers. Herbert's "Temple" was, however, suggestive, and in 1635 two sets of "Emblems" were published by Wither and Quarles; the latter was adorned with rude cuts. Herrick, a Devonshire clergyman, issued his "Noble Numbers" in 1647, Donne's posthumous poems came out soon after, and Vaughan's by 1651. If these were original, there were also paraphrases of the Psalms by Sandys, Rons, and Barton, intended for public singing. And Barton in 1659 went further, with a hundred hymns prompted by Scripture. These are some of the factors to take into account when we consider the appearance of Cheare, Bunyan, and Keach. But there are also others, usually disdained by historians of literature. No one will read in the Cyclopedias and Guides to China of much more than the Confucian classics, nor will suspect that there are thousands of penny novels read by the day labourers. Dr. Grierson is trying to awaken us to the voluminous popular literature of India, ignored by the Sanskrit pandits. If we look in the windows of seventh-rate tobacconists we shall see masses of printed paper bought steadily and thrown away quickly, and among them are still rough pamphlets or broadsheets of music-hall ditties. The popular taste to-day is not for religion, but in other respects these productions may parallel the work of our early rhymesters.

The Gamston Baptist Church.

By some means a footnote appended to my article on the Helwys family in your last issue got lost in the process of printing, and thus left the catch number attached to the word Gamston hanging in the air. The note merely referred to a visit paid to Gamston in the summer of 1909. The Chapel has a tablet over the door:

"General Baptist Chapel
Founded 1690
Rebuilt 1880."

There are a few gravestones in the spacious graveyard, but none of very ancient date. There is one in memory of "Rev. John Dossey, Pastor of this congregation, who departed this life July 26, 1778, aged 63." The one I noted was of Wm. Hill, "of Upton in the parish of Headon," dated 1808. The Helwys family had a connection with Headon-cum-Upton, and there a conventicle was held in 1669; but the gap is a long one. A list of the earliest trustees of the Gamston and Retford General Baptist Chapels might help to bridge the interval. As the latter appears to have been endowed in 1691, by Richard Brownlow,

of London, with "one acre of land, two beast gates, and five lands ends in West Retford Parish," there will doubtless be good lists of trustees.

By the way, in your note on the "Arrival of Smyth's followers at Amsterdam by July, 1608," you repeat the assumption of T. G. Crippen that the Sutton at which "Richard Clyfton" was preacher when he gave "Henry Cullandt" his certificate of the publication of his banns was Sutton in Ashfield. The Sutton indicated is Sutton-cum-Lound, just north of Retford. Here James Brewster was vicar. The early registers of this parish, written out by James Brewster, are in excellent condition, as Joseph Hunter noted as far back as 1854. We may gather from the Amsterdam marriage entry that after Richard Clifton had been deprived of his living at Babworth, he found temporary employment as preacher for Brewster at Sutton-cum-Lound, a few miles away. I noted entries of the family to which "Henry Cullandt" evidently belonged in the register of Sutton-cum-Lound when I examined it some years ago.

The "Henry Crullins, bombazine worker, widower of England, residing at Amsterdam" (at whose marriage William Bradford was a witness on 20 November, 1613), is no doubt the same man. The Sutton register gives the form "Cullands." With this parish a noteworthy dissenter—John Cromwell, sometime congregational minister at Norwich—was closely connected. At Sutton-cum-Lound he was baptized 20 September, 1631, here he was buried April 23, 1684; through him, and at an earlier date through John Robinson, the Separatists of this corner of Notts. were brought into touch with Norwich.

WALTER H. BURGESS.