

EDITORIAL.

THE next meeting of the Society will be held in the Council Room at the Memorial Hall, on Tuesday, May 11th, at 4.30. The Editor will be glad if members will join him at tea at that hour, but he would be obliged if those intending to be present would let him have a card before May 7th. After tea officers will be elected and Dr. Grieve will open a discussion on "The Future of Our Society." This will follow very appropriately the survey of the achievements of the Society which appears below.

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The retirement of the Rev. T. G. Crippen—for many years the Editorial Secretary, and the heart and soul, of the Congregational Historical Society—from the office of Librarian at the Memorial Hall should not be allowed to pass without mention in these pages. During a very long life Mr. Crippen has served the denomination with the utmost fidelity, doing work that finds no recognition in newspaper paragraphs or on public platforms, but which is as necessary as it is lasting. It is not invidious to say that Mr. Crippen stands alone in his knowledge of the history of our churches. The *Transactions* from their first issue testify to the range of his learning, the depth of his researches, and width of his love for Congregationalism and for the truth. His indomitable spirit has brought him to his work at the Library long after his physical strength was exhausted, and his knowledge has always been at the disposal of students. We hope for him in the quiet of his eventide a happy leisure with his books and manuscripts.

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Meanwhile we are glad to record that in the immediate future the Library will be in the safe hands of the Rev. William Pierce, who presided at our Society's first meeting, and was for a long period Secretary. Mr. Pierce is already at work on a catalogue of the Library on modern lines; we trust it will serve the purpose of reminding the denomination of some of its treasures.

Some time ago an inquiry was made at the Memorial Hall for a copy of the well-known engraving, "The Assertion of Liberty of Conscience at the Westminster Assembly." Unfortunately no copy was then available, and the inquirer left no address. We have since learnt where a copy is to be obtained, together with the companion engraving, "The Trial of Lord William Russell, 1683." Both the engravings (which measure 38" x 30") are in excellent condition, and are framed and glazed. If this note should meet the inquirer's eye, or the eye of persons seeking suitable pictures for vestries and Church parlours, we should be happy to put them in touch with the present owner.

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In our next issue we hope to print "The Story of the Beginning of Congregationalism in Newfoundland" by the Rev. D. L. Nichol.

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The National Book Council is doing good service by circulating bibliographies relating to special subjects. The one dealing with Quakerism is before us, and an excellent one it is. Our readers will be glad to know that a similar bibliography for Congregationalism is in preparation.

The Congregational Historical Society.

A SURVEY, 1900-1925.

WHEN Dr. Peel asked me to prepare this paper for our Autumn Meeting at Bournemouth in October, 1925, I began my task by running through the issues of the *Transactions* from the beginning, not so much from the point of view of their actual contents, but as pointing the way to the measure of what the Society has accomplished or tried to accomplish. This done, I scoured my own Library and that of Lancashire College for relevant publications since 1900, and I was rather agreeably surprised at the result. This double procedure will explain the form taken by my observations.

Let us remind one another how the Society began, and by way of background recall that it was the end of the Victorian Age. A Conservative Government was in power, the Boer War was in progress, and on the horizon was the Balfour Education Bill. There was a general feeling of insecurity and jeopardy among the Free Churches. Free Church Councils were in their youth and everywhere active. C. S. Horne had in 1898 written *What we owe to the Puritans*, and Mr. A. G. Evans and Mr. Houlder had followed in 1899 with primers of Free Church History.

Till our Renaissance set in comparatively little had been done since John Stoughton's *Ecclesiastical History of England* (begun 1867, finished in 1884) and Herbert Skeats's *History of the Free Churches in England* (1868)—second edition, continued from 1851 by C. Miall (1891). Across the Atlantic Williston Walker had given us *The Creeds and Platforms of Congregationalism* (1893), and at home Dr. Mackennal had edited *The Story of the English Separatists*—half a dozen tracts in connection with the Tercentenary of Greenwood, Barrowe and Penry. Dr. John Brown had written his *Bunyan* in 1885, his *Pilgrim Fathers* in 1895, and a Centenary history of the Bedfordshire Association in 1896. Dr. Nightingale had done *Lancashire Nonconformity* in six volumes 1890-1893; Mr. J. L. Thomas the Centenary history of Somerset in 1896. Mr. Elliot did a similar service for Salop in 1898, Messrs. Densham and Ogle

for Dorset in 1899. Others had investigated the 100 years' warfare of individual Churches, especially W. H. Summers for Mortimer West and Beaconsfield.

The year 1900, in which our Society may be said to have been born, saw some interesting productions, e.g.,

James Ross : *History of Independency in Scotland* (a result of the Union of the C. U. and E. U. in 1897).

Dr. Powicke : *Henry Barrowe and the exiled Church of Amsterdam*.

The reprint of Bradford's *History of Plymouth Plantation from the original MS.*

and Dr. Hensley Henson : *Dissent in England*.

So there was a sense of stir, the sound of a going in the mulberry trees.

Alongside all this there was a revival of historical study generally—in the older Universities and in the new. One example will suffice : Prof. T. F. Tout was laying the foundations of the School of History at Manchester.

Here I might point to two or three concurrent and subsequent stimuli.

(a.) Centenaries of County Unions. Several date from the early years of the nineteenth century (*vide infra*).

(b.) The Education Struggle of 1902 ff, which produced two series, viz., *Eras of Nonconformity* and *Congregational Worthies*.

(c.) The Celebration of 1662 in 1912, and that of 1620 in 1920 both produced a crop, at least "good in parts."

But I was going to *begin* by saying how the Society began. There are not many here who remember it, and I am not one of them, for I was in India at the time. Here is the story as it is told in *Transactions* No. 1 (April, 1901, now out of print).

"The Society originated in a suggestion made by the Rev. C. Silvester Horne, M.A., in a letter to the Rev. G. Currie Martin, M.A., B.D., in the spring of 1899. The latter at once communicated with a number of leading Congregationalists inviting their opinion, and asking their support in the event of such a Society being founded. The matter was next brought before the Council of the Young People's Union (London District) of which Mr. Currie Martin is Secretary. On the motion of the Rev. Alfred Rowland, B.A., LL.B., it was decided to convene a meeting of all interested at the Autumnal Meetings of the Congregational Union in Bristol. This meeting was held under the presidency of the Rev. W. Pierce,

and was well attended. It was then resolved to form such a Society, and a provisional committee was appointed. In May, 1900, another meeting was held in the Library of the Memorial Hall, when Dr. McClure, who took the chair, introduced the subject, and addresses were delivered by the Revs. C. Silvester Horne and G. Currie Martin. It was agreed that the purpose of the Society should be threefold, viz.,

- " 1. To encourage research into the origins and history of Congregationalism.
- " 2. To issue transactions giving the results of and discussions on such research.
- " 3. To print MSS. and documents, and to republish rare books and tracts.

" Dr. McClure was chosen first President : Mr. Currie Martin, Secretary ; and Mr. W. H. Stanier, Treasurer.

" Shortly afterwards the Committee issued to all churches founded prior to 1750 a circular containing the following queries :—

- " 1. Has any History of your Church been issued in any form ? If so, can we procure a copy ?
- " 2. Does your Church possess any original records of its history ? How far back do these date ?
- " 3. If such are in your possession, are you willing to have copied for us interesting and important extracts ; or, on production of sufficient guarantee, to permit us to have them until such extracts are made ?
- " 4. If the original records are not in your possession, can you tell us where they are, or when and where they were last traced ?

" These circulars were issued to the number of 487, and up till the end of March, 1901, over 150 replies have been received. Some of these are of very great interest and value. In several cases existing histories have been generously presented to the Society. In others promises have been made to send forthcoming histories. In many instances references are given to larger well-known local histories, and in a few cases unique sources of great importance are revealed, to which the Society will devote attention, and bring to light whatever of interest they contain. All the replies have been carefully classified, and at present the printed material is being examined by the librarian of the Historical Library at the Memorial Hall, and comparison made with the histories therein existing.

It is to be hoped that speedy answers may yet be received from the large number of churches that have not responded to the Society's appeal.

"This first issue of *Transactions* may be taken as a specimen of some of the directions in which research may with advantage be pushed, while the careful and scholarly bibliography, to be brought down in successive issues to the present time, cannot fail to be of immense value to students."

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ANNALS OF THE SOCIETY.

1902. May. 125 members were reported.

- " Autumn (Glasgow). Dr. Mackennal from the chair indicated certain directions for necessary and promising research, *viz.*,
 The early history of the Separatist Communities.
 The relation between the early Independents and the Presbyterians.
 The breach between Independents and Presbyterians; and the origin of the Unitarian Churches in England.
 The history of the Evangelical Revival.

He also urged the advisability of visiting the Colleges and seeking to interest their authorities in the serious study of Congregational History.

1903. May. 165 members. Dr. McClure resigned and Dr. Brown succeeded to the chair. Mr. Currie Martin also resigned and was succeeded by Mr. Crippen and Mr. Henry Thacker.

- " Autumn. Bournemouth. This meeting was noteworthy for Mr. Brownen's paper on Nonconformity in Hampshire, an excellent example of what should be done for most or all of the counties (especially the map).
- " was a Robert Browne year. Mr. Crippen reprinted *Reformation without Tarrying for Anie*, and Mr. Burrage *A New Year's Gift*. Mr. Dixon discovered the register of Browne's burial in St. Giles, Northampton, 8/10/1633.

1904. May. 175 members—but several in arrears with subscriptions, "which in some cases may possibly indicate tacit resignation."

- " Autumnal meeting at Cardiff. Papers by Rev. William Pierce, on "The Marprelate Tracts," and by Prof. Lyon Turner on "Early Welsh Nonconformity as illustrated by the Indulgence of 1672." It was agreed to send Penry's *Aequity* to press immediately.

1905. May. 160 members. It was reported that Prof. Turner had transcribed all the documents in the Public Record Office relating to the Indulgence of 1672, and that members of the Society were at work in connection with Berks, Bucks, and Oxon, Kent, Surrey, Northumberland and Durham.

- " Autumn. Leeds. Rev. Bryan Dale spoke on English Congregationalism there. This was Mr. Cater's year—"Robert Browne at Achurch." He had previously dealt with Browne's forbears and descendants.

1906. We mourned the death of W. H. Summers, and welcomed C. Burrage's *True Story of R. Browne*.
At Wolverhampton in the autumn the Rev. Dugald Macfadyen told us of the labours of Capt. Jonathan Scott and others spoke of Early Congregationalism in Leek and Longdon.
1907. Reported that the committee had been unable to meet, and that the officers had been obliged to act on their own responsibility. So they tried a working committee of Londoners and an indefinite number of corresponding members resident in the country.
- „ Autumn. Blackpool. Rev. J. H. Colligan on English Non-conformity in Cumberland and Westmorland.
1908. May. 178 members. Congratulations to the recently founded Baptist Historical Society. Mr. Cater's researches in Peterborough diocesan archives regarding Robert Browne. Rev. W. Pierce's *Introduction to the Marprelate Tracts*.
N.B.—Death of Rev. T. Lord of Horncastle in the 101st year of his age and 75th of his ministry. He preached on Sunday 9th August and died on Friday, 21st.
Prof. Turner on the Episcopal Returns of 1665-1666.
1908. Autumn. Liverpool. Mr. Boag on Congregationalism in Northumberland and Durham.
1909. Autumn. Sheffield. Paper on the Attercliffe Academy. Issue of B. Dale's *Yorkshire Puritanism*.
1910. May. Attendance unusually meagre. Mr. A. Peel gave an account of the work in which he was engaged on the Morrice MSS.
- „ Autumn. Hampstead. Rev. D. Macfadyen on North London suburban churches.
Rev. A. Ridley Bax on Sussex.
The Tombs in Bunhill Fields were receiving attention.
1911. Prof. Turner's *Official Records of Early Nonconformity under Persecution and Indulgence*.
(a) Episcopal returns of 1665; (b) Sheldonian reports of Conventicles, 1669; (c) Documents relating to the Indulgence of 1672.
- „ Autumn. Nottingham. Prof. Sanders spoke on Early Non-conformity in Nottinghamshire, and Prof. Lyon Turner on a Spy Book of the time of Charles II.
1912. May. Mr. Crippen reviewed the past decade (see *Transactions*, January, 1912). Rev. F. I. Cater on "The Excommunication of Robert Browne and his will."
- „ Autumn. Manchester. Attendance fairly numerous. Mr. Peel spoke on William White. Mr. Burrage and Rev. T. Gasquoine were busy with Penry records.
1913. May. Dr. John Brown, President. Dr. Nightingale, Chairman.
- „ Autumn. Southend. "A satisfactory and hopeful gathering." Mr. Goodall on "Annals of Evangelical Nonconformity in Essex." Dr. Alexander Gordon made proposals for a Historical Exhibition.
1914. May. Death of Rev. C. Silvester Horne and Mr. Watkinson of Herne Bay. Dr. Gordon on "Calamy as a Biographer." Exhibition projects. No Autumnal Meeting.

1915. May. Dr. Grieve on Puritanism and Independency in South Pembrokeshire.
 " Autumn. Leeds. Rev. G. Shaw Briggs on Puritanism in Wharfedale. Prof. Turner on the Clerical Subsidy of 1661. Dr. Peel's *Seconde Parte of a Register* published.
1916. May. A good attendance. Rev. Charteris Johnston on the History of Western College. Exhibition deferred till the Peace.
 Autumn. Birmingham. Rev. A. G. Matthews on Early Nonconformity in Staffs., and Mr. W. Wimbury on Congregationalism in Worcestershire.
1917. May. No meeting, but the Committee had the pleasure of a paper from Dr. A. Gordon.
 Autumn. London. A handful of members. Mr. Pierce led a conversation on the relation of John Penry to the early London Separatists.
- 1918-20. Reference must be made to the Minute Book, for no *Transactions* were issued between April, 1918, and February, 1920.
1920. May. A good meeting to hear a remarkable paper by Prof. Hearnshaw on the Pilgrim Fathers.
 Autumn. Southampton. Mr. W. Dale on "Southampton and the *Mayflower*," with a tour to points of interest. Rev. F. W. Camfield on "Religious Life in the 17th Century."
1921. Mr. Muddiman becomes Treasurer. At the autumnal meeting in Bristol, Rev. C. E. Watson of Rodborough on "George Whitefield and Gloucestershire Congregationalism."
1922. Mr. Crippen retires from the Editorship. Deaths of Dr. John Brown and Sir John McClure. In May, Rev. M. Kirkpatrick on James Morison; in the Autumn, at Hull, Mr. A. E. Trout on Nonconformity in that city.
1924. Dr. Peel becomes editor. In May, Rev. Claude Jenkins of Lambeth spoke on "An Elizabethan Episcopal Register."
 Autumn. Northampton. An excellent meeting. Sir Ryland Adkins on Doddridge and Mr. Dixon's "Gleanings from Castle Hill Church Book."
1924. In April. The Northampton Memorial to Robert Browne.
 May. 115 ordinary members, 6 life, 6 honorary, 18 subscribing libraries and colleges. Principal Wheeler Robinson on "The Value of Denominational History."
 Autumn. Liverpool. Prof. Veitch on Dr. Raffles.
1925. May. Rev. W. Pierce on "Nonconformist Contributions to the building of the Mansion House." The editor outlined a proposal for reprinting a uniform edition of Browne, Barrowe, Greenwood, Penry and Harrison.

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I turn now to the second part of my project, *viz.*, to give some account of the relevant literature published in the twenty-five years of our survey. This involves some repetition, as many books have been already mentioned. The basis of the classification is Mr. Crippen's Bibliography in the *Transactions* for 1905. The list does not claim to be exhaustive

but I hope nothing of real import has been omitted. I am sure the Editor will welcome *corrigenda et addenda*.

PURITANISM AND NONCONFORMITY IN GENERAL.

- C. S. Horne : *A Popular History of the Free Churches*, 1903.
 Eras of Nonconformity, 1904ff ; especially
 W. H. Summers : *Our Lollard Ancestors*.
 J. H. Shakespeare : *Baptist and Congregational Pioneers*.
 J. Brown : *Commonwealth England. From the Restoration to the Rebellion*.
 C. S. Horne : *Nonconformity in the 19th Century*.
 N. Micklem : *God's Freemen*, 1922.
 J. G. Stevenson : *Fathers of our Faith* (n.d.).
 J. Heron : *Short History of Puritanism*, 1908.
 J. Brown : *The English Puritans*, 1910.
 H. W. Clark : *History of English Nonconformity*, 2 vols., 1911.
 H. Henson : *Puritanism in England*, 1912.
 G. B. Tatham : *The Puritans in Power*, 1913.
 F. Bate : *The Declaration of Indulgence* (1672), 1908.
 A. A. Seaton : *The Theory of Toleration under the later Stuarts*, 1911.
 Russell Smith : *Religious Liberty under Charles II. and James II.*, 1911.
 H. T. Potten : *The Strife for Religious Liberty*, 1908.
 J. H. Colligan : *The Arian Movement in England*, 1913.
 Irene Parker : *Dissenting Academies*, 1914.
 W. B. Selbie : *Nonconformity* (n.d.).
 H. Elvet Lewis (ed.) : *The Ejection of 1662 and the Free Churches*, 1912.
 T. Bennett : *Laws against Nonconformity*, 1913.
 A. Gordon : *Addresses Biographical and Historical*, 1922 ;
 Freedom after Ejection (a Review of Nonconformity, 1660-1692), 1917.
 Cheshire Classis Minutes (1691-1745), 1919.
 B. Nightingale : *The Ejected of 1662 in Cumberland and Westmorland*, 2 vols., 1911.
 G. Lyon Turner : *Original Records of Early Nonconformity*, 3 vols., 1911-1914.
 F. J. Powicke : *A Life of Richard Baxter*, 1924.
 W. Pierce : *An Historical Introduction to the Marprelate Tracts*, 1908.
 See also under DOCUMENTS.
 T. M. Rees : *History of the Quakers in Wales*.

Here one ought to notice the formation of other Societies similar to our own : Friends', Baptist, Presbyterian, Unitarian, and the issue of their Transactions, and of important works especially

- W. T. Whitley : *The Works of John Smyth*, 2 vols., 1916.
 W. H. Burgess : *John Smyth the Se-Baptist*, 1911.
 and the series on Quaker History (W. C. Braithwaite, Rufus M. Jones, A. N. Brayshaw).

INDEPENDENTS OR CONGREGATIONALISTS: GENERAL HISTORY.

Congregational Worthies: *Milton* (J. A. Hamilton); *Harry Vane* (F. J. Hearnshaw; cf. Willcock's larger book on the same subject); *Browne* (F. J. Powicke); *Owen* (J. Moffatt; cf. Dr. Moffatt's *Golden Book of John Owen*); *Howard* (H. H. Scullard); *Peters* (T. G. Crippen); *J. Goodwin* (H. W. Clark); *Blake* (J. G. Stevenson); *Howe* (W. M. Scott).

R. W. Dale: *History of English Congregationalism*, 1907.

T. Hooper: *The Story of English Congregationalism*, 1907.

C. Burrage: *The Church Covenant Idea—its origin and development*, 1904 (Philadelphia).

The True Story of Robert Browne, 1906.

John Penry the so-called Martyr, 1913.

W. Pierce: *John Penry: his Life, Times and Writings*, 1924.

T. Gasquoine: *John Penry and other Heroes*, 1909.

B. Nightingale: *The Heroic Age of Congregationalism*, 1921;
From the Great Awakening to the Evangelical Revival
1919;

Isaac Ambrose, the Religious Mystic;

Thomas Jollie of Altham.

CONGREGATIONALISTS: LOCAL HISTORY.

A. Peel: *The First Congregational Churches (London, 1567-1581)*, 1920;
The Brownists in Norfolk and Norwich about 1580, 1920.

See also DOCUMENTS.

Berks., Oxon and S. Bucks., by W. H. Summers, 1905.

Lancashire, by B. Nightingale, 1906.

Cheshire, by F. J. Powicke, 1907.

Surrey, by E. E. Cleal, 1908.

Staffordshire, by A. G. Mathews, 1924.

Yorkshire, by F. Wrigley, 1923.

cf. Bryan Dale's *Yorkshire Puritanism*.

Nottingham, Castle Gate, by A. R. Henderson, 1905;

and a great many smaller works on individual churches.

Note also Ira Boseley: *The Independent Church of Westminster Abbey*, 1907; *The Ministers of the Abbey Independent Church*, 1911.

James Johnston: *Pioneers of Lancashire Nonconformity* (R. Goodwin, H. Newcome, T. Jollie, O. Heywood), 1905.

THE PILGRIM FATHERS.

C. Burrage: *New Facts about John Robinson*, 1910.

W. H. Burgess: *John Robinson*, 1920.

F. J. Powicke: *John Robinson*, 1920.

J. Rendel Harris: *The Finding of the Mayflower*, 1920;

The Last of the Mayflower, 1920.

The Return of the Mayflower (an Interlude), 1919.

H. G. Wood: *Venturers for the Kingdom*, 1920.

R. G. Usher: *The Pilgrims and their History*, 1918.

W. Cockshott: *The Pilgrim Fathers*, 1909.

T. W. Mason and B. Nightingale: *New Light on the Pilgrim Story*, 1920.

- M. Dexter : *The England and Holland of the Pilgrims*, 1906.
 J. de Hoop Scheffer and W. E. Griffis : *History of the Free Churchmen in the Dutch Republic, 1581-1701* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1921).
The Leyden Pilgrim Messenger, 1922—.

DOCUMENTS.

- A. Peel : *The Seconde Parte of a Register* (2 vols), 1915.
 John Masefield : *Chronicles of the Pilgrim Fathers*, 1910.
 C. Burrage : *Early English Dissenters* (2 vols.), 1912.
 B. Browne : *Reformation without Tarrying for Anie*, ed. T. G. Crippen, 1903 ;
 A New Year's Gift, ed. C. Burrage, 1904.
 Retraction, ed. C. Burrage, 1907.
 H. Barrowe : *Four Causes for Separation*, ed. T. G. Crippen, 1906.
 J. Greenwood : *Pastoral Letter*, ed. T. G. Crippen, 1906.
 J. Penry : *Aequity of an Humble Supplication*, ed. A. J. Grieve, 1905.
 Harrison : *The Church and the Kingdom*, ed. A. Peel, 1920 (plus *The Brownists in Norwich*, 1580).
An Answer to John Robinson, by a Puritan friend, ed. C. Burrage, 1920.
The Marprelate Tracts, 1588-9, ed. W. Pierce, 1911.

In the foregoing lists no attempt has been made to distinguish between work done by members of the Society and work done by others. But I think it may safely be said that the Society has justified its existence. In particular we are under a great debt to Mr. Crippen (and I hope some echo of our obligation and of our loving appreciation of his devotion to our cause may reach him in his retirement), to Dr. John Brown, Dr. Nightingale, Dr. Powicke, Dr. Peel, Prof. Lyon Turner, Rev. W. Pierce, Mr. Burrage, Dr. Clark, and Rev. F. Ives Cater.

It is true that we have not realized all our expectations, and that is fortunate. There are many tasks still awaiting us and the time is opportune. I would appeal especially to ministers and others who have specialized or are specializing in History at the Universities to turn their attention to our annals and records, for in them they will find much that has been best and most significant in the life of England during the last 350 years. I have hopes that we may yet prepare an Exhibition of Historical Relics, perhaps for the Centenary Meeting of the Congregational Union, and in conjunction with it that desired collection of Congregational Patristics. If any one wishes to know what kind of work is waiting to be done, he can see it on page two of the first issue of our *Transactions*, a reprint of which issue is desirable. One useful thing would be a complete index to the *Transactions* as so far published.

I cannot bring this survey to a better finish than by quoting from an appeal made by Dr. McClure in 1901 :

"May I respectfully and yet very earnestly urge upon all here present to do their utmost for this Society? I feel quite certain that if it is to succeed it can only be by personal, by individual effort. We appeal in vain to a large body like the Congregational Union or the Churches of the Congregational Union, and it is only here and there that people respond to what may be called a general invitation; but during the past few months in many directions we have had indications of sympathy and of co-operation, and I feel sure that the work we are attempting to do needs only to be known to secure the assistance of many who hitherto have, from ignorance or other causes, held aloof from us. . . . We are Congregationalists, not by virtue of the little to which we bind ourselves, but by reason of the very great treasure which we are enabled to appropriate. We are denominational because we believe the more we know, and the greater interest that we take in our denomination and its history, the more wide and liberal we shall be in our sympathies and the more effective we shall be in our work in the world. That is the spirit in which I have associated myself with this Society, and I believe it is the spirit in which most members have associated themselves with it; and I trust that by our co-operation in what is surely a great work, and a work which very much requires to be done, we may seek, not to lay the churches under obligation—I doubt if they would feel it—but rather to lay ourselves under a great obligation which we should endeavour honestly to fulfil. If the future is to be more glorious than the past it is only in so far as we understand the past and try to draw from it those lessons which we hope will make the future what we desire it to be."

A. J. GRIEVE.

A Puritan Moderate :

DR. THOMAS THOROWGOOD, S.T.B. 1595-1669.

RECTOR OF GRIMSTON, LITTLE MASSINGHAM AND GREAT
CRESSINGHAM IN THE COUNTY OF NORFOLK.

IN July, 1924, the Norfolk & Norwich Archæological Society purchased some of the Townshend MSS., including two described as "Diary of Dr. Thorowgood." This Diary, transcribed and edited by one of our members, Mr. B. Cozens-Hardy, has been printed in the *Norfolk Archæology*, and we are indebted to the Editor for permission to reproduce it here. We have summarized Mr. Cozens-Hardy's Introduction.

Thomas Thorowgood was the fifth son of William Thorowgood, Rector of Grimston and Bickerston, who is reputed to have had strong Puritan leanings. He went to St. John's, Cambridge, taking his B.A. in 1609, his M.A. in 1612. Afterwards he went to Oxford, where he probably studied theology, for Cambridge conferred on him the degree of S.T.B. in 1624. In 1621 he was presented to Little Massingham, and he succeeded his father at Grimston in 1625, resigning in favour of his son-in-law in 1646. He was a member of the Westminster Assembly in 1643, took some form of clerical duty at Crayford in Kent in 1647, and in 1649 began a three years' engagement as assistant to the Rector of Kingston-on-Thames. He was back again in Norfolk in 1653, having been "designed in his absence" to Great Cressingham, where he lived when the "diary" was prepared. He died in 1669. His publications were *Moderation Justified*—a Fast Sermon preached before the House of Commons in 1644—and *Jews in America, or Probabilities that Americans are of that Race* (1650).

The manuscripts consist of a letter (dated Oct. 7th, 1661), which we do not print, replying to the charge that he had failed to provide his quota for a military muster, and the diary, which, recounting his actions from 1642 onward and aiming at rebutting the accusations of republicanism and disloyalty, gives an interesting picture of a cross-bench mind.

Mr. Cozens-Hardy thus sums up the character and work of Thorowgood.

"Walker in his *Sufferings of the Clergy* and Calamy in his *Nonconformists' Memorial* give much information about those who definitely took sides in the Troubles, 'stuck to their guns' and suffered, but this Diary deals with a man who, though he was thrust into prominence on one side, endeavoured, prompted either by principle or prudence, to steer a middle course, with the result that each party in turn thought him the friend of the other. It is easy after the passage of 260 years to charge a person with lack of moral or political fibre, but the times were very confused and the future most uncertain, and there must have been many like Falkland, Hampden, Archbishop Usher and Richard Baxter who took sides, but yet deplored the excesses which civil wars always engender.

"There is little doubt that Thorowgood was able to render considerable help to some of his brethren who suffered for being more partisan than himself, or whose position¹ made them a more obvious target for persecution. We must not forget, however, that the Diary was written to rebut the charge of republicanism and ecclesiastical disloyalty. We may perhaps wonder whether, if the Puritans had remained dominant, Thorowgood would not have been able to produce an equally effective apologia from the other point of view, had the necessity ever arisen."

THE DIARY.

Thomas Thorowgood of Cressingham hath bene charged,

1. To have 600^u land p'an : But upon oath he is ready to averr he hath not 200^u & his benefice is about 100^u p'an.
2. To have 10 or 12 Horse Arms & sent out his worst horse. Upon like oath he saith he hath but one & the horse sent was his best, & he hath lost neere an 100^u in horses by the disease.
3. That to other powers he sent 3 or 4 horses well furnished.
4. And all along was pleased with & a promoter of ye government.
5. That he harboured lately some grand enemyes of the King.

He is sory any Christian should devise such improbabilities against him ; thes 3 last are denyed upon like oath & for his whole carriage in thes 20 years past, he refers to the following narrative, true in every particular.

¹ e.g., Bishop Hall and Dean Hassall.

1642

Gr Hamd L'Estrange came after midnight to my house, hardly escaping the troopers, all the long day before he had wandered without food. Ye next morning I found him very ill in bed, I rode to Dr Bacon for his advice &c. &c.

Sr Charles Mordaunt lay in the same chamber the night before, he was then gone, but came againe often in that Squirrell hunting² time as it was then called.

Colonell Gosnold was severall days with me, as he went to Newark, thence to the King at Oxford w^r he was one of the Treators about surrendring of it.

Archdeacon Wigmore came from ye Isle of Ely to me & was with me five or 6 weekes.

Sr Jn Spelman was there also, as he went to Oxford & I did accompany him 7 or 8 nights on his way thether where he dyed & my Id. the A.B. of Armagh told me he there preached his funeral sermon.

The Divines of the Convocation being removed, I returned into Norfolk & followed the worke of my calling & was so far from being an incendiary yt the contrary was taken notice of by the Royal Party both Gentlemen & Cleargy & some persons of quality of both sorts were entertained in my house severall dayes and sometimes 2 or 3 of them together: The newes therof was soone carried to the Comittee, where I was accused & threatened, & though I had some friends among them, yet certainly plundering and the prison was like to be my portion for receiving them so often and so many. Warrant was given out & 4 soldjours appointed to fetch me (as one of them since I heard of thes accusations has unexpectedly witnessed for me under his hand) for 3 reasons as he testified. 1, for harbouring Malignants. 2, for not sending out a Light horse. 3, for lending none, or no more mony to the Propositions: But Providence called me from that mischiefe to the Assembly to which when I was named, one Parlam^t man opposed, saying he knew I was episcopall, therefore we desire to have him, said that worthy knight who related this to me & some other passages afterward. If it be suspected that I warped after this & was of another mind, that which followeth will cleere me therin also.

1643 The Ordinance of the Lords & Comons comended me to the Assembly & I went thither in my owne defence as hath bene said & consulted Bp Brounrigg in my way at his colledge in Cambridge, I saw no evil in going, for the Divines by the Act were called, not to determine but to be consulted with, as shall be most agreeable to the work of God. The first appearance of difficulty there was the Covenant which I sub-signed, but after the rest & not till I had given in my reasons especially in reference to

¹4.e., hunting of Squires.

Episcopacy, for I presumed the Kings Ma^y & his posterity were well fenced therein. Some were appointed to answer them & the best satisfaction was that the King & the Parlam^t has diminished the power of the Bps. In the debate diverse spake on their behalfe (for there were Epall men among them) Dr Temple, Mr Vines &c. Dr Reynolds, the most worthy Bp of Norwich mentioned a considerable caveat. They were taking doune at once the present & ancient & best forme of ecclesiastical Government, this I find in searching my Assembly notes upon this occasion, with my owne saying then also, That in the discussing the Articles of Religion diverse learned & pious Bps had been named with honor, whom I then so named againe & I remember still who desired the Prolocutor there might be no more such nomination. In the Lords House one of the officers was violent against me & drew blood from me and being blamed for it he said I was a malignant for he saw me talking with 2 of the most malignant Doctors.

H.³
E.M.

1644

My sermon preached & printed is yet to be seen from Phil. 4. 5. Let yor moderation be know unto all men, the Lord is at hand. & considering the season it gained approbation there, & sure I am some of the house stared sufficiently upon me at the very reading of the Text & others, my friends of the Royall party did not believe at first that such a scripture had been sounded in ye ears of the Comons in that juncture of affaires when the mastery of the Army began to worke. Nazianzeus said long since, moderation was woont to please all, but that hath not bene my lott. I am not ignorant that one or 2 faulted me as if I had therein spoken against the Festivity of Christs birth for they remembered not the Royall legality of that Fast day nor the times nor the matter & I knew not that I was blamed the next morning in a publique place. & when Holy dayes were putt downe I preached up Christmes⁴ & upon a day of Humiliation, which minds me of one that said fiercely I was an enemy to Christmes, & when he was demanded if I did not always then feast my neighbours, that he confessed adding, They have but one draught of strong beere before dinner & another after, & yet he denied not but at meals they had sufficient also. The sermon indeed doth tell that the primitive Christians did not all accord in the day & month, January, May, Aprill &c., but it contends, if mathematicians & Historians shall designe the month & the day, it will not vote against the Christian

³ Query. Dr. Heylin, Laud's Chaplain and Biographer.

⁴ The Puritans objected to the observation of Christmas.

celebration thereof ; & if men would looke backe, this one worde would be enough to the wise & charitable ; & besides I can yet show y^t the year before I moved publicquely that we might adjourne on Christmes day, some spoke against it but the adjournement then prevailed. On the Lords dayes before & after I preached on sutable scriptures, & encouraged by word & example unto Charity. It was an Honorable Lady that merily told me she liked not the phrase in the Epistle, The providence of heaven had designed the Fast to fall on that day, the metropolitane of all Festivities ; I have heard the same since, but when I read Math. 10. 29 & that God worketh all things according to the counsell of his own will Eph. 3. 21. I see yet no cause of such distast. It was a good providence that guided the King & Parlam^t to appoint at first that day of prayer against the Irish cruelties & for y^e diversion of the like from Engl^d. It was the like providence that continued the Monthly Fast till those 2 great dayes met together & I am certaine we looked upon it as a good providence & made such use of that Law in o^r prayers then for the King & Kingdome, which retarded somewhat & soundly vexed Oliver in his subtile growing. And why should I be blamed for ascribing the conjunction of thos 2 dayes to providence more than Math : Paris telling of severall matters happening to Tho. Becket on the same day of the weeke, he was borne on Tuesday, arraigned on Tuesday, banished on Tuesday, returned on Tuesday & was killed on Tuesday, and this beyond humane providence saith my Author. That sermon spake much for the Kings Ma^{ty} & his landes might have seen its desires to the House to regaine the King's Royall person & favour. When the Parliament is spoken of & for, the King is ever intended as the Head thereof & sometime so named, among the last & most sure words it is said, pray, that God would returne the Head to the body, the King to the Parlam^t. It ventured so much for peace that it desired another solemne Fast for that purpose. It was earnest against the Cromwellian Engine, Toleration of all Religions, so earnest that S.C. hath placed that passage among his Golden Apples. Serious it was against Church robbing & sacrilege & suffering the fabricks of o^r Churches to decay. It called for more charitable respect to Epall men & their families, yea it invited to moderation even unto Papists. If it now please not the palate of some that there were either silent or in their minority, they might do well yet to consider the violence of thos times & if they had bene in such stormes, possibly they would not have dared so much abroad ; there are [those] that complied

submitted engaged & subscribed, their hands are yet to be seen, for a Commonwealth without King or House of Lords & now hope to redeeme that folly cowardize and sinn by devisinge evill devises & smiting me with their tongues, whose eyes never yet saw any such subscription of mine. They have or may see the contrary in the Vindication aftermentioned. What my preaching & principles were in the beginning of thos violences hath bene declared, & when it was my course to pray in the Houses I never forget to supplicate the Almighty earnestly for the Kings Majesty &c.

1645 I was invited to preach at S. Pauls & spake so much for monarchy that the then L^d Mayor gave me thanks in that very pticular good knowledge I had of frequent converse with & faire reception from severall Bps Royall & Epall men. I visited them in their prisons & relieved them upon occasion according to my power. When a S^r H. B. Review was allowed by ye noble Earle of Manchester in S^r P. A. the Association for sequestered ministers I was so forward & effectuell in that worke for them that they have publiquely acknowledged my helpfulnes; for my soule did sympathize in their miseryes & the sad sufferings of their wives & children & so much notice was taken of it y^t I was openly called the malignants Advocate for my sollicitude in recovering ye 5th pt for them.

1646 The next L^d Mayor, ye most worthy S^r Tho: Adams was told at his coming home from y^e morning sermon at S. Pauls that the Preacher in his parish church was invective & had proceeded, but they were absent, he said, & threatened the rest in the afternoone. My L^d was not willing to leave his own parish, nor to be abused there & was importunate with me to supply the place & would not be denied. I went into a private chamber with my Bible & his concordance having penn inke & paper & in an hours space by Divine Assist^{oe} asserted the ministerial function from the same Script: Jerem. 5. 3 w^{ch} was so miserably disserted against it in the morning sermon & had els bene worsted that evening against the Magistrate. Somewhat els considerable followed then & there & after in my L^d Mayors house, not so meet possibly in this Breviate to be remembered, for the Church was full of sectaryes that looked furiously upon me.

1647 About this time for severall reasons I quitted my Mygreatemploy^t in Norffk was invited into Kent & finding the losses in place legally voide I accepted of it & there remained till Kentare certified y^e ruining Engagement cashiered me. Y^e Troubles were by 2men then most in that County, the Parlam^t Army lay sore

of Cray-upon me, 20 or 30 at a time & in conclusion calling me
 ford,^{wh} Cavalier Rogue they tooke away my Horse and what
 I have^{but} ever els they found. In all these times my greatest com-
 plynance was in paying Taxes & therin I was so slacke that
 never had any looking upon my papers, I find, the Plunder Master strained^s
 recom- my bookes & would have his fee besides, this was a generall
 pence. & a forced fault & blessed be o^r God & blessed be o^r King
 that Nationall & constrained cryme is pardoned. No man
 can say I was at any time instrumental to the molestation
 or sequestering of any one, neither did I ever directly or
 indirectly goe about to invade or possess the Title or Interest
 of any. When the Deane of Norw^{ch} Dr Hassall was in
 danger to loose his benefice of Brancaster I did twice preserve
 him as his own letters testify. A Parlam^t man said to me,
 I can this morning gaine 500^l by lead & when he confessed
 it was from a Church I most seriously psuaded him to
 forbear & not adventure upon such horrid impiety, telling
 him some passages out of S^r Hen: Spelmans Fate of Sacrilege.
 The advantage others made of ye lead from the pallace
 of the Bp of Norw^{ch} putt him upon it, ^{wh} I said was too
 bad, but this was 10 times worse & would be bitter also
 in the end.

1648 When y^e wildnes of the Army was more visible &
 encreased, I was with others filled with feare & astonish-
 ment not yet suspecting such horrid abominations, but
 hoping and believing they dare not infringe the covenant
 & when his Ma^{ty}s concessions at the Isle of Wight strived
 towards a settlement of the Nation, I prepared an Epistle
 to that gracious King before the first Treatise of Jewes in
 America (as it is now prefixed to his present Ma^{ty} with
 those variations in the 2^d edition or addition) it was then
 so licensed to the presse, but the tryannous usurpers were
 so madly expeditious that they had accomplished their
 diabolical designs before thos sheets could be printed.
 Ass soon as I saw their monstrous intendings, I despaired
 of any good from them & joyned with the Assembly in their
 Vindication manifesting the Hellish horrors of such
 proceedings against the King, & when I had subscribed it,
 as it was printed, thrice, I came no more to y^e Assembly,
 C.P. but repaired to an eminent Gentleman in y^e Temple &
 told him what y^e Divines had done desiring him to sollicite
 ye men of his profession to do the like: He did well approve
 J.C. the motion. I hastened letters also into Norffk stirring
 them up to such endeavours wherein they also laboured,
 as their Lines to me beare witnes. I mett one of those

^s i.e., distrained upon.

Judges as he was going to that fatall bench & used words & arguments to divert him. When that calamitious day approached I did solemnly fast and pray with the little company in my family. Two or 3 dayes after one of that bloody crew would needs know of me walking in Westminster Hall why I subscribed that wicked Vindication. I presently answered It was my desire somewhat might remaine upon record how much I did abhorr that Jesuiticall doctrine & practice of king-killing. He said instantly the subscribers shall assuredly goe thither (pointing to the high Court of Injustice). We have then served good masters, I replied, that must now dye, because we cannot consent to that Act, for which we shal be detested of all men, Christians & Jews & Turks & other Infidells. He observed and blamed one that walked by us & listened to our communication. Much & long discourse we had in that publique place too much to be inserted here, yet so much that Pragmaticus, who heard it, printed some part of it in his Mercury in thes words, Mr Thorowgood tells us plainly the Assembly cannot in honour or conscience declare a syllable in favour of this government nor so much as acknowledge it without an evident breach of the Covenant & making themselves ridiculous & scandalous to all men & nations who are capable either of reason or religion. To another of them in the same place not long after I justified the particulars of that Vindication : & when one of thos Caco-Zealots exalted that horrid murder as one of the highest pieces of justice since Adame, I said presently, it was y^e highest piece of Injustice that ever the world saw since the 2^d Adam, a gentleman then among us lately remembered me of this.

E.W.

1649

The cursed Engagement (which in due time I trust shall have its due) followed soone after, which I did ever refuse to take, notwithstanding all persuasions & threats & that cost me deare in more places & wayes than one. It was no meane man but one of Olivers knights that offred me no meane preferment if I would subscribe, but, blessed be God, though I was tempted, they overcame me not. I met a good friend in Westminster Abby going with a great booke to Barbarous Bradshaw,⁶ whose wayes I know he abhorred as much as my selfe ; when he saw me amazed, you remember not, he said, the Spanish proverbe, A wise man will have a friend in Hell as well as in Heaven. I was as much against the next high Court of Injustice, for a friend of mine, I thinke yet alive, being dealt with to be

T.F.

⁶ Lord President of the Court which sentenced Charles I.

a Judge there, I told him Ketts Querous Reformatoria was more just, for he tryed at his oake the rabble of his owne company only, & men like himself: & after in June 1651 when one of M^r Loves⁷ Judges saw him coming in Westminster Hall, see, said he to me, how proud this fellow is, how he cocks his beaver, but I told him his boldness was not from pride but from innocence. While I was thus & by this means without employment, the Hon^{ble} Earle of Kent & some other persons of quality invited me to Kingston upon Thames, assuring me the Engagement should not be forced upon me, being only an Assistant pro tempore to the Doctor w^o kept the Title but parted with y^e profits, so I undertooke y^e ministry of y^t place for 3 years.

E.S.

1650

I was soone discovered there to be no Republican, nor rigid Presbyterian & it was given out with confidence that I was one of the Kings Captains. I did every Lords day in such a manner pray for the King & the Royall family that the said noble Earle, then under a cloud also, gave me thanks & encouraged me, but an Army officer, sitting right against me in the Church threw downe his hatt in a rage & said he would putt me out of ye pulpitt. That year, having occasion to ride through Penshurst I gained favour to kisse the Duke of Glosters⁸ hand, & after of the most gracious Princesse Elizabeth⁹, for the Sectaryes were compelled to say the grace of God was in her. It was the morning after newes came to them that they were to be removed to the dismall Isle of Wight. One of the Gentlemen that attended told me I might speake to her without danger, whose great sorrow was visible in her most sad aspect & countenance. It pleased God to mind me that I said "Madame, be of good comfort, there is a stocke of prayers going continually to heaven for you & yo^r Royall family. God will sanctify yo^r afflictions & deliver you & them. Remember, Madame, your times are in the hand of God, all comes by divine appointm^t." Her Highnes looked steadfastly upon me unable to speake any more for teares. This yeare I was reinvited into Norffik & then I answered my freind, the engagement & my principles would not suffer it, the letters are with me still which wished I were sound in the opinions of thes times etc.

G.G.

1651

S.G.

R.H.

Upon one of Oliver's great dayes⁹ the chiefe Magistrate in that Towne sent unto me first my friend requiring me to read y^e Order of ye day who carried to him my denyall,

⁷ Christopher Love (1618-1651), Puritan minister (Presbyterian), executed on Tower Hill, 22nd August, 1651, for plotting against Commonwealth.

⁸ Son and daughter respectively of Charles I.

⁹ Probably the Battle of Worcester.

- J.G. then he dispatched to me the Churchwardens, who returned with the same answer, last of all the Clarke comes from him, I willed him to say I neither would nor could read it, but was coming to preach y^e Lecture & finish it; he was thereupon enjoined to read the Order & he made a great noise of the Victory, misreading thousands for hundreds. On a fryday towards evening a minister of my ancient acquaint^{ce} came to my lodging at the Towne Clerks, persuading me earnestly to suppe with him in the Inne & when he told me Colonell Pride¹⁰ was in the company I dare not then goe, my saying was, for I am not of his religion. But remembering the next day, I went & caryed a booke with me to entertaine the soldjours with other y^a catching discourse; the Colonell asked after the fore-mentioned Magistrate & how he stood wth the times. He is in health, I said, & thorough-paced for the Army. That's strange, quoth he to his company, he hath cozend the state of 20000ⁿ, but we will squeeze him. I told this man in private what was said against him in the hearing of so many, advising him to make his peace with y^e colonell, who looked asquint upon me ever after, for a friend told me that other had related all my speech to the Colonell himselfe with what other additions he knew not. This is written because of a mery passage at that supper occasioned by the foresaid booke Eirenodia Fitz Pagani Piscatoris which magnified the exploits of y^e Army Officers. And to Col. Pride I said, doubtless, you are named herein. Very true saith he & tak^s y^e booke, though no very good Scholler, he soone found his verse
- J.Y.

Virtutem nec jam narrabo aut robora Pridi.

- & while he prided himself in his praise, a witty man in y^e company said to him, do not boast thereof, for thou art badly jeered & he made him this construction, "Neither will I now tell Virtutem, the villany, & robora, & the robbery & plundering of Pride." This vexed him, but made others mery. But I was in some thoughtfulness, being minister of the place, least they should call upon me to pray, but y^e Colonell nodded to y^e other & I was glad thereof, not onely for my faire dismission, but because though he was an Arminian in his preaching, he was not so in his prayer, for he concluded—through Jesus Christ our Lord, who dyed for many.
- 1652 The most Honorable Countesse of Kent wanted a Tutor for y^e young Earle (her Lord being then lately gone to

¹⁰ Of "Pride's Purge" fame.

greater glory) & desired me to find out a meet man for that worke & hearing much good of one Mr Locke, bred in Ireland, I repaired to my Lord of Armagh¹¹ at Rygate, who gave great commendations of him a learned pious monarchicall & Epall man, directing me to my good friend, Dr Bernard of Grey's Inne, by whose means I found him out, having bene an Assistant to Doctor Gauden, now ye most Reverend Bp of Exceter. I brought him to Kingston. He was in great esteeme with that noble & virtuous Lady & her family, a family, a patterne, I wish it were patterned by all the noble Ladyes & Lords too in the Land. While I remayned in y^t Towne the Hono^{ble} Ld Fairfaxe & his Lady were my constant auditors & would have had me with them into Yorkshire upon liberall termes. I have y^e noble Lady Veres letters yet by me testifying their kindness in that respect to me.

1653 I understood that a Comittee had power to give monyes to Cathedrall men in want & thereupon moved, thos in Norw^{ch} to make means for some of that allowance, wherby they obtained about 70^l & I petitiond for the godly & learned Bp Hall, he knowing not at all thereof & procured him 50^l, for my Ld had told me the Parlam^t voted him 400^l p an, but he could never gett above 140^l, & the one half thereof well nigh was expended in gaining the other; a friend of mine in Kingston that knew him no otherwise then by his pious books sent him 40^s at y^e same time, & the next yeer, unasked also 5^l more; when from that Comittee I brought his Lordship another 50^l but y^a he desired me to sollicite no further for him that way, & yet he said possibly that w^{ch} I now receave was mine before it came; & here I may remember what one of the Comittee said, I hope Dr Hall will take the Engagement, but my reply was I hoped they would not desire him to be felo de se, for therfore the Covenant was not pressed upon men of his condition.

I left Kingston & a great ^{pt} of my salary behind me (thanke the Engagement) & was glad I came off from that quarrelling place without visible wounds. I could easily write a booke of my bickerings there in that Triennium especially in reference to y^e Intruder, w^o named me in the pulpitt, who by the countenance of a pitifull number of Sectaryes usurped the place without & against the consent of the Patron Sr Lionell Tollemach & the Dr & his assistant & this when he was then no minister. It was my crime there to say Saint John & S. Paul & it should have been

¹¹ Archbishop Usher.

an article against me also that I did in the Church say publicly thus endeth the first or 2^d lesson. I had conflicts & exercise there, but I was supported by divers noble & worthy friends, who desired my stay, so did the Patron & y^e Dr, but the Engagement was threatened afresh & the place was too neere Hampton Court, which has received complaints against me made & multiplied by the Sectaryes.

1654 &c. In my absence without any my appearance I was designed to this place, where now my abode is. Here I have kept up the King's Arms in the Church, which one of Oliver's friends saw & blamed. I baptized at the font & owned witnesses. I buried the dead wth an exhortation at the grave. When there was election of Parlam^t men, I did not onely give my owne vote for such I knew Regally affected, but I stirred up others to do the like & I was noted for y^e by the opposing party. I was desired sometimes to y^e Presbyterian Ordination, but never assisted there, & when it was suspected I liked it not, my answer was, as the times now stood it was well for this Church, otherwise, the Bps being forbidden to ordaine, y^e fountaine of the Ministry would be dryed up: & if the troubles continued 10 years longer, the ancient Bps would all be dead & no way left to renew them according to primitive custome & law of this land, but the Romanists are now prevented of this objection, & these are not only delivered from, but bettered by their sufferings & there is no roome left for Rome to make a new Nags head device.¹² However in that Interim I directed such as consulted me to be epally ordayned, if it might be had, as most agreeable to the Establishments of this Church & Nation.

C.R.
J.P.

The Committee at Norw^{ch} wrote to me, named, by what means I know not, in y^e Act about or rather against ministers. E.F.
H. &c. I was once only among upon request of some that were in danger & I was instrumentall for their deliverance. Some scores of Ministers in this Diocesse were in the way to be rujned for taking their Institutions from Dr Corbett¹³; their names were sent up to the Tryars, the list was shewed me, happily there at that time, supposing I would discover the unworthy, but my study was, I said to preserve, not to accuse my brethren & I was at some charge & labour in

¹² About 1603 Papist controversialists invented a story that the early Elizabethan Bishops had been imperfectly consecrated "in a bunch" by an ex-Bishop at the Nag's Head Inn, Cheapside.

¹³ Clement Corbett, LL.D., Vicar-general and Chancellor of the Bishop of Norwich.

N.B.
E.H.
P.N.

searching the Rolls of both Houses & moving persons, then in place to appear for them. I crave leave to add without boasting, because it was my duty & my weakness, otherwise, is ever before me, No day, since his late Ma^{ty} death hath gone over me wherein I prayed not in my closett for my present Sovereigne & the Royall family & sometimes solemnly in my house, & no mans heart, I think, triumphed more in the midst of him at the glad tidings & sight of his Ma^{ties} accesse to his Crownes & Rights in such a quiet, welcome, & serene manner, & I said Let them that have suffered most for him, reign & flourish with him, let them take all, for as much as my Ld the King is come again in peace to his owne house, 2 Sam. 19. 30.

A.D.T.

And for that late suggest of my entertaining Antimonarchists, it is not likely that having yeilded so little to them in the time of their power, I should now so comply to my certaine danger & destruction, when all mens eyes are open & their hands lifted up against them. But Ill will is not only unjust & intemperate & irreligious, but blind also & deafe, neither seeing nor hearing reason. But let Malice or Satan, the Accuser & Father thereof prouve that Colonel Fleetwood¹⁴ or any one of the enemies of the King have at any time bene entertained by me & I am contented to forfeit all my former endeavours & sufferings. But upon my oath I am innocent in this also, let my servants so be examined & it will be yet more manifest. I could add much more, but this true Narrative, I trust, will deliver me from the suspicion of being a Republican or Protectorian. But if in thes monstrous calumnations I should be totally silent, some that have Engaged with & so wrought for Oliver, might deeme me guilty as themselves, but in this, whatever other doe, I need no pardon. A good friend of mine once sequestred, newly preferred in the first of these times kindly asked me how matters stood with me in this change, when I answered Well & according to desire, he said, if there had been cause, we would all have spoken for you that ever were a friend to us. But this Ingenuity is dead & the love of many is waxed cold. And if I be enoyed, as if there had bene somewhat of the Serpent in me, that I have suffered no more & not bene quite undone in thes overturning times (though, I hope my adversaries sufferings have not bene so heavy to them) let them remember o^r comon Masters præcept, Be wise as serpents & harmless as doves, Math. 10. 16. It hath bene my study also & prayer to keep a good conscience, & if I have failed to any

¹⁴ The Parliamentary General of Irmingland Hall, Norfolk.

man in dovelike innocence, I will not onely be sory for my fault, but thankfull to a friendly reprover.

I have written this to wipe off thos black aspersions by which I am traduced to the best of the county, for it is my infelicity. I have bene as a stranger for the most part of thes 20 years in my owne country. I say now no more. It is enough for the Disciple that he be as his Master & for the servant as his Lord, if they call the Master of ye house Beelzebub, how much more shall they call them of his household, Math. 10. 25. It is enough, as to myselfe I am satisfied, but not without grieffe & feare for those sinners against their own soules.

Dat veniam corvis, vexat censura columbas.

B. COZENS-HARDY.

Dr. Lewis Du Moulin's Vindication of the Congregational Way.

THE MS. of which the following—with some necessary omissions—is a copy, belonged to the late Dr. Mackennal, and was given to me after his death by his eldest son. In a pencilled note the Doctor ascribes its authorship to Dr. Lewis Du Moulin (1606–1680), and this is confirmed by what the writer (near the end) says of himself as a Frenchman and a Physician. He was born at Paris, studied medicine and graduated M.D. at Leyden; took degrees at Cambridge (1634) and Oxford (1649). He probably practised at Oxford, where (in September, 1648) he was appointed Camden Professor of History. Steeped in Calvinistic Protestantism by his father, Dr. Pierre Moulin (1568–1658), his zealous adherence to the Puritan cause was natural. He defended it alike for its Protestantism and its Calvinism. In fact, to oppose the English Church as a dangerous promoter of Arminianism and Romanism became the chief business of his life. In 1653 there came into the hands of Baxter “the fragment of an Epistle,” written to Lewis by his brother Cyrus,¹ on the subject of Justification by Faith. The object of the letter seems to have been to convince Lewis that their respective views of the subject, though different, were of no practical importance—striving about them was “a mere fighting of shadows.” But Baxter thought otherwise. Lewis, at least, held a doctrine, reputedly Calvinistic and orthodox, which tended to Antinomianism. Baxter, therefore, after a study of the book by Lewis which Cyrus had in mind, wrote a confutation of it in 1654. He felt this to be called for by the author’s high position as “Dr. of Physick and History Professor in Oxford.” Eighteen years later he took him to task for his extreme Erastianism. Lewis, he says, “was so vehemently set upon the crying down of the Papal and Prelatical Government that he thought it was the work that he was sent into the world for, to convince Princes that all Government was in themselves, and no proper Government, but only Persuasion, belonged to the Churches—to which end he wrote his *Parænesis contra edificatores Imperium in Imperio*, and his *Papa Ultra-Trajectinus*, and

¹ That most famous man (says Baxter).

other Tractates, and thrust them on me to make me of his mind; and at last wrote his *Iugulum Causæ*, with no less than seventy epistles before it, directed to Princes and Men of Interest, among which he was pleased to put one to me."² Baxter answered him in a short treatise of 89 pages, designed to make clear "The Difference between the Power of Magistrates and Church-Pastors, and the Roman Kingdom and Magistracy under the name of a Church and Church government usurped by the Pope, or liberally given him by Popish Princes" (1671). True to his ruling passion, which was hatred of Rome and of that party in the English Church (the Anglo-Catholics?), whose positive drift, or aim, was Rome-ward, Lewis wrote in 1679 *A Short and true account of the several Advances the Church of England hath made towards Rome!*³ It was this, as much as anything, which drew forth an anonymous brochure (30 pp., 8vo.) in January, 1679-80, entitled *A Lively Picture of Lewis du Moulin drawn by the incomparable Hand of Monsiuer Daille, late Minister of Charenton*. On October 21, 1680, Du Moulin died and there was published immediately *The last words of Lewis Du Moulin*, "being his Retractation of all the Personal Reflections he had made on the Divines of the Church of England (in several books of his) signed by himself on the 5th and the 17th of October 1680." It was authenticated by Dr. Gilbert Burnet, and Simon Patrick, Dean of Peterboro, to whom Du Moulin had made his confession. They each wrote, "I have perused this Relation, and, as far as I am concerned in it do hereby attest the truth of it." In due course Burnet made some comments on both the *Lively Picture*, and *The Last Words*. The latter, he thought, amounted to little more than an utterance of heart-felt sorrow for all his too hard and violent words—such sorrow as he himself and others ought to feel; the former—which called Du Moulin "an incredible Lyar," a vain writer and malicious, if not mad and distracted—did not accord with his own experience.

"I found him more patient of confutation, contradiction and reproof than most men that ever I disputed with, his zeal which you call fury being far more for God than for himself. . . . I never heard that the Doctor gave me any uncivil or uncharitable word"—though greatly

² B. B., lii., 85.

³ Across the title-page of Ryland's copy someone has written, "A false and lying Libell worthy of its title and of the despicable Author."

provoked thereto—"nor did he ever reply to either of these books of mine, nor signify any abatement of his love. And I think this shewed a forgiving mind."⁴ The special point of this testimony from Baxter lay in the fact that the writer of the *Lively Picture* had quoted freely his words against Du Moulin, and expected Baxter to side with him. But Baxter was always fair, even to those with whom at times he might be fierce; and Lewis recognised this when he spoke of Baxter in his last letter to him "as the only good and disinterested man in the world."⁵

As to the MS. we have in hand, we can say for certain that it is an autograph by Lewis, and probably the rough draft of the essay which came out soon after his death—at the end of 1680 or beginning of 1681. That it is an autograph has been ascertained for me by Mr. Stephen K. Jones, of the Dr. Williams's Library, who has kindly compared its writing with that of the letters and finds it identical. In this case, the MS. is literally unique. It exists alone as the form first taken by his thoughts on the subject of the printed book; and it shows not only that they underwent very considerable changes, but also that the book as designed was much more comprehensive than it actually turned out. Was it that his hand was stayed by the near approach of the end?

The occasion of this particular part of his design was this. In 1671, Bossuet, Bishop of Condom, the most eloquent and famous of Roman Catholic preachers, issued a volume of Discourses in which (*inter alia*) he argued that no Protestant Church which admitted its own liability to err had any reasonable right to demand an unqualified submission to its doctrine and discipline—much less to excommunicate and otherwise persecute dissenters. Such a right is claimed by Rome, because it presupposes a claim to infallibility. Waive the latter, and the former goes with it. Quite true—says Du Moulin: consequently the Calvinists and Lutherans, the Presbyterians and Anglicans who loudly protest their own liability to err—nay assert, as a cardinal article of their creed, the right of a Christian man to interpret the Scriptures (the only Divine authority) by the light of his own conscience, are in an utterly illogical position. They admit that they may be, and have been, wrong, and yet insist on the decisions

⁴ *Second Plea for Peace*, chap. XV.

⁵ Baxter MSS. (Letters), VI., ff. 174 5. There are several letters to Baxter, from him, and also from his father and brother of the same name, Pierre.

of their Synods, etc., as statements of absolute truth, to which all within their jurisdiction must assent, or be subjected to pains and penalties. On the other hand, those of the Congregational way are loyal to the logic of Protestantism. Their Confession of Faith is just as orthodox as those of the other Protestant Churches, but their Synods never dream of exercising coercion. They are merely consultative and fraternal. Each congregation, and every member of each congregation, is encouraged to regard conscience as the final judge. Persuasion, not coercion, is the rule. While touching, or dwelling, upon other merits of the Congregational way, Du Moulin extols this as the highest. It is, he thinks, a merit which carries with it all the rest; but whose reasonableness none before him has worked out with the same emphasis and accurateness (p. 35).

Du Moulin anticipates an objection to his account of the Congregational way, *viz.* that it is ideal. He has had no actual experience of the inner working of a Congregational Church. He is deducing its character from an abstract consideration of its principles. His answer was that, as a sympathetic onlooker, and not a minister, he might be the better able to judge aright. But I doubt it. A sure result of the Congregational way, for example, as he saw it, meant a fine tolerance. Was this, however, a feature of Dr. Owen's Church which he wished to join? Let the question be answered by those twelve reasons against having anything whatever to do with the Anglican form of worship which Dr. Owen compiled in his last days for the guidance of his people. No. The Congregational way had to pass many turnings before it came out into a broad place.

I have not copied the whole of the MS., partly because it is too long for an article, and partly because what is omitted is of inferior interest. Nor have I marked by any means all the variations of the printed text; for this could not have been done without a parallel copy of the whole. One or two facts are very noticeable, *viz.*, that the admiration of Congregationalists for Calvin is more emphatic than in the MS.; that John Owen is not mentioned; and that here and there some peculiarities of the Congregational way are omitted or toned down. It looks as if Lewis had suddenly grown cautious of seeming too Congregational. I am a bit disposed to think that not only Lewis but some "sober" redactor has been at work.

F. J. POWICKE.

THE CONFORMITY OF THOSE
THAT THE VULGAR CALL
INDEPENDENTS⁶ WITH THE
ANCIENT CHRISTIANS

(Together)

WITH THEIR CONFESSION OF
FAITH AND A VINDICATION
OF THE
CONGREGATIONAL WAY

BY THE

BISHOP OF CONDOM,

Tutor to the Dauphin.

With (further)

AN ANSWER TO THE EXCEPTIONS
OF SOME LEARNED PROTESTANTS
IN FRANCE AGAINST THAT
VINDICATION.

For the reasonableness of Independency
of Churches on a Supreme National
Church-Tribunal subject to error.

ALL PUBLISHED IN FRENCH⁷.

⁶ Note that here the name "Independents" is regarded as a nickname like Quakers. It was, in fact, flung at all the so-called lawless sects of the time, and was only adopted later by the people here in question with considerable reluctance. Their own name for themselves was "Congregationals" or those of the Congregational way. Besides this essay, see, *e.g.*, the protest of the *Apologetical Narration* (1643) against the name, and the "Savoy Confession of Faith," *passim*.

⁷ The above is the title-page of the whole work as published in French—though this, if it actually appeared, I have not seen. What follows is simply the "Vindication."

THE CONFORMITY OF THOSE THAT THE VULGARCALL INDEPENDENTS
WITH THE ANCIENT CHRISTIANS.⁸

There is near upon fifty years that learned and clear-sighted men, both of the Clergy and of the Laity, have disengaged an important truth from the tyranny of prejudicate opinions and from an obstinate blindness, which have now these thousand years and above prevailed over men's spirits. That Truth is the sentiment of Nestorius, which, all the while, the authority of Cyril, Patriarch of Alexandria, ever since the third Œcumenical Council, caused to be looked upon as a lie and a false doctrine: as, indeed, it was so looked upon by all the Fathers and Doctors of the Church, ancient and modern, Protestant and Papist, who all, with one accord believed it stood with their reputation and honour not to unsay what they once had said, but remained constant in putting Nestorius among the abominable heretics, and thundering upon him and all his followers, all their excommunications and anathemas both major and minor, though in truth Nestorius was the orthodox and Cyril the heretic, who deserved all the anathemas that were cast at the head of the poor Nestorius.⁹

I might here make a reflection upon my particular case about those great truths I have lately published, which have met with as many oppositions as Nestorius in his time; (but) I will only insist upon a business like that of Nestorius, even upon those they call Independents who, albeit they be not inferior to any of the Protestants in Europe, in holiness of doctrine and life, and in a wise conduct and prudent managing of their own affairs, and for having the Spirit of Jesus Christ in great measure—which is a spirit of meekness, moderation and averse(ness) from persecution, besides a confession of faith¹⁰ which is such a masterpiece that all the antiquity and the now Protestant Churches cannot produce the like for purity of doctrine, neat and exact composition, expression

⁸ The title of the printed text runs—

The Conformity of the Discipline and Government of those who are commonly called Independents to that of the ancient Primitive Christians.

By Dr. Lewis Du Moulin sometime History Professor of Oxford.

qui reperta veritate aliquid discutit mendaciam querit.

Valentinianus & Martianus.

London.

Printed for Richard Garraway, 1680. 67 pp. plus three pages of contents.

⁹ The so-called Nestorian heresy (condemned by the Council of Ephesus, 431 A.D.)—that the person of Christ consisted of two natures and that Mary was not the Mother of God but only of Christ—has within the last fifty years been disengaged as an important truth from the tyranny of prejudice, &c. So the truth of the Church has been set free by “those they call Independents,” &c.

¹⁰ In printed text—“the most nervous and sinewy, the most orthodox, and couched in terms so strong and powerful that of all pieces, which yet have appeared in the world, since the writings of the Apostles, it is the most full and perfect.”

and wording nor the *corpus* of *Syntagma Confessionum*—yet notwithstanding, this holy generation of men have been almost overwhelmed with false reports, lies, slanders; by Synods, Doctors, and Professors beyond sea, namely, by the National Synod held at Charenton,¹¹ in the year 1678. The great and learned Mr. Daillé¹² and Amyraut¹³ spoke of them as of a pernicious sect, not to be suffered in States and Kingdoms, and overturning all Governments, and, besides, of a vicious and ungodly life and conversation.¹⁴ Some of their accusers have taxed them to admit promiscuously good and bad into their society, whereas, quite contrary, their error (if it be one) goeth to the other extremity in not receiving into their communion but such as carry marks of regeneration; whereas, also, their greatest crime (though to me it is a great virtue) is to condemn that practice of those Churches reformed, as Papal and tyrannical, who by a pretended Divine right and by virtue of the power of the keys and of binding and loosing, erect an ecclesiastical jurisdiction and national Tribunal, independent on the magistrate.

And on that account, that Congregational Churches practise no such thing, they are to be looked upon as having a way of settling religion in the world nearest to the Apostolical, and most conformable to the ancient Christians—as, indeed, their way hath the excellencies and advantages over all other Church ways now in the world, that are inconceivable,¹⁵ specially over that usual settling of national religion and Church government of the same extent as the territory is where it is settled. For it is not possible that among hundreds and hundreds (of) Congregational Churches, independent one on another and on that National Church tribunal, there be not some ones which retain that holy conformity, in doctrine and discipline with the Apostolical; whereas it is a hundred to one, as experience hath showed us ever since the time of Constantine the great, if a national Church of the same extent as the Magistrate's Territory or Empire, be not attended with incredible disorders, reigning heresies, factious persecuting spirits, bandings one against another and the like, as I am now to show:—

1. One must consider a National Church as it was established by the Constantines, by both Theodosius, Martian and Justinian, of the same extent as the Roman Empire, in which the Ecclesiastical State was modelled according to the Civil, where the Bishops of a town or city had for extent (*paroikian*¹⁶) whose collateral civil

¹¹ The Synod of Charenton in 1678 approved and confirmed what these two leaders had said before their death.

¹² 1590-1670.

¹³ Amyraut (Amyraldus), 1596-1664.

¹⁴ The whole of what follows to p. 14 is variously altered in the printed text—though the same in substance.

¹⁵ Emphatic way of saying this way hath unconscionable excellencies.

¹⁶ Province.

magistrate was *Defensor Civitatis* or *Dux*. The Archbishop or Metropolitan of the Province was parallel to the *Præses* or *Proconsul*, called also *Corrector*. The Diocesan, Primate, or Patriarch was parallel to the legate of the Emperor or *Vicarius*, whose palace was called *Prætorium*, and where there was the like subordination of Church courts as of civil.

2. One must consider a National Church as it hath been since the reformation, either in a hierarchical way with an inequality of Pastors, or in a Presbyterian, where ministers are of equal rank and dignity. In both they pretend the settling of uniformity in doctrine and discipline, and it is urged in both with the same rigour, whether the settling be right or wrong; and it is expected all men should frame their obedience, conscience, religion, faith upon the model of the will of those that sit at the stern of the State, whether ecclesiastical or civil—be they Arians, Papists, Lutherans, Calvinists; and dissenters must be persecuted either by the magistrate, or by those that have the chief power in the National Church. All which inconveniences, disorders, and mischiefs can never fall out by a settling of a congregational way in States and Kingdoms. The love of rule and the love of money, vices so much condemned by Socrates in great Bishops, their factions banding one against another, ambition, gaping after power, dignities, plurality of livings, will not possess or trouble the head of a congregational minister, whose power and ambition is shut up within the walls of his congregation.

The Synods of the Congregational way are harmless, in which they have no authority but that of counsel and persuasion; and none is frightened at their censures, depositions, and excommunications, as dissenters were by the numerous Synods and representative assemblies of a National Church (under the last Emperors), and who would needs command *pro imperio in ecclesiasticis*, as the Emperor did *in temporalibus*.

It is not conceivable what harms, mischiefs, heresies, corruption in manners, followed and attended this National Church way and their Synods. Gregory of Nazianze and Martin, Bishop of Tours maintained that never any good came from them; and other good men observe that more good always came from little Assemblies and Synods, where there were not above twenty or twenty-five men. No great Synod can show me such a pious sentence as that of the Synod of Orange (cent. 5; can(on) 12) *tales nos amat Deus quales futuri sumus ipsius dono, non quales sumus nostra merito*; and God is usually more present with two or three assembled in his name than with an assembly of many hundred, when those devils I have but now mentioned are in their reign. Had not the moderation and wise temper of the Emperors cooled

¹⁷ Church historian (b. 380).

the heat, passion, and ambition, yea cruelty, of the heads of those numerous assemblies, they would have killed one another; and the place where they sat would have been converted into an *aceldama*: for Dioscorus, Bishop of Alexandria, killed Flavian, Bishop of Antioch with fists, kicks and blows in the middle of an assembly of 400 men.

3. One thing is considerable, that in a National Church having the same uniformity for religion as for policy and of the same extent, 'tis not truth, honesty, sincerity which acts and prevails, but chance, worldly interest, the best sword, the major number (which most part is erroneous), sometime the will of a single man invested with an absolute power, who is led about by flatterers and evil counsellors, and who—however good and sincere—have seldom wisdom and sufficient knowledge to judge in matters of religion, so that now (what a woeful thing is that!) behold, by the National Church way, millions of Christians and faithful men obliged, at least commanded, to submit equally to the religion of a whole empire, according to the will and settling of a Rehoboam, of an idolater, of a Constantius Arian Emperor, of Julian an Apostate, of Mary a popish Queen of England, as of David, of Constantine the Great, and of Queen Elizabeth, which great incumbrances, mischiefs and inconveniences will (not), nor can ever, attend the settling of religion by a Congregational way.

4. The same evils do attend the settling of a National Church according to the reformation of Luther and Calvin. For the reformation of Luther, received in Germany, in Swedeland and in Denmark, and authorised by their Sovereigns and by their laws, carrieth along with it an obligation of submission to the consubstantiation, without leave to some to gather assemblies that reject it, as an independent congregation would do, if it were suffered. We may say the like of the National Church way according to the model of Calvin, in those places where it is received; and whose discipline, however the doctrine of that holy man is pure, is very full of defects, namely for erecting a National Church with an ecclesiastical tribunal independent of her Magistrate, and submitting particular men and Churches to its laws, commands and censures, which thing hath caused an infinity of disorders and troubles—in those countries where the discipline of Calvin was received, namely in Scotland, and Holland, and even in Geneva in the time of Calvin, as we read in his Epistles.

5. Another great inconveniency we meet under a National Church Government (is) that it is always joined with a spirit of persecution, and forcing bodies and souls to submit to the religion prevailing in the nation where one's abode is.

6. One main evil is, that a National Church Government and Tribunal causeth that it unmans a man, and divests him of his reason, natural liberty, in the choice of God and the worship he

must render to Him ; and to which none must be constrained but persuaded, nor brought to it by custom, birth, nor even by the law of the Magistrate except he be convinced that his commands are agreeable with the Word of God.

7. Also, this consideration is much urged, by wise men of the congregation, against a religion and Church way fitted both to the National Church State and to the civil—and much worse as to the ecclesiastical than to the civil. 'For in the latter' a man hath the liberty to choose his abode, his wife, his servant, his lawyer, his physician, and to govern his own family as he pleaseth, so that it be done without violation of the public peace ; whereas he hath not the same liberty as for matters of religion.

8. This, also, is alleged in the behalf of the Congregational way that, however absurd and unjust the laws of the Magistrate in civil matters, yet it is very reasonable that they should be imposed upon all and obeyed by all, as long as their importance doth not extend beyond this present life. But if they extend further—even to conscience and eternal salvation—an uniformity of religion and of faith, however sound and orthodox, imposed upon men, should be both an iniquity and a tyranny, because it should lay violence upon the conscience, whereof the Magistrate is no master, nor the arbitrator, as he is of bodies and goods.

9. But nothing asserts more the reasonableness of independent particular Churches, both on each other and on Synods ; in a word, on that supreme national tribunal, either Papal or Presbyterian, urged by a divine right and by a judgment either infallible or incontestable, than a discourse of a learned Bishop of Condom in France in a book of his called *Exposition of the Catholic Faith*,¹⁸ wherein he sheweth and proveth by arguments coming near to a demonstration, that it is a tyranny and unreasonableness for any embodied particular Churches to require submission to a national Synod of their own erecting, and obedience to its laws and canons and censures, except it be supposed and granted that the Synod is led by a spirit of infallibility ; and that if it be presupposed that that Synod is subject to error, the submission required to it, is both ungodly, unjust and unreasonable. He thereupon strongly pleads the cause of the Independents, for refusing to submit to any other tribunal than to that of Jesus Christ in his word, against the National Synod held at Charenton in the year 1648, and against all others who condemn the Independency of Congregations on Synods. I will set down here his very words. "The Independents"—saith he—"do believe that every faithful man ought to follow the light of his conscience and not to follow the judgment of any assembly or Synod for that reason, that it is subject to error."

The Gospel is not more true nor more reasonable than this

¹⁸ *Exposition de la doctrine de l'Eglise Catholique sur les matieres de Controverse* (1671).

sentiment of the Independents ; and this Bishop could not approve of one more agreeable to Scripture and Reason, viz. : that either a particular Synod, or Church, ought not to submit their reason, faith, judgment, and religion for a rule of faith and manners to an authority subject to error. And upon that lock the Bishop doth reasonably condemn the Synod of Charenton for making this Canon. *The present Synod doth condemn the opinion of the Independents for holding that every particular Church ought to be governed by its own proper laws and canons, independently, in matters ecclesiastical, on Synods, and without obligation to acknowledge their authority for their conduct and discipline.* Next to that, the Bishop urgeth strongly the reasonableness of this opinion of the Independents that, supposing the tribunal of Rome is infallible, it is a thousand times more reasonable that the people of Rome should submit to it than for the Protestants to submit to a tribunal which they look upon as subject to error.

And therein the common light hath been wanting in our first Reformers, and in much less measure than the Romanists have it, who are a generation of the world and of worldly minded men. For, as these latter foresaw that it was a thing impossible to bring so many people, nations, kings, common-wealths in war among themselves, differing in laws, customs, and language, to a submission to the tribunal of Rome, if it were looked upon as subject to error, they have judiciously and prudently clothed that tribunal of Rome with infallibility, without which the Romish religion would have split in pieces, and each territory would have chalked to themselves a particular religion, and taken the Scripture for a rule and judge.

And, in this particular, the Bishop triumpheth and crows over the Protestants, for not devising an infallible tribunal and judge to which those that are of different judgments should repair and submit. But the Independents have been led by a better light both of reason and grace when, with much piety, justice, and reason they have disengaged themselves from the pretended infallibility of the tribunal of Rome and from the tyranny of requiring submission to a tribunal subject to error. But nothing will more justify the Congregational way than their confession of Faith which sheweth that, if much wisdom hath not been wanting to them in composing such a masterpiece, so pure, so Christian, so well worded and expressed, it is not like(ly) that that wisdom failed them for matter of discipline and prudent ordering their way of Churches. The main design of theirs in composing and framing this confession was to show to the world that, albeit every Church of theirs hath liberty to have a particular government and discipline differing from each other and from the Church of the land of their nativity and from those beyond sea, yet their main study was to show their conformity of Faith and Doctrine with the Presbyterians

and the purest Churches reformed from Popery and that it differs not much from that in Edward the Sixth his days.

As for their discipline, it is short and plain, much like that St. Paul ordered, that everything in the Church be done decently and orderly; and, in that particular, they have not neglected to consult the practice and customs under good Emperors, as were Constantine the Great, Theodosius, Martian, and Justinian, who much recommended uniformity of faith, which was kept by their letters called *testimoniales formata, circulares ecclesiastica*, even when they permitted to every Church to vary in discipline from others. Socrates, the historian, . . . *Lib. 5, cap. 21.*, tells us there were hardly two Churches in the Roman Empire that observed the same manner of praying. The Jesuit, Manbourg, though very zealous for the uniformity of Rome in faith, rites, and ceremonies, yet he maintaineth that the diversity of uses and practices may stand with the unity and uniformity for matter of faith: and this he saith to justify the Greek Churches, who might differ from Rome in discipline and rites, whilst they retained the same faith; and to prove that for that diversity in rites and ceremonies, they could not be taxed to be guilty of schism.

I come now to answer some objections. They say they (of the Congregational way) condemn Synods. It is not so. Their practice, and the Bishop of Condom, justify them from that imputation. They establish the right use and mode of Synods; and with that measure of power as the Bishop of Armagh (Usher) and Mr. Baxter allotted them—as is that of Divines, Ministers of Jesus Christ, prudent, wise, and experienced Christians, able to give wholesome counsels, and who do not assume greater authority than that of the Apostles, at the conclusion of their counsels, “If you do these, it shall be well.” For I maintain that Synods, under Christian Emperors, had no other authority, until their constitutions and canons had the stamp of the imperial Sanction. They are most right about stating the nature and authority of Church and pastors about ordination¹⁹ . . . and none afore Dr. Owen hath understood the nature of schism. No Church in the world goeth beyond them in respect and honour to the memory and doctrine of Calvin, and none are more desirous to have a communion with those Churches which follow the faith of that holy man, though they differ from him in discipline, and for erecting a National Tribunal over many Churches, which they hold, in a manner, worse than the Papal, for requiring submission to a fallible tribunal, whereas Rome requires none but to an infallible.²⁰ As for what concerns Church power and authority of Pastors, they know no other but what is confined within the walls of each particular

¹⁹ The reference here to Dr. Owen, and to ordination, is omitted in the printed text.

²⁰ Italicised words omitted, and the whole section recast, in the printed text.

Church. The deposition and excommunication among them is much like to that of the ancient Church. Excommunication is not a matter much disputed with them. The heretics and ungodly, being redeigned [?] in their own conscience, need not be excommunicated, because they excommunicate themselves . . . if any of their Churches use the thing and the word of excommunication, 'tis an ejection not from the holy table properly, but from the assembly—as not to be reputed as one of the members, though he may, as anyone, be a hearer.

Another great charge is laid upon them, that they despise superior Powers. But the 24th chapter of their Confession²¹ doth vindicate them from that accusation. . . . In short, as the Congregationals receive no laws nor commands from their Synods, and never meet in a body by their deputies but to give counsel and advice, . . . so, a Sovereign, having, may be, thousands of such congregations, divided one from another under him and depending on no national tribunal, may well take for his motto in regard of the Congregationals *Divide et impera*: for, beside the power that each minister assumeth within the walls of his congregation, he takes none upon him without, but that of persuasion or counsel.

As for the objection, that if there were no other Church way than the Congregational the three parts of four of the Nation should remain in infidelity and ignorance of Christian religion, to that they say, that their way doth not dispense their ministers with attending upon the word and prayer in all places, temples, families; and therein take a part of the parochial ministry with either Episcopal or Presbyterian ministers. And they are not against the Magistrate settling means and revenues for public Churches, Academies, Colleges, Schools of Divinity and for other learning. Neither are they against inviting of men to repair to Churches more public than theirs, as men are to hear lectures in arts and sciences. For they would have no man compelled. . . . As for the crime of schism with which they are charged, as having separated themselves from all the visible Churches of Jesus Christ, it is a false accusation, broached by them that know not the nature of schism.

1. Schism is not a separation of a particular congregation from another, when one Church is divided into two . . . but schism happens when members of one Church are at variance among themselves, as were those of the Church of Corinth.

2. 'Tis no schism when some heretics sever themselves from the orthodox members of a Church to make one of their own . . . but is an apostasy and an abandonment of the orthodox faith. 'Tis a revolting from the catholic visible Church of Jesus Christ. And upon this account, the Romish Church is not guilty of schism but

²¹ Of the Civil Magistrate.

of Apostasy—though upon the account of the first reason, She is truly schismatic.

3.²³ It is no schism when two orthodox Churches agreeing in faith and in one discipline . . . have two distinct governments, though one like the other.

4. It is no schism when several particular Churches differ one from another in discipline, but do all stick to the same foundation of faith and keep a great correspondency and strict communion for THAT particular with other Churches. The thing being so, as it is no schism for a Congregational Church to be independent on another Church of its own way, so it is not one to be independent on all other Churches in the world.

5. Lastly, 'tis no schism when a congregation is formed out of the Parish against the command of the Magistrate. 'Tis a disobeying—not a National Church which is not of Christ's institution . . . but—'tis disobeying and acting against the Magistrate's commands; and so no schism but a rebellion. And yet no sin, where the question is, which of the two is rather to be obeyed, either God or the Magistrate.

In short, all I have said hitherto amounts to these two conclusions. . . .

(a) that, for to settle peace in the world and the true religion, and the true Apostolical way in it, we must have recourse to the *materia prima* of families and Congregational Churches. . . .

(b) that the supposed and intended necessity of an uniformity of religion, faith and discipline, either in the world or at least in one territory; and, besides, of a National Church distinct from the civil in jurisdiction and officers, hath introduced the Pope into the world, or a papal-like tyranny, and that it will even drive pure Churches and ordinances out of the world, except they be found among the Congregational, albeit God hath still a people, though not congregate, in the midst of the worse visible Church, as *e.g.* in Popery

[Here follow a series of paragraphs²⁴ aiming to show that the Congregational way is illustrated by the holy remnant of the Old Testament, by the Churches of the New Testament, by those of the first three Christian centuries, and by the secret societies of saints within the Roman Church of the mediæval and later ages.]

Then, we come to this :—

We are insensibly fallen into the conformity of the Congregational way, in our time, with the ancient Christians for the little number that made up a congregation and for the manner that their Pastors took by praying and preaching but to few, either persons or families . . . rather than by preaching and hearing

²³ §§ 3 and 4 here are expanded into three sections and greatly modified, while § 5 is omitted.

²⁴ Represented by chap. VI. in the printed text.

of the Word in numerous assemblies. The fruit of which St. Chrysostom compareth to a great quantity of water poured by pails upon many bottles of a narrow mouth, and which goeth most aside, and very little enters into the bottles. Whereas the fruit of private instruction by the Presbyter, either in the house or in private congregations, is that of a man taking every bottle one by one, and which he may easily fill. Besides, that it is not possible that a Bishop, who bestoweth all his time upon studying and preaching in public, can afford a minute of time to instruct his auditors one by one, as is most feasible by the congregational way—when one congregation is not above one hundred ‘and’ seldom two hundred; and when you get the chief Pastor assisted by other coadjutors, and almost all of the congregation are prophets, and have the gift and spirit of supplication and of prophecy, or expounding of the word, insomuch that this Congregational way seemeth to be the accomplishment of the Prophecy about the covenant of grace, when all their members shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord, and when the Shepherd shall visit the sheep, and not the sheep the shepherd. In short, the Congregational way are the little flock of Christ to whom he intends to give the kingdom.²⁵

[Some further passages insist on the fact that the Congregational way, unlike the Papal or Presbyterian, “may stand and subsist under bad and good magistrates” being essentially non-political; that it may be said to be most pleasing to God “because it most displeaseth man,” especially the superficially religious to whom it is apt to be “. . . an eye sore,”; and that its discipline is commended by its simplicity.]

Under the last point it is said, on the whole “their discipline may be compressed within six lines, as they have done it in the sixth article of the first chapter of their confession. These be the words. *There are some circumstances concerning the worship of God and the Government of the Church common to human actions and societies, which are to be ordered by the light of nature and Christian prudence, according to the general rule(s) of the Word, which are always to be observed.* This is their discipline. Their wise and Christian conduct is like that of well ordered commonwealths, which cannot be too exact and too many for what concerneth manners, but have but few laws for the policy: *nam in pessima Republica plurima leges.*”²⁶

I will end this discourse, as I began it, by the consideration of

²⁵ In the printed text there comes here a long and instructive passage mostly about the disinclination of the English people to the Presbyterian or purely Erastian way, compared with the Congregational.

²⁶ At this point the MS. says:—“I might strengthen what I have hitherto related and asserted by the testimony of our best later Divines beyond seas. . . .” In the printed text he does this in a new chapter (IX.).

the tyranny of prejudicate opinions against the most holy way, the most pure and the most orthodox doctrine, and against the most wise conduct and ordering of their affairs.²⁷

As for their confession of Faith it is such a²⁸ masterpiece as the world hath not the like; and such as if all the Libraries and Bibliothecas of the world were consumed by fire, and this only piece reserved and safe, I conceive that the Christian religion might be found in it sufficiently to make men wise unto salvation, and to convince Atheists and the profane of the truth of the Christian religion. Those that shall approve of it will soon conclude that they have been no less wise and prudent in stating aright the ordering of their Churches, and making compatible and agreeing with Scripture and reason their discipline, in which they have studied not to offend any reformed Church, whilst, with that communion and conformity they endeavoured to have with the purest of them for matter of faith, they have taken the liberty to differ from them for discipline. As for those that differ from them for matter of faith, they hold that the best way to bring them to truth—which is but one—is that all dissenting Churches one from another, should mutually send their confession of faith, with a mutual exhortation not to depart from any truth they conceive for peace sake, and to a mutual love and charity, however there be no hope that one Church bring the other to that faith they hold. As there must be heresies as long as the world lasted, so there must be dissenters; and the dissenters must have the liberty to enjoy their own way, which rule if it had been always used and practised as the Congregationals do, the world had been delivered from those horrible and pernicious sects and heresies, and from wars, and from overturning of States and Empires; and the world had been without Pope and Mahomet and Churchmen tyranny over the people of God. For never any good came by bringing all men to an uniformity of faith and discipline, as was used by great Synods and by reconcilers who had done better to exhort Princes and Bishops to yield to a toleration of all sects and religions, without persecuting one another, than to force them all to one faith and discipline . . . therefore, the Congregationals are in the right whilst they condemn all overtures of agreement except when both parties are in error and there is an endeavour to bring them to a middle which is truth. No agreement pleaseth them but that liberty be given to everyone to choose that way, and repair to that Church he liketh best, and that that Church be independent on Synods or Churches. "For the rest" their wish is that of Tully, *Utinam possem vere probare quam falsa convincere*, rather to convince men of truth than to undeceive them of falsehood. . . . As I made an apology for the best generation of men in the world, I

²⁷ pp. 29–32 largely modified in Chapters X and XI.—with much added.

²⁸ Largely modified in cc.X., XI., with much added.

owe another for myself and to myself. . . . Some will say that I have made a description of the Congregational way, not as it is indeed and in truth but, as I wish it were and should be . . . others will say that I command what I myself doth not approve of, since I do not repair to the Congregational Churches as one of their members: that what I do, 'tis merely to give a countenance to my notions or opinions, and make them more creditable for their nearness with those of the Congregationals; and that, because I condemn ecclesiastical jurisdiction and namely excommunication, I would bear the world in hand that *they* do the like. Others will say that I am not like to have their approbation of what I do.

But it is easy to give satisfaction to all those objections. I do not refrain from joining with the Congregationals for any dislike I have of their way, which I highly value, but I hold it convenient to join with a congregation of my nation which, as it is now settled, is much like an English Congregational Church.²⁹ But the main reason why I do not join with the congregation of Dr. Owen, which I like best, is because, being old and sickly, and far distant from him, it is not possible for me to do otherwise. I leave to him and those of his way to judge whether I have truly related their practice, and stated their way, and the measure of that Church-power wherewith they endow their Pastors and their Churches. Only I beg of them that, for being a Frenchman, a Physician and none of their Churches, they would look on me, for those three considerations, as the fittest, and unbiassed relater and apologist, and fitter than if I were an Englishman, a Divine, and one of their Church. St. Austin and Optatus Milevitanus³⁰ tell us that one of the Profession is no fit judge in matters of it; and it was the custom of St. Austin, in ecclesiastical matters, to take for his judge, not Churchmen but, rather a Pagan, a Physician, a Rhetorician, a Sophister, one of the Magistrates, and sometime the people of Hippo.³¹ But I hope I may be excused, if not commended by the Congregationals for publishing in a tongue most used in Europe³² the best Confession of Faith that was composed

²⁹ Printed text adds:—"to which I am so much the more strongly invited by the holiness of the doctrines and lives of our excellent Pastors *Monsieur Mussard* and *Monsieur Primrose*."

³⁰ Optatus, Bishop of Milevis, of whose life nothing is known, but a contemporary of Augustine.

³¹ Omitted in printed text. Two chaps. (XIII. and XIV.) are added and the latter mainly about his belief that a Christian magistrate offers the best security for peace in the Church.

³² Referring to his intention to publish it in French as part of a larger volume. A note at the end of the printed text says—"the reader is desired to take notice that the Author for some reason, since the Printing of the Contents, hath thought good to leave out the last chapter there mentioned." This was entitled "An answer to those who accuse the Independents for having an immediate hand in the death of King Charles the first."

by men, and for making them instruments, by the propositions and overtures I make, and which are theirs not mine, to stir up the world in a further enquiry after a better way of religion and reformation for peace and unity; and for promoting the Kingdom of Jesus Christ, than ever Luther and Calvin had thoughts of. Yet, however I have missed my aim in setting out the conformity of the Congregational way with the Apostolical, I am sure I have not missed it in publishing both the Vindication of that way by a learned Bishop and my apology for that vindication, wherein I have asserted strongly—with some study, accurateness, and in a way yet untrodden—the reasonableness of Independency of Churches on a supreme National Church Tribunal, whether Papal, Hierarchical or Presbyterian for that only reason, that they are all three subject to error. For I hold that this assertion—made good, firm, reasonable and Scriptural—will draw this consequence along, that there is no other Church way that will hold out for peace and unity but the Congregational; and will bring down Pope, Mass and Church-tyranny.

John Penry : His Life and Times : A Correction.

(pp. 333.f.)

SIR FRANCIS KNOLLYS, whose constant concern was that the Bishops should not, as servants appointed by the Crown, assume of their own right powers which trespassed upon the supreme prerogative of the Sovereign over all officials alike, ecclesiastical and civil, propounded to "a grave learned man" two questions, first, whether the Scriptures authorised the institution of a Church officer to be called a Bishop with "superiority over many churches or over the Pastors thereof," and, secondly, whether the civil power could according to the Scriptures assign such "superiority" to a "Minister of the word and sacraments." To the first question the answer was in the negative, inasmuch as the name bishop was synonymous with the word elder, and both "imported one function." The Scriptures and the opinion of a contemporary learned author were quoted in support of the opinion given. In regard to the second question the opinion is that the supreme civil power may appoint subordinate officers, whether ecclesiastical or civil, with such executive powers as should seem good and necessary. But the authority which a bishop can claim to exercise is human. The "grave and learned man" has never heard that English bishops claimed higher authority than that conferred upon them by the statute 25 Hen. VIII. But since her Majesty is "the Lord's immediate minister," the subject must obey the authority, as being a divine authority, which the Queen has conferred upon the bishop.

All this will be found in Strype's *Whitgift*, Vol. III., pp. 220-4 (1822), which contains the "Records and Originals" referred to as authorities in earlier volumes of that work. The primary statement concerning Knollys' questions occurs in Vol. II., p. 600, and on reading it, before turning to the analysis of the answer of the "grave and learned man," in Vol. III., I concluded that *Whitgift* was this grave and learned man; carelessly, as it now appears, drawing that conclusion from the statement that "the Archbishop was so much concerned" in the argument, and that the writing of that "learned and grave man," still remained among some of "the Archbishop's own papers," and finding some confirmation of my wrong conclusion in Strype's further statement that "the Archbishop was not wanting, on the other hand" (i.e., although he had

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uttered his opinion about the human source of the bishop's authority), to maintain "the ecclesiastical state and religion."

But a careful reading of Strype in both the places cited shows that he nowhere states that the Archbishop is "the grave and learned man," as I was compelled to admit when it was pointed out to me by Professor Hearnshaw, of King's College, London. I might have seen my error when I quoted the same sentiments from the pen of Dr. Hammond (who no doubt was "the grave and learned man"), as given in a Hatfield MS., which I took from Child's *Church and State under the Tudors* (p. 304). That scholarly writer, as a matter of fact, has fallen into the same error in regard to Whitgift as I have. I can recall that when I was writing the account in the *Life of Penry* I was intrigued at the curious verbal similarity between the statement of the Chancellor, Dr. Hammond, and that which I quoted as Dr. Whitgift's. And I remember that I invented one or two hypothetical explanations to account for the singularity.

I am grateful to Dr. Hearnshaw for drawing my attention to this error of mine. I am particularly sorry to have misrepresented Archbishop Whitgift as the writer of the statement given by Strype. I have had to make so many animadversions against the Archbishop who was mainly responsible for the death of the Congregational martyrs, Barrowe, Greenwood, and Penry, that I have desired to be scrupulously exact and fair towards him. Not that my error really misrepresents his views, as may be seen from the references to his unquestioned opinions which I give in *An Hist. Introd. to the Marprelate Tracts*, p. 117.

WM. PIERCE.

Correspondence.

SILCOATES SCHOOL,
NR. WAKEFIELD,

19/10/25.

To the Editor,

The Congregational Historical Society's Transactions.

DEAR SIR,

Would you be so very kind as to allow me through the *Transactions* to make an appeal for information? In our School History, *The First Century of Silcoates*, by Rev. H. H. Oakley, Mr. George Rawson, of Leeds, is hailed as the "patron saint" of Silcoates. Apparently he was responsible for the promotion of the School established here in 1809, which came to an untimely end, and was then largely responsible for its re-establishment in 1820 and was treasurer for the first twenty years or so of its life. In the month of March, 1835, I find that George Rawson, junior, was appointed treasurer *pro tem.* during the absence of his father on the continent.

What I am particularly anxious to obtain is :

- (a) information concerning any biography of George Rawson, senior, of Pickhill Hall, Leeds.
- (b) information concerning any authentic portrait of George Rawson, senior.
- (c) information as to whether the George Rawson, junior, above mentioned, be George Rawson, the hymnwriter.
- (d) information as to any biography of George Rawson, junior.

Thanking you in anticipation,

Yours faithfully,

SYDNEY H. MOORE.