

The Particular Baptist Treasury,

Particular Baptist Origins and Outreaches From 1633 to 1660

**A Study from the Original Documents showing the
Origins of the First Lasting Particular Baptist Churches in London, with
outreaches into: Early America, 1638; Wales, 1655; Abington, 1655;
Ireland, 1648; Scotland, 1652; the Midlands, 1648; and Somerset, 1650.**

**With some interesting accounts of the ancient church at Olchon in Wales; the ancient
Church of the Hop Garden, near Abington;
and the ancient Hill Cliff Church, near the Hexham Church; *and*
John Spilsbury, William Kiffen and Hansard Knollys, of the First Seven Particular
Baptist Churches gathered in London from 1633-1644.**

**Clearing John Spilsbury of the many false conclusions written about him, and showing
the constitutional oneness of John Spilsbury, William Kiffen and the other rigid
Anabaptist Separatists of the 1500s and 1600s.**

**The Kiffen Manuscript Vindicated, showing that Dipping did not originate among the
Baptists in 1641, being a refutation of Whitsittism and other Downgrader concepts of
Baptist Origins and Succession, from the original writings of both Baptists (Anabaptists)
and Pedobaptists of that period.**

Investigating:

**John Tombes, Henry Jessey, John Bunyan and the Origin of
Open Communion and Mixed Church Membership in England;**

By

**Some who have a reason to hope they are walking with Christ
in His old baptized way.**

1998

Volume I.

Particular Baptist Origins

1633-1660

Way of Approach

In modern Baptist history, the old Particular Baptists have impacted us more than any other group. Almost all the American Baptist Churches, and many others as well in the English speaking world, can trace their origin, in some way or another, back to those old Baptists. Their faith and order has been one of continued debate since the early 1800s. It still is. However, in addition to their faith and order, the question of their **origin** continues to be contested hotly. Perhaps no origin in Baptist history has been as misunderstood or contested as hotly as these old Baptists. Of course, I am not including the Free Will or General Baptists

When we clear away the many different false conclusions and then go back into time and study them in their own words, concepts, and original documents, we can come to some safe conclusions. We must lay aside all our prejudices and escape the existentialist traps the modern Baptists have laid for the unsuspecting little children of God. The old brethren have an amazing story to tell. True, they didn't leave us with all the pieces necessary to put the entire puzzle into place, but they did leave us with enough to understand what they were all about, what they believed and where they came from. What they left us is enough to give us some very safe and solid conclusions. These I will now share with you.

The Traps

There are three such traps. I will share them with you now:

1. The Gould trap, this I so name from the efforts of George Gould and his lawsuit in an attempt to steal the old Closed Communion Particular Baptist Church in Norwich, England from its rightful and historic position in the 1850s. Gould argued his case before a court of law and afterward published his trial brief in a large work called **Open Communion and the Baptists of Norwich**, Norwich 1860. Gould's work went into America to Thomas Armitage, then to Norman Fox and then finally to William Whitsitt. Gould is the foundation for what is now called Whitsittism. Whitsittism rules the modern Baptist world. Briefly it is this, *Baptists are not of divine origin and have not have an unbroken succession from the days of Christ to the present. They are only Protestants, and most of the Dark Age's groups would not now be considered as Baptists if they were alive and present today.* Gould maintained that John Spilsbury was an open communion and mixed membership Baptist. He even went so far as to affirm that William Kiffen was the only true closed communion Baptist in the 1600s. Gould theorized that since Spilsbury came from a mixed membership church, he would not have any true succession in his baptism nor church order. The Particular Baptists just simply evolved over a period of years, from about 1633 to 1644. Some even place this later, 1650-1654. This began when a Pedobaptist minister, Praisegod Barebones, misunderstood some of Spilsbury's remarks and built a straw man argument in 1643-44. Then over two hundred years later, Gould carried it further. Gould used Barebones arguments and false conclusions. This was done in spite of Spilsbury's correcting what Barebones stated. Gould didn't consider Spilsbury's reply or explanations.
2. Next came William Whitsitt and his friends. They joined with Gould and then added their own theories. One is a remarkable argument from silence, it goes this way: **in 1641 the Baptist published their first book defending baptism by dipping**, before that date the English Baptists did not dip, but only sprinkled. To them, the argument of silence is their final authority. Of course, they are wrong on this, as I shall show later. About their argument from silence, I would ask them to produce a work before 1641, which taught that either the English Particular or General Baptists believed in sprinkling for baptism.
3. The next trap comes from a time conditionalist Primitive Baptist and his efforts to try and prove their succession apart from the original Particular Baptists in London. He tries to disassociation the London brethren from the Welsh and Midlands Baptists. He even has tried to disunite Dr. John Clark and the First

Baptist Church founded in Newport, R. I., from the London Particular Baptists. He is Michael Ivey and his work is entitled **Welsh Succession of Primitive Baptist Faith and Practice**, June 1994. He is of the conditional time salvation Primitive Baptists (falsely so called for they are not primitive at all). This mis-history is an effort to justify their tampering with the 1689 **London Confession** which Ivey's apostate forefathers did in the Fulton Convention near the year 1900. They did all they could to destroy absolute predestination, remove the preaching of the gospel from the work of effectual calling and many other things. Today, some of them even teach that many of God's elect will die and go to heaven without knowing Jesus Christ or believing in Him. Because they cannot find any of their forefathers among the real and true old Baptists in history, men like Ivey have produced such false, misleading, and deceptive works in an effort to justify their apostate existence. There seems to be a purging going on and this terrible apostate, Christ dishonoring concept is being put out. Many of the American Primitive Baptists are trying to follow in the true faith and order of the historic old Particular Baptists. They will delight in the following work and its documentations and conclusions.

Gould's Admission about William Kiffen and Benjamin Coxe

Although Gould was very wrong, yet his admission does give us a starting place and a solid foundation upon which to build. According to Gould, William Kiffen stands as the most rigid and strict Particular Baptist during the 1600s. No one has ever accused Kiffen of starting baptism de facto, or for a church built on mixed membership or for practicing open communion. In fact, the father of Whittsittism, George Gould, affirms, incorrectly, that William Kiffen was the only closed communion Particular Baptist in England the 1600s. Of course, he is wrong as the later Baptist Union historians show. In addition, the many original works from that era also show the false grounds upon which Gould and later, Armitage, Fox and even William Whittsitt himself try to build their false position.

Some of Gould's remarks are so untrustworthy that we wonder if we can trust any of them. Here are some examples:

1. In 1644 Kiffen and his church were not closed communion, page cxxxi;
2. Kiffen pastored an open communion church in 1644 and then reorganized it in 1653 after he became a closed communionist, page cxxxii;
3. Kiffen's reorganized church of 1653 was the first closed church in England, page cxxxiii.
4. Later Gould then recognizes his weak position and adds that Benjamin Coxe was also a closed communion Baptist, page cxxxiii.

Coxe was a closed communionist even when he was in the Anglican Church. His bishop ejected him in the early 1640s.

Gould quotes from John Spilsbury's **God's Ordinances**, issued in 1646. What Gould failed to report was that this was a joint work. Benjamin Coxe, the admitted strict communionist, helped produce this work. At least two strict communion men, Coxe and Kiffen assisted John Spilsbury. To say the least, this is strange company for a supposed open communion and mixed membership Baptist. What becomes even more compelling is that Paul Hobson and Thomas Goare were also very strict communion Baptists. This will be covered later. They joined with Mr. Greene and helped constitute the third Particular Baptist Church in 1638. This church also came from Spilsbury's Wapping Church as did Kiffen's.

The Constitutional Oneness of Spilsbury, Kiffen, Hobson, Goare and Coxe

My main way of approach is to establish and show the oneness between William Kiffen, Benjamin Coxe, Paul Hobson, Thomas Goare and John Spilsbury. Then, I will show their oneness with the Particular Baptist Churches throughout the United Kingdom and New England.

In these studies I will deal with the following concepts:

1. The time, conditionalist Primitive Baptist concept, that the Particular Baptists of London who issued the First London Confessions of Faith did not have much, if any, connection with the Welsh Baptists, the

Midlands Baptists nor the early American Baptists. This I will disprove by showing how these different churches and their associations held the London brethren in such high esteem that they desired their blessings on their efforts. In addition, I will show that many of the preachers who came into Wales, the Midlands and early America came from the London churches and a close fellowship remained between Spilsbury's and Kiffen's one church and the new churches in these different areas. This will show that Michael N. Ivey's claims about the ancient Welsh Baptists and the London Particular Baptists not being of one faith and order, are merely his own wishes. His wrote his work to support what is known in American Primitive Baptist history as the Fulton Convention. It is an effort at trying to give honor to the Kirklands and their associates who wanted to rework the old Baptist Confession issued in 1689. These are the conditional time salvation people who also teach a limited predestination and that many persons die and go to heaven who know not nor believe in Jesus Christ. *Ivey's work is wish history and is **deceptive, subversive and misleading** in addition to being **untrue**.*

2. The next item I will address is the concept that John Spilsbury and the other Particular Baptists in London began as mixed communion and open membership churches. That is, they started out partly of baptized and partly of unbaptized persons and seemed to evolve into being real Baptists. This transition period started about 1633 and was not concluded until about 1644. In addition, while slowly evolving, they are supposed to have discovered that dipping is the only true way of baptism and this discovery is supposed to have taken place about 1641. None of these are true. This will disprove Whitsittism.
3. The last item I will address is that John Spilsbury gathered a group together, and they were all unbaptized and then he proceeded to baptize them, as a new beginning, in a de facto revival of true baptism. In other words, John Spilsbury is now being accused of doing what the Seekers did in general and Roger Williams did in particular. That would make Spilsbury one with the Seekers and Roger Williams on this question. He was not, nor did he or any of the Seven Particular Baptist Churches in London do this. Many did, but these old Baptists did not.

I will start in Wales and then work toward London. I will start later and work my way back into the 1630s. In doing this, I will use mostly the original works and historical notes and studies from the very persons and churches in question. I will rely upon the very accurate historical publications of B. R. White and the Baptist Union of Great Britain and Ireland. **None of these later writers were or are church successionists.**

In addition, I will introduce and quote from the histories of the churches in question, examples, Spilsbury's old church at Wapping, the church in the Hop Garden, the Hill Cliffe Church, and in Wales, the old Olchon church. I feel that these churches in question should be allowed to speak and tell their own history and testify to us about their origins and their history.

I am **not** a modern Landmark Baptist; therefore, I am not trying to justify a vote on baptisms nor church voting a church into existence practice. I am however an old school Particular Baptist who is trying to walk in the old landmarks of the historic Baptist faith and order. Our church here and our baptism comes through the old Welsh Particular Baptist Church in Olchon, Wales. Many of the early American Baptist Churches owe their origin to the Welsh Baptists who came into being from the ministry of John Myles and Thomas Proud in the mid 1650s. These men came into Wales from the old Glass House Church in London. That church was constituted in the early 1640s because of the revival of historic baptism in England known as the Blount mission.

Several believers left Jessey's Pedobaptist church in 1640 and set out to secure a **traceable succession** in their baptism. These believers sent Richard Blount over to Holland where he secured baptism from the old Anabaptist-Waldenses. Upon his return, he baptized at least other preacher and they in turn baptized about 50 others. From this revival, several Particular Baptist Churches sprang up in London. They joined with the already formed churches around John Spilsbury, William Kiffen and Paul Hobson. These three older churches were gathered in 1633, 1638 and 1639.

Here is the difference between the two ways of gathering those old churches: the churches Spilsbury earlier gathered came into being **without any formal church connection**. The London Particular Baptists had been scattered by persecution, but John Spilsbury was still there. He was already known as an Anabaptist rebaptizer who baptized in Anabaptist fashion and ordained other ministers. This much Taylor, the Anglican historian, tells us. He

began to gather a people in 1633 or before. The result was three Particular Baptist Churches in the London area by 1639 with a probability of other outreaches elsewhere. These three joined with the Blount mission churches and made up the Seven Churches in London that issued the **First London Confession of Faith**.

The last false concept I will correct is that John Spilsbury and William Kiffen divided over pulpit affiliation. This began to be circulated by Thomas Crosby. Even J. R. Graves adopted this view and promoted it. **It is not so**. You will see that when Kiffen and Spilsbury parted it was due to Spilsbury's leaving London because of persecution and his moving into the country where he took over the charge of a new church with a large membership. Kiffen and Spilsbury remained one until their respective deaths. Centuries later, the Whitsittes would claim the same about J. M. Pendleton and J. R. Graves. Modern Southern Baptists and others claim that these old men of God parted ways in the early 1860s over the issue of Old Landmarkism, Pendleton abandoned Graves and Old Landmarkism. **This is not true either**. Pendleton was a Northern and a Federalist. He and Graves parted company over the American Civil War. In Pendleton's own final work, **Reminisces of a Long Life**, written just three months before he died, he affirms to the end his stand in favor of Old Landmarkism. Here are some of John Spilsbury's personal beliefs:

1. He believed in the true and proper deity of Jesus Christ, and affirmed particular redemption in opposition to general redemption;
2. He did not believe in the universal, invisible church; but held that all particular or gospel churches made up the one Mt. Sion or the general church. This was made up not of individuals but of churches;
3. He believed that the Papal church and her daughters, all Pedobaptists churches, were from Babylonian;
4. He believed that the general Baptist ministers were of Satan as well as all others who taught Arminianism;
5. He believed that a gospel or particular church was made up of baptized believers, and that following baptism, then persons were to be admitted to the Lord's Supper;
6. He believed in the continued succession of the true gospel, the true ministry, the true baptism and the true church and all other gospel ordinances;
7. He held to the ordinance of hearing, that is, the saints should only hear the true ministers of the gospel, those of their faith and order, and all others should not be heard;
8. He held to the congregation order of a gospel church and affirmed that believers in a gospel church could rightly choose out from among themselves one to be their minister or pastor;

He strongly believed these as well as other Biblical points. Here is his personal confession of faith:

JOHN SPILSBURY'S PERSONAL CONFESSION OF FAITH

1. I do believe that there is only one God, who is distinguished in 3 persons; God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost; yet but one in nature, or essence, without divisions, and incommunicable, who made the world, and all things therein, by the word of his power, & governs them by his wise providence.

2. I believe that God made man in his own Image, an upright and perfect creature, consisting of soul and body: which body God framed of the earth, and breathed into the same the breath of life, and man became a living soul. To whom God gave a law, upon his keeping of which depends all his happiness, and upon the contrary attended his misery, which took effect; for he breaking that law, he fell under the curse, and wrath of God lay upon him and all his posterity. By which fall man lost the knowledge of God, and utterly disabled himself of all ability ever to recover the same again.

3. I believe God out of the counsel of his will, did, before he made the world, elect and choose some certain number of his foreseen fallen creatures, and appointed them to eternal life in his Son, for the glory of his grace: which number so elected shall be saved, come to glory, & the rest left in sin to glorify his justice.

4. I believe that God in the fullness of his own time, did send his son, the 2d. person, who in the womb of the virgin Mary, assumed mans nature, and in the same he suffered death upon the cross, only as he was man, to satisfy his Fathers justice, for the sins of his elect, & that he lay 3 days and 3 nights in his grave, from whence he arose the third day by the power of his Godhead, for the justification of all for whole sins he dyed, and that in the

same body Christ dyed, he arose from the death, and afterwards ascended into heaven, the place of glory, where he was before, and there to remain until he comes at the last day to judge the world in righteousness.

5. I believe that God of his grace, in his own time, effectually calls such as shall be saved to the knowledge of the truth, who is said, of his own will to beget us by the word of truth: in which work of grace, nature is as passive, as a child in the parents begetting of it; and so God by His Spirit works faith in the hearts of all such to believe in Christ, and his righteousness, only for justification. And thus they are made righteous before God in Christ, and so conformable to the will of God the Father through the Son; and also made holy through the work of regeneration, and the holy Spirit of grace dwelling in them; yet all such have still, as long as they live here in the flesh, remaining in them, an old man, that original corruption, the flesh that wars against the spirit, which hinders them in their obedience both to God and to man, and many times draws them to that which is evil, and contrary to their intentions; yet all of them shall through Christ overcome, and safely be brought to glory at last.

6. I believe the holy Scriptures to be the word of God, and have the only authority to bind the conscience to the obedience of all therein contained, and are the all sufficient rule, by the Spirit of God to guide a man in all his obedience both to God and man.

7. As for the absence of original sin, and power in the will to receive and refuse grace and salvation being generally offered by the Gospel, and Christ dying for all persons universally, to take away sin that stood between then and salvation, and so laid down his life for a ransom for all without exception, and for such as have been one in God's love, so as approved of by him in Christ for salvation, and in the Covenant of Grace, and for such to fall so as to be damned eternally, and all of the like nature, I do believe is a doctrine from beneath, and not from above, and the teachers of it from Satan, and not from God, and to be rejected as such that oppose Christ and his Gospel.

8. I do believe the resurrection of the dead, that all shall rise and come to judgment, and every one give account of himself to God, and receive according to the things done in their bodies, whether they be good or bad; therefore no conscience ought to be forced in the matters of Religion, because no man can bear out another in his account to God, if in case he should cause him to sin.

9. I do believe the powers that are, as the civil Magistrates, and so, are of God, to whom God hath committed the Sword of justice, for the punishing of evil doers, and for the good of such as do well, in which respect they ought to be honored, obeyed, and assisted by all men, and of Christians especially, and that out of conscience to God, whose ordinance and ministers they are, and bear not the sword in vain, Rom. 13, I Pet. 2, Tit. 3.

And lastly, I do believe that there is an holy and blessed communion of Saints, that God of his grace calls such as belong to life by election, unto the fellowship of his Son by the Gospel, of which matter, God by his word and Spirit joins them together in his Covenant of grace, and so constitutes his Church, as I have before showed: And as God hath thus built for himself an holy habitation of such pure matter, and also after so holy a manner, even so hath he provided a way of preservation and safety for the same; as Isa. 26:1. We have a strong City, salvation will God appoint for walls and bulwarks: which City is said to have a wall both great and high, and built upon twelve foundations; great, that none shall break through, and high, that none shall overtop or get over, and strong in the foundation, that nothing shall shake it, and God hath said, that he will be a wall of fire round about, and the glory in the midst of it, and that he will keep it, and watch over it by night and by day, that nothing shall hurt it; and as God hath built himself a house after his own mind, and is a guard to the same; even so he is also said to beautify the same with salvation, and to make the place of his feet glorious, and that he will lay all her stones with fair colors, and her foundations with Sapphires, and her windows of Agars, and her gates of Carbuncles, and all her boarders of pleasant stones, and all her children taught of the Lord, and great shall be the peace of her children. And as Christ does thus signify unto us the nature of his church both in respect of her matter, her form, her grace, and comely order in him her head; even so he holds forth his love to her, and delight in her, by these and the like expressions of comfort and solace. The Lord hath chosen Zion, &c. Pas. 132.13,14; p.H. 2:21,23. Pas. 87.2,3; Gal. 4:26,31. Isa. 2.2; Isa. 62. 1,12, Ezek. 48:35. Rev. 21. 12,14, Zech. 2.5, Isa. 26.3, Isa. 4. 11,12,13. Rev. 21. 11,18,21, Cant. 4.7, Psal. 45.13.

FINISH

Taken from John Spilsbury's Treatise of Baptism: pps. 73, 74.

If he were alive today, where would we place him?

The Early Particular Baptist Groupings

In the 1630s and 1640s, the old brethren could be grouped into three classifications. What is interesting about this is that, there were essential differences between these churches, still, if the minister or some of the members were judged to have proper baptism, then these differences were not a bar to personal fellowship. In other words, Powell, in Wales was a mixed communion minister. The churches that walked with him and his friends were not allowed among the old order of Baptists, those in fellowship with the old Church at Olchon and those gathered under John Myles and Thomas Proud. Yet, the older brethren received Powell and his preaching, because he was a baptized believer preaching the old gospel. The same is true later in England involving men like Jessey and Tombes.

The Closed Membership Baptists

These Baptists maintained that a gospel church was made up of baptized saints only. They held to in church officers and in church ordinances. These Baptists form the main line of the older Particular Baptists during the 1600s.

The “Renegade” Baptists

These are so named by James Culross, in his **Hansard Knollys, A Minister and Witness of Jesus Christ**: London, 1895; page 66. For a time, some Baptist ministers received state pay for their preaching. In due time the churches disowned them and they were not allowed among the main line Particular Baptists. One example was Christopher Blackwood. The government, during the 1640s-1660s, paid some of these men to preach in areas where there were no established ministers or churches. The main body of Particular Baptists dealt with these as offenders and they were disowned or excluded. See for example, B. R. White's **Associational Records of the Particular Baptists to 1660**, pages 40, 41, 42, 214 and 215. Note especially Benjamin Cox's letter to Major General Richard Harrison. General Harrison was later executed for his political activities. We still have his personal confession made to the people just before his death. It is a remarkable testimony about his faith in the Lord Jesus Christ and his convictions about the correctness of his life and work. The old Abington Association led the way in dealing with disorderly ministers.

The Open Membership Baptists

B. R. White so named these, see his **Particular Baptist Records**, pages 40-42. They were those few Baptists who denied that baptism was essential to the constitution of a gospel church. They also admitted the unbaptized to the Lord's Supper. In the 1630s, Powell and his friends seem to have been of this sort. Later in the 1640-1680s, Henry Jessey, John Tombes and John Bunyan were of this sort. During their lifetime, they made up a small minority and their followers were very few. Jessey and Bunyan were dissenters while Tombes never left the established church. He tried to reform the established church as a Baptist minister from the inside. While his church was never recognized among the older brethren, yet they did not reject Tombes' baptisms administered nor his ministry. Nor did they reject Jessey's.

With these classifications understood, we can now move on.

Introduction to the 1630s:

After the armies of the Living God overthrew Laud and his reign of terror, great revivals of pure religion appeared in England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales. During the days following the disfranchisement of Episcopacy, 1641-1660 the Baptist cause grew and multiplied. Later these revivals found their way even into Scotland. This does not mean, however, there were no true Christians nor true churches in those areas before the Cromwell Protectorate beginning near 1641. With the disfranchisement of Episcopacy, tolerance gave the dissenters the opportunity they needed to exercise some of their true and proper liberty. The Particular Baptists were among these dissenters but not in a church way. These revivals were not like modern Arminian revivals. The Holy Spirit caused and used the aggressive outreach of the gospel ministers and gospel churches. The Particular Baptist churches sent ministers everywhere.

They soon gained great numbers, formed churches in London, and afterwards went into other areas. Associations developed and gospel outreach and success alarmed both the Presbyterians and the disfranchised Episcopals. Later, in about 1660, Episcopacy again became established and religious freedom ceased up until William of Orange brought it into the United Kingdom in 1689. By that time the Particular Baptists already had a stronghold that no persecution would destroy.

The question is **where did these older Particular Baptists come from?** How did they get such a strong start in England, especially in London? There are three basic answers to this question:

1. The successionist view, that the Particular Baptists, in some way came into being through a type of succession from the older Anabaptists on the Continent.
2. The Seeker view, that certain Particular Baptists formed themselves into unbaptized churches and then appointed one to baptize them, that is, they started dipping de facto.
3. The Whitsitt view, that no Baptists before 1641 practiced dipping for baptism, but certain of these Particular Baptists revived dipping and re-instituted it in England. They had no connection with any dippers before this was done.

During the times in question, and up to about the early 1800s, the first view dominated Baptist thought. Then, up to about the middle and late 1800s, may held to the second view. Following the 1890s to this present time, most Baptists hold to the third view. This is known as **Whitsittism**. It dominates the established downgrader historians. Even among some conservative Baptist groups, this view is maintained.

The first view is correct. How do I know, by checking into the original sources and writings of those who were involved during those times. If we let them speak, and believe them, which I do, then the first view is demonstrated. Why are most trying to promote either the second or third view? Because they who do this are part of the Protestant concept, that is, they hold to the universal, invisible church view. Therefore, there is no need for a true succession of gospel churches, ordinances and administrators. In addition, most who hold to the second or third views also deny many other Biblical fundamentals. To summarize, because they also deny certain other Biblical fundamentals, they also deny the Divine origin and unbroken succession of Baptist Churches. Please take the time to read and study well my work on **Some Critical Lectures on Baptist Succession**. I examine the different concepts of succession and the different historians. This is a true conclusion: **Those Baptist historians who hold to verbal inspiration of the Sacred Scriptures and the Substitutionary Sacrifice of Jesus Christ, also held to the Divine Origin and Unbroken Succession of Baptist Churches. Those who did not, did not hold to Baptist Succession either.**

My Thesis

My THESIS is, those who revived adult baptism by dipping into England in the 1630-1640s era, first received it from the old Waldensian-Anabaptists. This I can demonstrate. I will show **there was an unbroken succession connecting** the Particular Baptists with the older Waldensian-Anabaptists. The links in this succession are two men. They did it differently, but either way, the succession is there. The first is John Spilsbury, who accomplished this in the 1630s, and then Richard Blount who did the same, though in a different way, in the early 1640s. These two men laid the baptismal foundation for the Particular Baptist Churches that soon followed. They spread into New England in the late 1630s. From the London area, they reached out into all parts of England in the 1640s, and also went into Wales, Ireland and Scotland in the late 1640s and early 1650s.

B. W. Carr stated on behalf of the deacons at the laying of the foundation stone for **The Metropolitan Tabernacle**:

By immersion, the converts to Jesus in Apostolic times made their public profession. In Godly and pious communities of the one church of Christ, the Primitive ordinance of discipleship has been practiced through an **UNBROKEN SUCCESSION**. **The New Park Street Pulpit, 1859**; p. 347.

Our thesis, **there is an unbroken succession of baptism, properly administered, between the old Waldenses-Anabaptists and the English Particular Baptists**. We are not talking about any church voting on baptisms, or churches voting other churches into existence, nor members being carried back to a mother church and then given authority to organize into a

new mission or church. These, I feel, are all extra scriptural practices. Nor am I talking about a minister going back to receive a vote on new baptisms, nor new church constitutions. I am talking about the baptismal succession between the Particular Baptists and the old Waldensian-Anabaptists.

Testimony from Baptist Enemies as to Baptist Succession

Mosheim, the Lutheran historian of the 1700s, stated:

The origin of the sect, who from their repetition of baptism received in other communities, are called Anabaptists, but who are also denominated Mennonites, from the celebrated man to whom they owe a large share of their present prosperity, is hid in the remote depths of antiquity. For they suddenly started up, in various countries of Europe, under the influence of leaders of dissimilar character and views; and at a time when the first contests with the Catholics so engrossed the attention of all, that they scarcely noticed any other passing occurrences. The modern Mennonites affirm, that their predecessors were the descendants of those Waldenses, who were oppressed by the tyranny of the Papists; and that they were of a most pure offspring, and most averse from any inclinations towards sedition, as well as all fanatical views.

In the first place I believe the Mennonites are not altogether in the wrong, when they boast of a descent from these Waldenses, Petrobrusians, and others, who are usually styled witnesses for the truth before Luther. Prior to the age of Luther, there lay concealed in almost every country of Europe, but especially in Bohemia, Moravia, Switzerland and Germany, very many persons in those minds were deeply rooted that principle which the Waldenses, Wyclifites, and the Hussites maintained, some more covertly and others more openly; namely, that the kingdom which Christ set upon on the earth, or the visible church, is an assembly of holy persons; and ought therefore to be entirely free from not only ungodly persons and sinners, but from all institutions of human device against ungodliness. This principle lay at the foundation which was the source of all that was new and singular in the religion of the Mennonites; and the greatest part of their singular opinions, as is well attested, were approved some centuries before Luther's time, by those who had such views of the Church of Christ. **Institutes of Ecclesiastical History**, Vol. 3, page 200.

Sir Isaac Newton stated:

The Baptists were the only Christians who had not symbolized with Rome. William Whiston, **Memorials of Sir Isaac Newton**, page 201.

Alexander Campbell, the founder of the so-called Church of Christ and Christian Church, stated:

I would engage to show that baptism as viewed and practiced by the Baptists, had its advocates in every century up to the Christian era. . . and independent of whose existence (the German Anabaptists), clouds of witnesses attest the fact, that before the Reformation, from popery, and from the apostolic age, to the present time, the sentiments of Baptists, and the practice of baptism have had a continued chain of advocates, and public monuments of their existence in every century can be produced. **The Campbell-MaCalla Debate on Baptism**, Buffalo, 1824; pages 378, 379.

Robert Barclay, Quaker, stated:

We shall afterwards show the rise of the Anabaptists took place prior to the Reformation of the Church of England, and there are also reasons for believing that on the Continent of Europe small hidden Christian societies, who have held many of the opinions of the Anabaptists, have existed from the times of the Apostles. In the sense of the direct transmission of Divine Truth, and the true nature of spiritual religion, it seems probable that these churches have a lineage or succession more ancient than that of the Roman Church. **The Inner Life of the Societies of the Commonwealth**, London; 1876: pages 11, 12.

Cardinal Hosius, a member of the Council of Trent, stated in 1560:

If the truth of religion were to be judged by the readiness and boldness of which a man of any sect shows in suffering, then the opinion and persuasion of no sect can be truer and surer than that of the Anabaptists since

there have been none for these twelve hundred years past, that have been more generally punished or that have more cheerfully and steadfastly undergone, and even offered themselves to the most cruel sorts of punishment than these people. Hosius, Letters Apud Opera, 112-113; **Baptist Magazine**, CVIII, May, 1826.

Hosius stated again:

The Anabaptists are a pernicious sect. Of which kind the Waldensian brethren seem to have been, although some of them lately, as they testify in their apology, declare that they will no longer re-baptize, as was their former custom; nevertheless, it is certain that many of them retain their custom, and have united with the Anabaptists. **Works of the Heresies of our Times**, 1584 Book I page 431.

Luther said on one occasion:

The Anabaptists have been for a long time spreading in Germany. Michelet, **Life of Luther**; page 99.

Zwingli, the Swiss Reformer, said:

The institution of Anabaptism is no novelty, but for three hundred years has caused great disturbance in the church, and has acquired such strength that the attempt in this age to contend with it appears futile for a time. **Christian**, Op., cit.,, p. 86

Linborch, the historian of the Inquisition, stated:

To speak my mind freely, if their opinion and custom were to be examined without prejudice, it would appear that among all of the modern sects of Christians, they had the greatest resemblance to that of the Mennonites or Dutch Baptists. **The History of the Inquisition**, London; 1731: Vol. 1, page 57.

He was speaking of the identity of the Waldenses with the old Anabaptists.

Van Oosterzee stated:

They (Baptists) are peculiar to the Netherlands and are older than the Reformation, and must, therefore, by no means be confounded with the Protestantism of the sixteenth century, for it can be shown that the origin of the Baptists reaches further back and is more venerable. Herzog, **Real Encyclopedia**, IX. page 346.

I could go on and on, but must conclude these remarks with these statements from **Dr. Ypeij**, Professor of Theology in Gronigen and **Rev. J. J. Dermout**, Chaplain to the King of the Netherlands, when they stated to him:

The Mennonites are descended from the tolerable pure evangelical Waldenses, who were driven by persecution into various countries; and who during the latter part of the twelfth century fled into Flanders; and into the province of Holland and Zealand, where they lived simple and exemplary lives, in the villages as farmers, in the towns by trades, free from the charge of any gross immoralities, and professing the most pure and simple principles, which they exemplified in a holy conversation. They were, therefore, in existence long before the Reformed Church of the Netherlands.

We have now seen that the Baptists who were formerly called Anabaptists, in later times Mennonites, were the original Waldenses, and who have long in the history of the church received the honor of that origin. On this account the Baptists may be considered as the only Christian community which has stood since the days of the apostles, and as a Christian society which has preserved pure the doctrines of the Gospel through all ages. The perfectly correct external and internal economy of the Baptist denomination tends to confirm the truth, disputed by the Romish Church, that the Reformation brought about in the sixteenth century was in the highest degree necessary, and at the same time goes to refute the erroneous notion of the Catholics, that their denomination is the most ancient. **Christian**, Op., Cit., pages 95, 96.

John Spilsbury, (called by Baptist Union Historians) the First Particular Baptist rebaptizer stated:

Either Come All the Way to Baptism or Return Back to Rome

I must here conclude and say, that either such must go forward to baptism, or else turn back again from whence they came; for there is no middle way, not the least light in the word of God to bear up the same, but the contrary.

You shall not do whatsoever is right in your own eyes, for you are not as yet come to your rest, and to the inheritance which the Lord your God gives you, Deut. 12:8, 9. Arise and depart, for this is not your rest, because it is polluted, Micah 2:10, I am come a light into the world, that whosoever believes on me, shall not abide in darkness, John 12:46. And now why tarry ye, arise and be baptized, and wash away your (antichristian) sins, calling on the name of the Lord, Acts 22:16. They resisted the counsel of God against themselves, being not baptized of him, Luke 7:30. Arise therefore and obey the Lord, and think not within yourselves, we are baptized already, and that by Antichrist, for I tell you, that you are never able to prove yourselves to be under the Lords holy ordinance of baptism, by all the light in Scripture, and art in nature, in that way you go, namely to deny the state as false and Antichristian, and yet retain your baptism there administered by the same power as the Lord's ordinance, and assume a Church to yourselves upon the same baptism. I speak in subjection, I think **THE LAST CHURCH OR CHURCHES, THAT IS, ALL THE REFORMED CHURCHES, STILL RETAINING INFANT'S BAPTISM, ARE AS MUCH AGAINST THE RULES OF THE NEW TESTAMENT AS THE FORMER.** A Treatise of Baptism, London, 1652; Magazine, AR, 1993; page 64.

Again, when dealing with some Protestants (Praisegod Barebones in particular) who claimed that God placed His ordinances in the Whore of Babylon, the Roman Catholic Church, until the Reformation, Spilsbury stated:

Again, Secondly, God is said in the Scriptures to give or to send the vessels of His House to Babylon, as 2 Chron. 36:17, 18, 21; Jer. 27:21, 22; Dan. 1:2. Now let the like be showed, wherever God is said to give or send His ordinance of baptism unto Antichrist, until then the vessels of God's house remaining His ordinance in Babylon, shall make nothing for them to prove Antichrist's sprinkling of water on the face of an infant, to be God's ordinance of Baptism, and for her being the **MOTHER OF HARLOTS IS TRUE, Rev. 17.5 WHO HAS ALL FOR HER DAUGHTERS THAT DERIVE HER BAPTISM FROM HER, AS DO ALL THAT UPHOLD HER DOCTRINE OF INFANT-BAPTISM.** Ibid., page 62.

My Outline in the Following Work

I will do the following:

1. Supply a large amount of material on the three oldest Particular Baptist Churches in the United Kingdom, the Olchon church at Wales, getting the most attention.
2. Then I will move into England and present the old church at Abingdon, which John Pendervars pastored in the 1650s, the Church in the Hop Garden.
3. Then the old Church at Hill Cliffe.
4. Then I will supply a list of some of the oldest Baptist Churches in England, irrespective of their theological beliefs. Many of these date back into the 1500s.
5. The reason I am doing this is to demonstrate by documented evidence that Baptists existed in the United Kingdom and New England before 1641.
6. I will show the oneness of these old churches with John Spilsbury, William Kiffen Benjamin Coxe, and the other Particular Baptist ministers and churches which issued what is called The First London Confession of Faith.

Part I: The Ancient Welsh Baptist Churches.

According to Mosheim, the origin of the Anabaptists is hidden in the remote depths of antiquity and is therefore difficult to ascertain. Cardinal Hossius stated in the 1500s that the Anabaptists have caused trouble to the Church for about 1200 years. Various historians have placed the origin of the English and Welsh Baptists in the first Century. Those who first planted the gospel there are affirmed to have come from the Apostle Paul and his Roman ministry. I find no reason to deny these statements.

Wales

In Wales, Christ's witnesses found hiding places during times of severe persecutions. Often when persecution raged on the Continent or in England, Wales became the hiding place. When persecution came into Wales, which was not as often as elsewhere, old Olchon became the mountain hid away.

There is little direct and plain evidence about many of the old Baptists in Wales during the pre-1600s. This does not mean they did not exist, but simply that the evidence about them is difficult to come by. However, we do have evidence about the old Baptist Church at Olchon. I will now quote from the **South Wales Argus**, the **Hereford Times**, and from Mrs. W. J. Jones of Olchon Court, Llanveynoe, Herefordshire Ha 2 onl, and then from John Howells, about 1875, a Welsh Baptist historian and minister. Mrs. W. L. Jones, an elderly lady, supplied these documents to some members of the Welsh Tract Baptist Church in the late 1980s.

From the **South Wales Argus**, July 11, 1968, Sketchbook No. 781 entitled:

In the Longtown Valley part 2: to Olchon Court Written and illustrated by Fred J. Hando

Originally a water-splash, the ford is now a concreted caseway, and I assure you that the challenging incline ahead is of good surface and leads to a heavenly track between the Hatterall and the "Cat's Back." Ultimately we pause to take the prospect of a dip and a rise in the road, surmounted by a very ancient homestead-Olchon Court.

In the read courtyard of Olchon Court, Mrs. N. I. Jones greets me. For the next hour I am conducted around the house and instructed in its lore. "The old name of this place was Court Walter. It was the fifteen-century home of Walter Brut, who called himself a 'Christian of the Britons.' Sir John Oldcaste, Lord Cobham, took refuge here during the persecution of the Lollards.

Strange to connect Sir John the Lollard with the Sir John who helped to (cannot make out the next few words) for the Duke of Burgundy in 1411, and who was probably Shakespeare's prototype for Falstaff! His work for the Lollards was the cause of his excommunication and barbarous execution in 1413.

"And the date on our beam," said my hostess, "is 1419." Mrs. Jones and her family have renovated the house with still and reverent care. It seems clear that, like our Welsh longhouses, Olchon Court, housed residents and cows, separated of course by a passage which contained a bread-oven projection and a draw-bolt-one of many. The "bull-cote." Now a kitchen, had mangers and over its five beamed ceiling, a granary. Oak timbers throughout were massive and solid. After months of painstaking treatment they shine like mirrors and add greatly to the charm of the Court. Unexpected constructions abounded, and I must include in my brief description the five floorboards which could be slid out when five pegs were removed and gave entrance by a loft-ladder to a bedroom with no door. I was shown that in a dining which contained a stone shelf 4 ft. high and 9ft. long and a fireplace with a lintel 7ft. 6in. (This ends my article. REP)

Next is from the **Hereford Times** by a Merthyr Pilgrim, August, 1873.

This is becoming once more an age of Pilgrimages, linages in France, and Canterbury in Britain, have been lately visited by itinerant devotees to their far-famed Shrines. The humble writer of these lines likewise lately has made a Pilgrimage to a sacred spot, and that is to these of thousands in England, and especially in Wales, a Holy Place.

The locality visited is Olchon, and Olchon Court in the County of Hereford. It is situated nearly at the head of the narrow but picturesque glen that leads up from the Pandy Station on the Great Western line via Hereford, passing by Oldcastle and Longtown to the very foot of the Black Mountains.

The Narrow vale beneath is very fruitful and luxuriant, and looks now in the autumn-tide very beautiful and bewitching. Full of cornfields laden with yellow grain, and orchards wealthy with fruits of various kinds. To this place, viz. Olchon, there came about the year 1624 or 1625, two gentlemen from the South of Pembrokeshire named respectively the Rev. W. Jones, rector of Kilmaenllwyd, in Carmathenshire, and Mr. Griffiths Howells, freehold farmer of Rhydsiaccer farm near the little but lovely town of Narbeth. They felt convinced, from a careful perusal of the New Testament, that the forms and principles of true religion had been corrupted. After much inquiry about a people whose worship was simple and pure, they heard that there were a few people at a spot named Olchon, who, in loneliness and seclusion and remoteness, through fear of being molested in their religious services, here in this romantic gorge worshipped God in spirit and in truth. They-the few people of Olchon-were visited occasionally by those of the same faith and practice as themselves from London, and, amongst others, the well-known John Cann, and the Boanerges of his day and age, Vavasor Powell.

Olchon Court is a little above the place where the ruins of the old Chapel stand, where lived in the 14th and 15th centuries Sir John Oldcastle, Lord Cobham, the Lollard (one of the many names of the sect of Baptists) who, have escaped here from his persecutors was brought back and executed in the Tower of London for treason and heresy.

The name Olchon signifies in Welsh, "washing", and was doubtless given to the persons in this remote and romantic glen because of their peculiar method introducing their members of their fellowship, viz., by the rite of immersion.

Below here are the David crags, where, as rural tradition informs us, ages ago the Primitive Christians worshipped God in purity and simplicity, drawing branches of trees and boughs of holy and thrones after them to conceal their tracks from their lurking persecutors.

The whole glen is full of striking reminiscences of enduring Christianity in the times of intolerance and oppression.

Here at Olchon the two Pembrokeshire visitors and enquirers were welcomed and immersed in the crystal stream hard by, and then ordained by the laying on of the hands of the grace presbytery, the one to be a Bishop or Pastor, the other to be an Elder to form a Church far away in the end of Pembrokeshire. They returned, and were successful. Mr. Jones, for his heresy, was sent for a while to Hanefordwest Castle Goal.

In the course of time Jones and Howells and their followers built two Chapels, and from these have sprung the hundreds of Baptist Chapels, and tens of thousands of members in South Wales and Monmluthshire.

The Old Chapel is now in ruins, but it is likely to be rebuilt shortly. Preaching is occasionally conducted hard by in a farmhouse by Mr. Howells, Baptist minister of Longtown, who peregrinates much around to preach the Gospel to the people. On Wednesday, the 15th inst., it was resolved to conduct a commemoration service in the farfold near the walls of the Old Chapel. A large number of people came together. In the afternoon, it was believed that full 500 were present. At 11 a.m. the Rev. Jones of Llanwerarth, and Mr. Pritchard of Capel-y-ffin, conducted the service. Afternoon service introduced by Mr. Cable of Bristol. The Rev. E. Probert of Pandy, J. Jones of Ilanwernarth, and Thomas D. Mathias of Merthyr addressed the congregation. Mr. Mathias spoke about the early history of the Baptists, and how from small beginnings, after ages of oppression and persecutions, they now numbered by scores of thousands in the Principality of Wales alone, besides England and Scotland. After this was held the prayer meeting, in which the Rev. Mr. Lewis (Chapel-y-ffin), T. D. Mathis, and John Howells (Longtown) took part. The farmers of the locality showed great hospitality to the visitors, and Mr. Howells of Longtown deserves great praise for his conduct and management of the services. In bidding adieu to this well-loved and heart revered shrine of pure Protestantism, I cannot help offering the following suggestions to my intelligent and impartial readers, viz., that in the imitation of the Rector from Kilmaenllwyd and the Yoman Howells, lies the only remedy for Ritualism and fond Superstition. They risked all for the pure unadulterated Gospel. We may, without risk of hardship in these sunny days, be the faithful and consistent followers of those who trod in the footsteps of the Apostles and primitive Christians. The axe, the thumbscrew, and the stake cannot henceforth injure or destroy us. Freedom, both civil and religious, is now our blest and holy possession. Many, if not most of my readers have never before heard or read of Olchon and its memories, and to such I would say in conclusion:

Let not ambition mock their useful toil, their homely worth, nor destiny obscure.
Nor grandeur hear with a disdainful smile, the short and simple annals of the poor.

Olchon Court

Olchon Court was formerly known as Court Wwol, or Court Nicol. It is a farm building with substantial walls of masonry. A notable feature is its 14th century porch and doorway. One room on the ground floor has a window that retains its original antiquity. This same room has a recess like an aumbry, or ambry, suggesting a possible ecclesiastical use.

A window in a room above is traditionally held to be the one through which John Oldcastle escaped from his pursuer. However, this was structurally altered and restored between the time of his period and 1897.

Locally known as Court Walter, Olchon Court is supposedly the home of Walter Brute, one of Herefordshire's earliest Lollards, and a man of considerable talent and learning. He was cited to appear before Trevenant, the Bishop of Hereford, in 1591, on a charge of heresy. It is thought that he was put to death at Bodenham.

One the side of the Black Mountain, Great Daren, may still be traced, by vestiges of the foundations, the outline of a small Lollard chapel. Tombstones bearing the date 1387 have been dug up in its burial ground. An interesting tradition underlining the secrecy of the sect states that the worshippers drew branches of holly behind them to obliterate their feet marks in the snow.

Observers and visitors have noticed the ‘Tranquility of Order’ of Olchon Court, with its old porch, the large kitchen, the stone parlor, the carved oak chest, and the inlaid chest of drawers with its engraved brass locks and handles.

Sir John Oldcastle

Born in the year 1360 at Oldcastle in Almeley, probably. In his youth was a favorite of Henry V, before the latter's accession to the throne. Sir John later became Lord Cobham.

In 1413, his activities caused him to be charged with a breach of the Statute for his encouragement of the Lollards, particularly in the Dioceses of London, Rochester and Hereford. It was alleged that he was sending out “unlicensed preachers” and himself attending their meetings. He was thus committed to the Tower of London. However, he managed to escape from the Tower, and a rising of the Lollards occurred around London.

Sir John then fled into Wales. At that time there was a reward of 1,000 marks offered for his capture, dead or alive. Because of his friendship with the Brute family, it is believed that he spent his four years of freedom in the Olchon Valley. He escaped from his pursuers who had traced him to Olchon Court, by leaving the house via an upstairs window. However, he was soon captured because a Llanyeyno girl in a field knocked him down across the road from the house. A variation in this story is that a woman to whom he had shown ‘many kindnesses’ in the past threw something at him, thus breaking his leg. This led to his capture and arrest.

He was eventually hanged in chains and burned over a slow fire while hanging, in 13/December/1417: hanged as a traitor; burned as a heretic: betrayed by followers of the Earl of Pwys, he had been taken prisoner at Broniarth, Montgomeryshire.

John Howells’ A Brief Sketch of the Old Baptist Church at Olchon

Mrs. W. J. Jones stated to some of us in a person letter:

Some pages from a book written by the Baptist minister John Howells who was in the district in about 1875. The book was found by a strange coincidence in tatters miles away from here with pages missing. There is so much to talk about, I know John Howells somewhere in his book says there were Christian believers in this valley when some of the apostles were still living.

I do not have a complete Copy of this history, only those pages supplied by Mrs. Jones. I will now place these before you.

A Brief Sketch of the Old Baptist Church at Olchon

OLCHON is on the Welsh border. It is situated in the County of Hereford. The ruins of the oldest Chapel belonging to the Primitive Baptists stands on the banks of the swift-flowing stream from which the narrow and romantic Valley of the Olchon takes its name. There is another old Baptist Chapel in a state of rapid decay at Ilston, in the peninsula of Gower, in the County of Glamorgan. But the Mother Church doubtless was this one at the Gellis, as the old historians called it, from the woods that fringe the steep hill-sides between here and the picturesque little town familiarly known as the Welsh Hay. Near to the old ruin in the which now more than three hundred years ago our Baptist forefathers worshipped, on the hill above it, to the westward, is Capel-y-ffln, or the boundary Chapel, so named because of the junction at this singular place of the three Counties of Brecknock, Monmouth, and Hereford; also the three Dioceses of Llandaff, St. David's and Hereford. In the dark ages of persecuting notoriety the Lollards, Waldenses, and Mennonites here found a little-known, concealed and secure asylum from the heresy hunting, gospel crushing; and havoc-making minions of the Antichristian and unspiritual 'Prelates of the aforementioned state-subsidized: and 'secularly supported Dioceses. Amid those wild solitude's, remote recesses, and secure fastness the pure word of God's lively oracles was preserved undiluted and uncontaminated. Not far from the gradually crumbling and rapidly decaying Ancient Sanctuary stands another renowned and remarkable ruin, namely, the Herefordshire 'County Seat' of Sir John Oldcastle, styled also as lord Cobham. Sir John Oldcastle in all probability was baptized in the Rivulet that rushes contiguously by the aforesaid

rustin, secluded, and venerable old chapel, in which afterwards he would be admitted by the Holy Elders and pious brethren into the Christian fellowship of, the only true and scripturally constituted Apostolic Church.

Sir John owned a large estate in and around this valley. He was an especial favorite of Harry of Monmouth, the son and heir of Henry the 4th, in the fifteenth century. On the death of the old King he settled in London, so as to be near to the person of the new young King. Some suppose that he was the original of Falstaff of Shakespeare's fat and foolish knight. Previous to his conversion he may have indulged rudely and dissolutely along with other young noblemen in the, licentious' us. and disreputable. sports of the roystering youthful heir apparent. Whether the foregoing surmise, be true or false, I feel historically assured of this, to wit, that he was highly esteemed, and greatly beloved of the frolicsome, young royal Prince. at one time. His espousal of the tenets, and practices of the Lollards, somewhat estranged him from the favor and affection of the Kingly court of St. James's, and Windsor Castle, Arundel, the, Archbishop of Canterbury, aided and abetted by the other Popish, Prelates, hunted his, life to destroy it. They poisoned the mind and the heart of the young episcopally subservient monarch' against him. He sought, to acquaint his quondam friend with, the true state of affairs, but the creatures of the Archbishop prevented all personal communication between him and the Monarch. Instigated by the false charges and lying allegations, of the cruel, crafty and unchristian church dignitaries, Sir, John was foiled in all his, efforts at getting an interview with his. former friend and confidential companion. Henry was made to believe that he defied him and meditated his dethronement. State-ecclesiastics have ever been infamous for both their evasion and perversion of the truth. A warrant was issued for the apprehension of the Lollard Peer and the Baptist Lord Baron (he prudently hastened down, to his mansion, Olchon Court, until he could obtain an interview with his sovereign liege, the fickle-minded fifth Henry. Here, in his sylvan home, he was by a warrant from the archiepiscopal church at Lambeth, discovered, captured, and taken to London. Some' historians mistakenly say that he was apprehended, in North Wales, and removed from thence to the Tower of London. The tradition of his apprehension at his own mansion, in this sequestered wood-shaded, glen, is as fresh today in the current traditions of the locality as if the occurrence had taken place less than fifty years ago. Conveyed to the metropolis, he was again arraigned before the Privy Council, with the Archbishop at their head, and tried, condemned, and sentenced to death. He was an uncompromising believer in the baptism of adults, on a personal profession of their faith by immersion. For a more detailed and complete sketch of the life and martyrdom of this great Christian hero, the reader is referred to another section of this book. Wickliffe, and his poor preachers" also, were thorough Baptists, as his translation of the Bible plainly shows in his faithful version of the inspired page. Before Wickliffe, was Dr. Bradwardine, who flourished somewhere in the thirteenth century. He was one of the greatest scholars of his age. His principles were evangelical and scriptural. Bradwardine obtained his enlightened views and apostolic faith from "the poor men of...(Here are pages missing . The meaning is, the Poor men of Lyons, or the Waldenses, REP)

Powel were baptized. Hither came the Rev. William Jones, the rector of Cilmaenllwyd in Caermarthenshire, and Mr. Griffith Howells, the freehold yeoman of Rhydsiacer, near Narberth, and were immersed in the crystalline waters hard by. From here, as from a fresh fountain of spiritual life reissued forth the pure river of the water of life, to renew the face of the habitable earth on the subsidence of the overwhelming deluge of pseudo catholic - superstition that had inundated the churches of saints, and swept nearly all away the doctrines of grace and the discipline of pristine Christianity from the Island of Great Britain, the Continent of Europe, and the whole of the wide, wide World.

The precious records of this unconsumably burning bush have been unfortunately lost. The Rev. Joshua Thomas, of Leominster, the Baptist historian of above a century ago, failed to find a single scrap, or the smallest fragment, though he carefully and diligently sought for them, - of the archives of this illustrious golden candlestick.

It has been God's goodwill to leave us in impervious gloom regarding its ancient date and its checkered career, excepting a faint gleam here and there, such as I have striven to collect from all available tradition and from written history. Previous to the erection of the old chapel whose walls, blackened with the long lapse of the numerous centuries, as already stated, are still standing, the unbackslidden night-watchmen of an incorruptible and imperishable New Testament community, worshipped in the caves 'of the hills and the clefts of the' rocks at the Daran goch and the Daran fawr.

A busy and an active imagination recreates, and a discursive, though reverential fancy reproduces, the antique forms and the celestially vivacious visages of the martyr heroes of primitive times, who would' not yield to' the infernal foe, nor succumb to the satanic myrmidons of either the Pagan Priesthood of ancient or the apostate sacerdotalists of modern Rome and of an effete and emasculated Christianity. Roman Consuls, Saxon Dane, Danish Viking, Norman Magnate, Plantagenet Prince, Tudor Tyrant, and Stuart Despot, have tried in vain to destroy and stamp out the intrepid loyal lieges of Prince Immanuel, our sole master our high-exalted king, our anointed high priest, our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ. The undying passion of those forefathers-above referred to

for His adorable person, His crimson cross, His immutable truth, His faithful promises, His unimpeachable principles, His uncreated splendors, His ineffable charms, His peerless excellencies, His unsullied glories-carried them victorious through every trial, hardship, temptation, and suffering, which they were called upon to endure for His name's sake. . Nothing could shake their confidence in His truth, beauty, and goodness; nothing could daunt their ardor in His cause, their fidelity to His royal commands, their flaming fervor in 'His service, their glorying in His changeless perfections. " They counted not their lives dear unto themselves that they finish their course with joy."

During the time they were conserving and perpetuating the form of sound doctrine amid those rugged recesses and pastoral wilds, amid the bleating of the free-roving mountain sheep, the hoarse 'cry of the bittern in the marshy and reedy pools, the plaintive cry of the curlew, the shrill whistle of the plover, the harsh croak of the dusky raven, the gusty clamors of the raving tempest, and the monotonous roar of the flood-swollen torrents, the rest of the more thickly-inhabited localities of England and Wales were immured in cimmerian darkness, and enwrapped in the gloomy folds of a base and well nigh Christless superstition. Pilgrimages were being made triennially to the tomb' of St. David on the shores of the Irish Sea. St. Winifred's Pool at Holywell was frequented by thousands who flocked thither to bathe their diseased bodies, amid the incantations of mercenary Priests, and the fond and foolish ceremonies of a paganised ritual, uttered in an alien tongue, and performed with postures and grimaces borrowed from the false worship of Heathen gods and goddesses. Here the Lord's Day was celebrated along with the simple and 'sedate observance of the Lords Supper; hymn, 'and prayer, and sermon were' gone through with the same' pious routine which had prevailed from the memorable season when the upper room at Jerusalem was visited,' by "the powers of the world to come." It was a day of calm, devotional repose, from dawn to dewy eve, wherein they worshipped the Father in spirit and in truth. The Welshman's candle of pious Vicar Prichard was lit from the lambent flame that unquenchably blazed on the hallowed Altar of Olchon Sanctuary. It was from "this Mountain of the Lord " that the saintly rector of Llanddowror drew the inspiration that fed the fervid longings of his soul, for a fresh and a fuller consecration of Cambria to the pure service and acceptable worship of God. Yes I Here amid the hanging woods, rugged rocks, and sylvan solitudes of the vale below, and frequently mistwreathed mountains above, the Ark of the Lord was kept from utter destruction. What Noah's Ark was' to the new world of a restored generation , What the Shepherd colony of Goshen was to the degenerated nations of' the earth in the' days of the ancient Pharaohs, and the worship of the slimy reptiles of the Nile-What the Tabernacle of Shiloh was in the days of Samuel the prophet-What the Temple on Salem's radiant hills was to the ancient Monarchies of the East, and their nature worship - What the later glories of the Jewish Theocracy were to the barbaric devotions and sensuous religions of Greece and Rome- such was the lowly edifice and its pious assembly at this divinely selected and sacredly sequestered spot. From here old Hengoed Church took its rise, Llanharan, Iston too, I believe, Rhydwylym, Molleston, and Liangloffan. Here has been the perennial mountain; the temple threshold, from beneath which has rippled forth the crystal~healing streams which to day lave the lovely vales and flow over the lofty hills our peerless principality. Let Olchon not be forgotten then, but held in everlasting remembrance by the baptized believers in particular of our various commission churches. What Mecca is to the Mussulman, St. Peter's at Rome to the Papist, Benares to the Hindoo, the grave of Carfucius to the Chinaman, Thibet to the Buddhist, the Kremlin of Moscow to the Russian, such and mote is, or ought to be, the venerable shade of old Olchon Chapel ruin, to the obedient and loyal - believers of innumerable Apostolical ecclesiastics.

A memorial of' permanent continuance ought to be erected here in the enclosed burying grounds of the New Chapel recently erected. A marble pillar with a suitable inscription should be placed before the New Temple, in loving memory and grateful recognition of our indebtedness to the heroic forefathers who, in this remote and classic region, kept undimmed the lamps of the christian tabernacle, and have been blessed and honored to hand down to us, their descendants, "the faith once delivered to the saints."

The friends of pure and undefiled religion at this romantic place deserve well of our faithful and flourishing churches, both in England and in Wales. They are 'but humble, homely shepherds, whose fleecy charges are pastured upon the short and meagre herbage upon the bleak and wild moorlands of the continuous black mountains. I hope the wealth-endowed Philemais, Chusans, Nicodemusses, Gamsses, and the Marys and Marthas of our churches, will open their hearts and their purses to bestow of their silver and of their gold to liquidate the remaining liabilities of the good and worthy folk already referred to.

I cannot avoid thinking that some may cavil contentiously at the statements I have made, and capaciously require of me more historic proof and stronger authentic evidence than what I have added, for the bold, fearless, and uncompromising assertions which I have made. I can assure my cautious, circumspect, and critical reader that for many years I have read all that has been published on the matters in question, regarding the origin, antiquity, and chequered fortunes of this ancient mother church, of most of the Welsh Baptist churches, and some of the Congregational assemblies as well. I have forgotten the names of several of my authorities, but I have retained the substance of the information oh, tamed from them. 'Likewise, it has been my favorite habit to collect all the

available traditional lore which I could come by, from old hoary-headed men and women, gifted with retentive memories, and fond of communicating all the information they could collect regarding ancient times, persons, events, and circumstances.

What I have written, and yet may write, is the sum and substance therefore of much and most valuable traditional lore. On the wild, unfenced, moory mountain above Olchon farm, Olchon stream, and Olchon dilapidated, crumbling, ecclesiastical shrine, is situated the boundary of the three counties already mentioned and of the three dioceses of Llandaff, St. David's, and Hereford, so that it became for numerous centuries the alsatia or common resort of the persecuted 'saints of the Waldensian and Lyonnese churches in Great Britain. It, was the woman's hiding place, as spoken of in the **12th** chapter of the Revelation of John the Divine, the Patmos exile. I should not omit mentioning that, whilst all other Protestant bodies of Christians date their origin back, directly or indirectly, to Luther, Zuinguis, Calvin, Knox, and the other leading spirits of the sixteenth century Reformation, the Baptists alone can trace their unbroken, uninterrupted descent from' the Parent Church, not of Rome, but of Jerusalem. Not from the reign of Constantine, or Henry' the Eighth, and the Nicene or the Puritan Fathers, but from the Apostles and primitive Teachers, Pastors, and Evangelists of the first century of the Christian era. They never broke away from the Apostate Latin Church, but it schismatically and degeneratively broke away from them, To this day the Papal Church in her Church History and in the decretals of her arrogant and flagitious Pontiffs declares that there is no argument to be held, or discussion 'maintained with the incorrigible Waldenses and Albigenses, the putative forefathers of the modern Baptists, save the argumentative debate of fire and sword. I have read it myself in a Papal Church History, lent me some years ago now, by a friendly Roman Catholic Clergyman belonging to the Order of "My Lady of Mount Carmel." We, as Scriptural Baptists, dwell alone amongst our own people, "the friends of all and the enemies of none." The tongue of, slander and the pen of calumny has been busy frequently with our names; lying tales and baseless libels have been repeatedly published by nearly all bodies of nominal Christians, in order to defame our reputation, blacken and vilify our characters. Rome and her minions, the Prelatical Hierarchy of State churchianity in all countries, and some Protestant dissenting writers even have been most industrious in forging lying legends regarding our fellowship, " a Sect everywhere spoken against" from the reign of Constantine, or Henry' the Eighth,' and the Nicene or the Puritan Fathers, but from the Apostles and primitive Teachers, Pastors, and Evangelists of the first century of the Christian era. They never broke away from the Apostate Latin Church, hut it schismatically and degeneratively broke away from them. To this day the Papal Church in her Church History and in the decretals of her arrogant and flagitious Pontiffs declares that there is no argument to be held, or discussion maintained with the incorrigible, Waldenses and Albigences, the' putative forefathers of the modern Baptists, save the argumentative debate of fire and sword. I have read it myself in a Papal Church History, lent me some years ago now, by a friendly Roman Catholic Clergyman belonging to the Order of "My Lady of Mount Carmel." We, as Scriptural Baptists,' dwell alone amongst our own people, "the friends of all and the enemies of none." The tongue of, slander and the pen of calumny has been busy frequently with our names; lying tales and baseless libels have been repeatedly published by nearly all bodies of nominal Christians, in order to defame our reputation, blacken and vilify our characters. Rome and her minions, the Prelatical Hierarchy of State churchianity in all countries, and some Protestant dissenting writers even, have been most industrious in forging lying legends regarding our fellowship, " a Sect everywhere spoken against," as for instance the nudity of the Munster, Matthias, Knipperdoller and their followers, both in Holland and in Germany. Luther, I grieve' to state, 'detested us and encouraged the persecutions of the Dutch and other Baptists. Fox's **Book of Martyrs** is chiefly filled with the names and sufferings of baptized believers who refused to desecrate their infants with the unauthorized and unwarranted aspersion of apostolically unprescribed water. Fox, true somewhat to his name, has not had the candor and frankness to inform his readers that the great majority of his registered martyrs belonged to the despised and disparaged fraternity whose head quarters for ages was situate in the Valley of the Olchon. The scarlet, thread that helps us to trace our gapless lineage backwards to the primitive Christians of earliest times, is the fact of their refusal to immerse any but professed personal believers in the Divine Verities. They made no compromise with apostasy. Their immutable motto was "No surrender" to any fond inventions or traditions of men. Their battle cry was "'Y gwir yn erbyn y byd," that is, "the truth against the world." The word of God revealed in the Holy Scriptures was their rule of faith and code of discipline. Like the angels spoken of, in the 103rd Psalm, "they did God's commandments, hearkening to the voice of His word." I have dwelt the longer upon this, because this was the reason they were brow-beaten, maligned, abhorred, and persecuted by all sects and parties of alas! well nigh universally corrupted Christianity. Not that they believed there was any saving ~ efficacy in believers' baptism by immersion, or that none other would be admitted to heaven except the members of Baptist communities. They presumed not-like the Pontifical churches-the Ultramohtane adherents of "the Sacred Colledge "- The Latin Curia," to doom all outside the pale of their own communions to the covenanted mercies and retributive wrath of God. They conceded that liberty to others which they claimed for themselves. They ~ were no bigots, neither were they fanatics; they taught the liberty of Gospel Faith, and left equity and judgment to the Omniscient searcher of hearts. They taught and believed in the sole infallibility of God's revealed word, and if others put another interpretation upon it than what they put upon it, they left the decision in the hands of a God of infinite righteous- ness, and illimitable knowledge. They taught the principles of civil and religious

liberty, when all the world besides practiced persecution against every ~ other form of religious belief besides their own. They were and are the fathers of radical politics, and a free-trade Christianity; coercion and physical force was hateful to their souls, for voluntaryism was the very taproot of their church constitution and government. Believing that a little leaven leaveneth the whole lump, they kept aloof from the least appearance of compulsion, dictation, and mere human authority.

I began with Doctor Bradwardine in the thirteenth century because of the limitation of the space at my disposal. I could have begun with the first century, and carried the succession of pastors and churches downwards to this, the end of the nineteenth century. This would have been a congenial task to my taste and inclination, but it would have been far beyond the scope of this summarized survey of the church, of the commission at Olchon, and elsewhere, from the days of Bradwardine, Chaucer, John Ball (or Beale), Wickliffe, Sir John Old Castle, the Lollards, Caxton, Tyndal, and John Cann, down to the time of the Protestant Reformation. The relics, as I said, of the old, sacred, and memorable fabric where scriptural believers met, and of Olchon Court-the once proud Lordly seat of Sir John Oldcastle-are worthy of a visit.

If any should doubt or deny my advisedly daring and deliberate avowals, I challenge contradiction and defy all hostile criticism. I take my stand on carefully sifted, unbiased, and unprejudiced tradition; I have sought out amongst the posterity of the old members of Olchon, all that they, their lineal descendants, could tell me. I have perused carefully and exhaustively the chroniclers and narrators of Baptist worthies and Baptist antiquities, both with reference to their scriptural views, their few places of worship for generations, their devotional services and Christian lives, and I can come to no other conclusion in the sequel, than what, that here was the redundant source of our present day progress, and eighteenth and nineteenth century prosperity. The little one has become, not a thousand, but myriads of thousands, and the small one a strong nation. Who dares despise us now? Who would venture to coin calumnies at present to bring us into contempt and derision? We are able hence to bind their princes with chains, and their kings with fetters of iron. I can hear, methinks, and near at hand as well, the musical roar of the incoming, shoreward sweeping, Pentecostal tide of millennial, majestic, 'monumental splendor, when the now little known, and but slenderly appreciated renown of Olchon, shall be redolent with reverence, and resplendent with coruscations of glory. The fame also then of Sir John Oldcastle, and the long unnoted Lollards-the mediaeval Baptists-shall shine with unperishable and unquenchable luster, amid the supernal brilliance and unparalleled sublimities of a day of beatific radiance, and an age of supremely sabbatic serenity, transparent luminosity, and celestial exultation. The saints of the genuine Church of the Savior, in their might memories and resurrected remembrances, shall live (this old work ends here, REP).

J. Davis' History of the Welsh Baptists

In Davis' **History of the Welsh Baptists**, there are many interesting statements about this old church. I will quote from a few:

The vale of Carleon is situated between England and the mountainous part of Wales, just at the foot of the mountains. It is our valley of Piedmont; the mountains of Merthyn Tydfyl, our Alps; and the crevices of the rocks, the hiding-places of the lambs of the sheep of Christ, where the ordinances of the gospel, to this day, have been administered in their primitive mode, without being adulterated by the corrupt church of Rome. It was no wonder that Penry, Wroth and Erbury, commonly called the first reformers of the Baptist denomination in Wales, should have so many followers at once, when we consider that the field of their labors was the vale of Carleon and its vicinity. Had they like many of their countrymen, never bowed the knee to the great Ball of Rome, nor any of the horns of the beast in Britain, it is probably we should not have heard of their names: but as they were great and learned men, belonging to that religion, (or rather irreligion) established by law, and particularly as they left that establishment and joined the poor Baptists, their names are handed down to posterity, not only by their friends, but also by their foes, because more notice was taken of them than those scattered Baptists on the mountains of the Principality. As this denomination had always existed in the country, from the year 63, and had been so often and so severely persecuted, it was by this time an old thing. But the men who left the popish establishment were the chief objects of their rage; particularly as they boldly and publicly headed that sect that is everywhere spoken against, and planted, and reorganized Baptist churches throughout the country, like the men who were charged with turning the world upside down. The vale of Olchon, also, is situated between mountains almost inaccessible. How many hundreds of years it had been inhabited by Baptists before William Erbury ever visited the place, we cannot tell. We have no account of him, or any other person baptizing there before the time we know that there was a Baptist church there; that is, in 1633. It is a fact that cannot be controverted, that there were Baptists here at the commencement of the Reformation; and no man upon earth can tell when the church was formed, and who

began to baptize in this little Piedmont. Whence came these Baptists? It is universally believed that it (Olchon REP) is the oldest church, but how old none can tell. We know that, at the Reformation (that is when Laud was put down and Cromwell began, REP), in the reign of Charles the First, they had a minister named Howell Vaughan, quite a different sort of a Baptist from Erbury, Wroth, Vavasor Power and others, who were the great reformers, but had not reformed as far as they ought to have done, in the opinion of the Olchon Baptists. And this was not to be wondered at; for they had dissented from the church of England, and probably brought some of her corruptions with them, but the mountain Baptists were not dissenters from that establishment. We know that the reformers were for mixed communion, but the Olchon Baptists received no such practices. In short, these were plain, strict, apostolic Baptists. They would have order and no confusion- the word of God their only rule. The reformers, or the reformed Baptists whom they found on the mountains of Wales were no advocates for it. As the Baptists of Piedmont were much disappointed in the reformation of Luther; so these on the mountains of the Principality were, in some degree, disappointed in the reformation of their Baptist brethren in Wales. For the Olchon Baptists were like those Baptists that would not compromise matters with Austin. Indeed, they were so much like them, in many things too numerous to be mentioned, that they must have been a separate people, maintaining the order of the New Testament in every age, maintaining, the order of the New Testament in every age and generation, from the year 63 to the present time.

Notwithstanding the Baptists in Wales were very numerous in 1653, yet there were but six or seven churches of the old Baptist order. However, the differences between them and V. Powell and other reformers, was not a bar of communion. At the same time, it is evident, that they had a more intimate fellowship with one another. Six of them joined together in an association; namely, Olchon, Llanwerarth, Llantrisaint, Swansea, and Carmarthen-the other was the church of Dolan. All the other churches, and numerous religious societies, gathered by the instrumentality of the reformed Baptists, such as Penry, Erbury, Wroth, V. Powell, and others, had not as yet joined this association. J. Davis, **History of the Welsh Baptists**, Pittsburgh; 1835, edition published by The Baptist, 1976, pages 19, 20.

John Miles and the old Church at Olchon

Please note the following statement about Miles and the old church at Olchon. This is very important, it will come up later. The Glass House Particular Baptist Church in London, sometimes called Glazier's Hall church, sent John Miles and Thomas Proud into Wales to do gospel outreach work. When they got there, they constituted several churches and these churches joined with the old Church at Olchon to form the Welsh Baptist Association in 1650.

William L. Lumpkin stated:

An Antidote Against the Infection of the Times, 1656

The early growth of the Welsh Particular Baptist cause is largely to be accounted for by the zeal and administrative ability of John Myles, who is chiefly responsible for An Antidote. An Oxford graduate, Myles had begun to preach in Wales by 1644 or 1645, probably as an Independent. Meeting some Particular Baptist who belonged to a detachment of the New Model Army, sent to Wales in 1648, he was converted to their views. In the spring of 1649, he journeyed to London, where he was baptized on profession of faith. The Glass House church welcomed him with enthusiasm and recorded that his coming was an answer to prayer for home missionaries. (They didn't use those terms, for they didn't call their outreach ministers missionaries, REP.)

After a fortnight's stay in London, during which time he became acquainted with the practices of the leading Particular Baptist churches, he returned to Gower with the endorsement of the Glass House Yard Church and threw himself into his work. Five congregations were under his care by 1652, all practicing close communion. There were, however, other Baptists in Wales; and to protect themselves against the easier discipline of the Arminian Baptists and the milder doctrinal views of certain Particular Baptists, Myles effected an organization of his churches which gave the General Meetings so close a supervision over them as to approach presbyterianism. *(If a person reads the minutes of these old meetings, he will see this is not so. Lumpkin's evaluations must be taken with a grain of salt. His historical facts are very good however. REP)*

The originality of the Confession must be traced to the genius of Myles, and both the symmetry of thought and the force of expression of the document do credit to the abilities of the author. The Confession is divided into three

sections. The first, "Considerations presented to Sinners," is the doctrinal section; the second, "Admonitions to Saints," concerns the five "reigning corruptions" of the day; and the third, "Invitations to the Backsliders," contained practical considerations for erring Christians.

The Confession served as a rally point for the "Close" Baptists, while other Welsh Baptist groups were shattered by the Quaker movement. **Baptist Confessions of Faith**, pages 216-217.

More from Davis' history, page 38:

John Myles began to preach about the year 1645. He was the founder of the Baptist church at Swansea, Galmorganshire, South Wales. He was one of the greatest advocates for close communion in the Principality, in his time, and the leading minister of the Baptist denomination in Wales.

The church at Swansea was formed in the year 1644. (Mistake on that date, it was 1649-REP) In that year, John Myles, the pastor of the church at Swansea, wrote a letter to the church of Olchon, in which he promised to pay them a visit and defend the practice of close communion; which also he did. And in the following year, he sent there another epistle on that subject, which may be seen recorded in the church book at Abergavenny.

In 1651, he was sent as the representative of all the Baptist churches in Wales, to the Baptist ministers' meeting at Glazier's Hall, London, with a letter giving an account of the peace, union, and increase of the Baptist churches; and returned with a written letter from the London ministers to their brethren in Wales, in which they were advised to form new churches; so that their members who lived at a distance, might be made more useful; and that several of the small churches so formed should meet together, as often as convenient, to break bread. And as their ordained ministers were comparatively few, they were advised to look out for the most gifted among themselves, by whom they might be edified in the Lord; for, in so doing, they might find out some to labor in word and doctrine among them.

At this time, please note the close connection with the old church at Olchon, or the Hay, with the newly formed churches under the ministry and care of John Myles. They were not separated from the London Particular Baptist churches, but in very close connection with them. *They even represented at the London Particular Baptist meetings when they could do so.*

Joshua Thomas' Remarks

Joshua Thomas, the Welsh Baptist historian of the mid and late 1700s, even suggests that the old church at Olchon **became reorganized** under the care and leadership of John Myles and the other brethren and these new churches. Here are his remarks:

Now (1646 REP) the light of the Gospel shone so clearly among the people of the country, that they have never since been so dark as they had been long before. Thus the people were united together in a mixed communion consisting of Paedobaptists and Baptists. Though many of the latter were scattered through the country in a few years, yet there was no proper Baptist Churches, except at Olchon was so, which it is believed was the case.

The first Baptist church in Wales, after the reformation, was formed at Ilston, near Swansea in Glamorganshire, in 1649, which was less than twenty years old after the Bible came among the common people in their own language. . . .

Mr. Myles seems to have been the first Baptist minister in Wales who defended and maintained unmixed communion among the Baptists in the Principality, in a public open way. (Olchon minister of the same sentiment and practice, was a man little know abroad). After the Ilston church was constituted, Mr. Myles was very active in other places. Very probably his Church Book gives a more particular account of the formation of other churches soon after. From the extracts, we may conclude that they Hay church, including Olchon, was formed in 1650, as several were baptized in that year at Llaeigon and the Hay; it is probable that they all and Olchon made one church formed anew, under the direction of Mr. Myles. Joshua Thomas, **A History of the Baptist Association in Wales from the year 1650, the year 1790**, London; 1795, pages 5, 6.

In B. R. White's **Associational Records of the Particular Baptists of England, Wales and Ireland to 1660**, published by the Baptist Historical Society, London, in 1974, the associational meetings are given in what appears to be their entirety. However, the letter to the Glasshouse church and its letter back are not included. I am sure that the Baptist Historical Society has these items in additional studies, but I do not yet have them.

In Conclusion to the Early Welsh Baptist studies in General, and the Olchon Church in Particular, note three important points:

1. The ancient Particular Baptist Church at Olchon joined with the churches gathered by ministers sent into Wales from one of the Particular Baptist Churches in London which issued the First London Confession of Faith, the Glass House Church. The old church at Olchon did not form these other churches, these 5 churches which joined with the Olchon church, to form the beginning of this association, were gathered by John Miles and Thomas Proud. A good account of this is found in Lumpkin's **Baptist Confessions of Faith**, pages 216-218, published by Judson Press, 1959.
2. The American Primitive Baptist writer, Michael N. Ivey, in his wish-history, called **Welsh Succession of Primitive Baptist Faith and Practice**, 1994; would have us to believe that this old Church at Olchon was not one with the London Particular Baptists, and that it reached out and constituted churches in Wales and also in the Midlands. The implication is that the Midland's Confession is totally against the First London Confession of Faith. This connection I am making is very important and will show the false and misleading conclusions of Ivey, a time conditionalist Primitive Baptist. These old Baptists in Wales were one with the London Brethren. Their union with the five churches gathered by Myles and Proud prove this.
3. In addition, remember that the real father of Whitsittism, Gould, in his **Open Communion and the Baptists in Norwich**, 1860, has told the world that William Kiffen was the only Closed Communion Baptist in the 1600s. The Glass House Church was closed communion, one of the 7 churches in London, and the old Welsh Association was formed as a closed communion association. All the London Associational churches were closed communion. This will tie in later also.

The Link Between the Old Church at Olchon and the London Particular Baptists

Joshua Thomas suggested that the old Church at Olchon became reorganized and included preaching stations or branches in other areas. This reorganization took place due to the efforts of John Myles, who sent into Wales along with Thomas Proud, from the old Particular Baptist Church meeting at the Glass House. Here is a brief statement as to its origin:

Thomas Gunne and John Mabbatt gathered the Church at the Glasshouse. They were both baptized as a result of the Blount mission between 1640-1642. John Mabbatt published his **Reply to Mr. Knutton** in 1645. It also is one of the earlier works issued by these ministers. In 1652 William Conset and Richard Graves served this church. Edward Drapes returned home from Ireland in the late 1640s but was dead by 1651 and did not sign any of the Confessions. John Vernon also ministered here. This church sponsored the John Myles-Thomas Proud efforts in Wales.

Now, the question arises, where did Joshua Thomas the Welsh Baptist Historian obtain his information? Here are his words:

When the Book was circulated (his first effort to write his history REP), remarks were made, some right, and some wrong; some in a friendly way, others not quite so; but the Writer availed himself all the could of every information, not regarding whether it came from a friend or a foe. In about twenty month 18 pages of Addenda and Corrigenda were printed off, of the same size as the book, and circulated gratis, that those who chose it might bind them with the book. Thus far, the Writer did what he could.

In 1781, Mr. Backus's **Church History of New England**, fell into his hands. There he found an account of Ilston church, near Swansea, of which he had no hint before, but that appeared in an old book of church records in Abergavenny. By the New England History, it appears, that a net church-book had been carried from Ilston to America, containing a particular account of the Baptist churches in Wales, about the year 1650. And that the book was still in being. (John Myles wrote this old book and carried it into New England with him when he fled Wales due to persecution when the Stuarts were reestablished about 1660, R. E. Pound.) It is easy to conceive that the Author of the Welsh History much wished to see that book. But the American war, and a number of other hindrances, seemed to render it impossible. He wrote to Mr. Backus in 1738. He very soon, and very obligingly answered, and wrote large Extracts out of it, of what he judged most to the purpose. These cast considerable light upon what was before impenetrably dark. On page 5 of the History, those Extracts are referred to. They came in 1784, and now it was strongly concluded, that, on this subject, there was still more light to be derived from the Ilston book, than could be had any where else upon earth. Impelled by hope, several queries more were framed, and a second application made in 1785. But for three years, no answer came. The author had mentioned in the Welsh History, his design to draw up a short account of the Welsh Association, if life and health continued. He was not willing to set about it till the second Extracts arrived. In 1788, he wrote again. Age coming on, a Baptist Register being likely to appear, and other things conspiring, the writer set about the History of the Association, without the advantage of the second Extracts. He finished it and sent the Manuscript to London for the Register. But still lamented the disappointment of further intelligence, which he was confident might be had in the book. One sheet was printed in the second Number of that work, Aug. 1791. This happened to be the vary part which chiefly wanted the additional information. In that year Dr. Rippon writing to Mr. Backus obligingly mentioned the disappointment. Mr. Backus was struck, and replied, that the letters of 1785 and 1788 had duly come to hand, and that he had sent large Extracts, and a long letter in 1787; but says he never could learn whether they were received or not, till Brother Rippon's letter came in October 1791. He took the first opportunity and made large extracts containing sixty-four quarto pages: and his letter says, "I got the book, and now send you all the light I can get from thence about the history of your country. Joshua Thomas, **A History of the Welsh Baptist Association**, London: 1795, pages iii and iv, of Address to the Reader.

Joshua Thomas' remarks came from John Myles' old history and accounts of these churches. Isaac Backus copied them and sent them over to Mr. Thomas. I would say Mr. Thomas' remarks were very well grounded.

Now, we shall move into England and begin our slow journey into London.

Part II

The Ancient English Particular Baptist Churches

In this section, I will document the early origins of the English Particular Baptists by presenting some brief remarks about two of their oldest Churches, the Church at the Hop Garden and the Church at Hill Cliffe. Then I shall move into London and show the existence of the Particular Baptists herein back into the 1500s. Once that is established, it is clear to see the links with the older Dark Ages groups.

The old Baptists didn't use the term missionary. However, they recognized two types of ministers, the *Feeding Minister*, or the Pastor who labored in one gospel church, and the *Begetting Minister*, who was church sent to beget persons into gospel faith, order, worship and works. This distinction runs all through the early writings of those old brethren in the early 1600s. Please note:

The Last Will and Testimony of Obadiah Holmes

23. I believe that although God can bring men to Christ and cause them to believe in Him for life, yet He has appointed

an ordinary way to effect that great work of faith which is by means of sending a ministry into the world to publish repentance to the sinner and salvation, and that by Jesus Christ. They that are faithful shall save their own souls and some that hear them.

26. I believe that no man is to rush into the ministry without a special call from God, even as the Gospel ministers had of old. (This) was the call of the Holy Spirit with some talent or talents to declare the counsel of God to poor sinners, declaring the grace of God through Jesus Christ even to those that are yet in the power of Satan, yea, to bring glad tidings by and from the Lord Jesus Christ.
27. I believe that this ministry is to go forth and he that has received grace with a talent or talents, as he has received freely of the Lord so he is freely to give, looking for nothing to gain but the promise of the Lord.
28. I believe that none is to go forth but by commission, and carefully to observe the same according as Christ gave it forth, without adding or diminishing: first, to preach Christ (that is, to make disciples), and then, to baptize them—but not to baptize them before they believe; and, then, to teach them what Christ commanded them, for as the Father had his order in the former dispensation and administration, so has the Son (in former times, the Lord spoke in divers way and manners, but now has He spoken by His Son).
29. I believe that as God prepared a begetting ministry, even so does He also prepare a feeding ministry in the church, who are a people called out of the world by the word and Spirit of the Lord, assembling themselves together in a holy brotherhood, continuing in the apostles' doctrine and fellowship, breaking bread and prayer. Edwin S. Gaustad, **Baptist Piety, the last Will and Testament of Obadiah Holmes**, Christian University Press; Grand Rapids: 1978, pages 89-91.

The Ancient Particular Baptist Church, the Church of the Hop Garden

The Church at the Hop Garden, or the old Particular Baptist Church near Abingdon, originated near Longworth. Here is a brief account of its location:

Longworth, where the Church-in-the-Hop-Garden originated, lies equi-distant from the three old Saxon towns of Abingdon, Faringdon, and Wantage, all connected with the story I am about to tell. It is, of course, in the vale of the White Horse, the great monument of Alfred the Great's victory. At Longworth was born the author of Lorna Doone. John Stanley, **The Church in the Hop Garden, A Chatty Account of the Longworth-Coate Baptist Meeting: Berks and Oxfordshire (Ante1481-1935) and its Ministers**; London, The Kingsgate Press; 1934, page 20.

The Church in the Hop Garden

Longworth, where the Church-in-the-Hop-Garden originated, lies equi-distant from the three old Saxon towns of Abingdon, Farmingdon, and Wantage, all connected with the story I am about to tell. It is, of course, in the Vale of the White horse, the great monument of Alfred the Great's victory.

BEGINNINGS

A **CONTINUOUS** history is traced from the days of Edward IV. and probably a hundred years before when, as I believe, Wycliffe's Poor Preachers took their newly translated Scriptures to read at Long-worth Market Cross. We never shall, I suppose, discover the precise date and circumstances of the origin of this church (I have been searching for thirty years and more), but it is quite reasonable, as I shall show, to believe it to be the outcome of the work and influence of John Wycliffe at Oxford. Oxford, the home of great religious movements in England, may therefore be regarded as the *Alma Mater* of this community, and a hundred others besides. James Hinton, M.A., claimed the same origin for New Road Church, Oxford. Walter Wilson, the historian, says (1808) that the oldest Nonconformist church in London "was derived from Wycliffe." The Longworth-Coate Church is thus a living link with Wycliffe and his helpers at the University, and the present day.

It is not my purpose, of course, to deal with the times and work of Wycliffe, except as they show the probability of connection with the Longworth Meeting and identity of doctrines. Wycliffe went up to Oxford in his sixteenth year, and was entered at Queen's College, just founded by Philippa, wife of Edward I., and friend of the Burghers of Calais. He was amongst the first batch of Bursars and probably had the Black Prince for a fellow student. The Queen and her son, John O'Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, were his life-long friends and protectors.

Oxford in those days was a slum compared with the glorious city it now is. Great Tom, whose 101 strokes are the curfew, closing the gates of all the college at five minutes past nine, then hung in its original belfry at Osney Abbey.

S. R. Green gives a graphic picture of the University in those early days, and a beautiful vignette of that sweet boy, Edmund Rice, of Abingdon, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, and saint. Just before Wycliffe became Master of Balliol, the Archbishop of Armagh sent some of his young priests to Oxford to study Divinity. The young men could not find a Bible at the University, and returned to Ireland. This provoked Wycliffe to provide an English Bible for Englishmen. Later, when he was the most popular man and teacher in the University, he gathered a number of graduates around him to assist in the great work of translating and transcribing into English Jerome's *Vulgate*.

There was a great revival in the University which spread throughout the country, until one bitterly, " You can't meet two men, but one will be a Lollard "--for so were they 'Wycliffites' nicknamed.

Wycliffe's heart was on fire with love of the Savior, and he gathered a band of young priests filled with the same sacred passion and trained them as preachers. The hall was in the newly- founded new College, but in those days any college would have supplied the hall.

So you have the three works proceeding at the same time translating the Scriptures, multiplying the copies and distributing them by the young Poore Preachers accompanied by reading and preaching. This was done within a couple of hours' walk of Longworth. If Wycliffe's influence was felt on the Continent, is it wonderful that it should be felt eight or ten miles from the University? John Milton thought that to Wycliffe belongs all the human glory of the Reformation of the sixteenth century. . . .

Among the truths that Wycliffe taught his young preachers were these:

The Scriptures are the sole rule of Doctrine, Faith and Practice. They are the final Court of Appeal—the Casesarem Appellunt of the Church. "What is not found in them is not binding on any man's conscience." Very profound was his belief in the Word of God, and that every man should have it in his own tongue—an English Bible for English men.

To Wycliffe the Pope was merely and only the Bishop of Rome. He repudiated the Pope's claim to sovereignty over the consciences of men; also to any kind of temporal sovereignty. He contended that Peter never held, nor claimed to hold, any temporal jurisdiction; therefore, what he never possessed he could not hand down to another.

He held that the New Testament knows only two orders of ministry, Bishops (Pastors) and Deacons, and contended that on occasion a layman might be permitted to consecrate the Eucharist. He taught the common Priesthood of Believers; also that our Lord instituted only two ordinances, Baptism and the Supper of the Lord. He denied Baptismal Regeneration.

In HENRY VIII.'s time, the Lollards were lost in the Anabaptists. He repudiated Transubstantiation, contending that the wafer--the Host on the Altar was not turned into the Body and Blood of our Lord by the Prayer of Consecration, but was simply only and always the effectual signs of Him." He preached vehemently against ceremonialism, and denounced the priests as coming between the sinner and his Saviour. "The magical Power of the Altar seemed to invest the Celebrant with a power which bewildered simple minds." On the other hand Wycliffe saw that "every man was the object of God's love and might live in the continual sense of His Presence." He opposed the compulsory payment of tithes, saying " that ministers should be supported by the voluntary gifts of their people," and strenuously opposed the Pope's claim to "Peter's Pence," "First Fruits," "Appropriation of Livings," ect. He denounced the compulsory celibacy of clergy, Confessions, Absolution, Penance, and indulgences. Very earnestly he taught that religion should be inward, not outward exercises only, and preached very vehemently against ceremonialism as the condition of salvation.

Are not these doctrines the teachings that the Baptists of Coate, and all evangelical people, hold to-day? Remember that Wycliffe was a priest of the Roman Catholic Church, and knew nothing of these things until he found them in the Scriptures he was so diligently studying. . . .

The little assemblies formed in the great Hall of the Manor House, or in the farm kitchen, to hear the reading of the new English Scriptures, were hardened by persecution into little communities, which, as the result of the New Teaching and its implications, developed into independent churches with their own elected ministers, much on the lines of Baptist Churches to-day.

This was a hundred years before Caxton printed his first book, and the only way to publish new ideas and new teaching was for heralds, evngelists, to stand in the marketplace, or perchance in the parish church, and proclaim

the New Message. So did Paul, and so did the preaching Friars, and so did Wycliffe and his Poore Preachers, the only thing he ever borrowed from the Friars. In Apostolic fashion he sent them out, "Two and two," to read and expound the English Scriptures in the neighbouring villages and towns.

"He sent them out—two and two, Saying, Go, preach the Gospel."

The sun is rising gloriously over the eastern hills, as two of the Poore Preachers leave Oxford by the western gate. Their habits are long, and russet-coloured. In one hand each carries a staff, and with the other clasps to his breast his precious portion of Scripture—probably copied *with* his own hand.

Their going forth greatly annoys the Archbishop, who complains that these "Unauthorised (by him) itinerant Preachers preach in Churches and Chapels, and public squares, and other prophane places." But his Grace cannot stop them, for the University is with them almost to a man. Wycliffe's opposing the Pope pleased the citizens for political reasons, and the clergy knew that he was *fighting* their battle at Rome.

OLD RECORDS.

DURING the Commonwealth, when the non-Episcopal churches were settled, formed and re-formed, they naturally set up a Church Book to record their doings, Longworth amongst them. A few churches still retain their old Church Book, as Tewkesbury, *but* the most are lost through the carelessness of their owners, or destroyed by enemies. The men who pulled down their meeting houses, destroyed their books and papers. Often, too, their owners did not realize their value. An old man, of Faringdon, once told his minister, my friend, Rev. H. Smith, that he remembered seeing such a Curios old book, with such curious letters as no one couldn't read, and seemed to be no use on." This was, of course, the precious old Church Book. Sometimes a cantankerous clerk, or deacon, when "dismissed," or leaving in a temper, would refuse to give up the books, and they disappeared. Well, about this time, or earlier, Longworth set up its brand new Church Book. No one has seen this book for over two hundred years. But before it disappeared, some unknown person, at an unknown time, and for an unknown purpose, made extracts from it which have come down to us, and which I have called the The Fragment—it is better known as "The Barkshire Records." This precious volume owned (and probably copied) by a minister of Coate nearly two hundred years ago, was utterly unknown at Coate *until* I Came across It about thirty years ago.

Dr. Whitely thinks that Benjamin Stinton, a predecessor of C. H. Spurgeon, who was collecting materials for a History of the Baptists, and entered, made these extracts by him in his book of materials. However, he died before he wrote the book, and bequeathed the job and the materials to his friend and deacon, Thomas Crosby, who for some reason did not use the Fragment. But when his young friend, Joseph Stennet, the son of his famous friend, Dr. Stennett, came to Coate, he naturally showed him the extracts, and as naturally Stennett made a complete copy of them in a small octavo book, which still bears the inscription on the fly leaf,

Joseph Stennett, 1747

This precious little volume is now in the Library of Regents' Part College and is known as the "Barkshire Records." Stinton's original manuscript of "materials" is now lost, but before it disappeared the Rev. George Gould (father of Rev. Dr. Gould and Sir Alfred Pearce Gould) had made a careful copy of it, which is also in the Library of Regents Part College.

Young Stennett made his copy four years after he came to Coate.

The history of the old Church Book is most baffling. The first extracts are dated 1648, and the last 1708, five years after young Collett became Pastor of Coate. . . .

The Association was formed in 1652. The constituent churches were Abingdon (including Longworth), Henley, and Reading. Several churches joined later, including Oxford and Wantage. Abingdon appears to have been the leading church, and probably its famous young minister had suggested the Association. . . .

At a Meeting ye 12th day of ye 10th month, 1656, when the Church at Longworth did first Stand up, as a distinct (separate) Church from ye Abingdon Church. That the members in and near Longworth, together with our Brother Coomes, being still persuaded 'twill most tend to the glory of God, that we stand up as a distinct Church of Christ, our Brother Coombes being to walk with us so long as himself shall be persuaded that his call from the Lords is to bee amongst us; to bee at present upon Trial, to see how ye Lord will owe his labors amongst us.

This being resolved upon by us, we whose names are underwritten, doe in ye Presence of ye Lord give up ourselves to walk together as a Church of Christ. . .

John Pendarvis settled down in Abingdon in 1652. Longworth had no pastor and linked up with Abingdon to enjoy the wonderful ministry of the young ministers, but still worshipped in their own place at Longworth, and their own Church Book and Registers, as today, Coate and Buckland are distinct churches, united only in the one ministry. And Pendarvis, who was fond of itinerating, would go out and preach to them (alternately with John Coombes), and administer the Ordinances. In 1656, the young pastor died, and the Longworth Meeting took the opportunity of amicably separating- not a hint of discontent, nor grievance.

I will give the minutes of the separation of the Faringdon members of Longworth as recorded in the Fragment, and you will see the difference in the proceedings:

At a Meeting of the Churches (note the Plural) of Longworth with several Messengers from the Churches of Abingdon, Wantage and Oxford at Barcout (Buckland) the 27th day of ye 9th month, 1657, it was agreed unanimously as followeth, that it will most tend to the Glory of God—that those Members in and near Faringdon do stand up as a distinct Church and that our Brother Coombes be a Member with the, to be with them to help on the work of the Lord the First Days in Three, and do stand as a help to ye Church of Longworth, to be with them one First Day in Three.

The 11th Day of ye 10th month 1657, was this Agreement completed and ye Members in and about Faringdon were then solemnly given up to walk as a particular congregation of Jesus Christ—and these are the Names.” Here follow twenty-three names.

This followed the usual procedure of forming a new church. First the matter is carefully and prayerfully debated, and settled. Then a meeting (public) is called and neighboring churches are invited to send delegates, especially their ministers, who would certify themselves as to the correctness of all the proceedings, and give their sanction and blessing to the young church. Delegates came from Abingdon, Oxford and Wantage to Buckland, where the Longworth People had a Meeting House (as it has today) and all was done “decently and in order.

Nothing of this occurred in the separation of Longworth from Abingdon. Simply a notification of the withdrawal and the appointment of John Coombes as Pastor.

John Pendarvis was thus the first Pastor of Longworth, of whom we have knowledge. Longworth had come under his spell, perhaps the Revival had come through him, and at their request, he took them under his wing. . . . pages 1-70.

I have given an long account of this old Particular Baptist Church to establish:

1. Many of these old churches had their origins back in the dark ages;
2. They were formed at an early time, but then they would be scattered and almost die out and then be revived and many times were reformed with neighboring churches;
3. They had a set way of multiplying, and it was according to gospel order;
4. The old association, known as the Abingdon Association became constituted during the early 1650s;
5. John Pendarvis was the main minister in that area, and no doubt, responsible for the formation of this Association.

Now we come to the **Particular Baptist Records to 1660**, edited by B. R. White of the Baptist Union of Great Britain and Ireland:

It should be noticed that the early meetings show a considerable concern for the theological basis of association between churches and that emphasis is laid less upon agreement over a wide spectrum of doctrine than upon agreement over the nature and extent of the cooperation that there ought to be between independent churches. This does not, of course, indicate a lack of concern for doctrinal matters, rather, in all probability, it does mean that the Confession of 1644 was generally accepted as providing a common doctrinal basis. After all, Benjamin Cox himself, the leader of the Abingdon Association’s eastern wing, had earlier produced a theological Appendix to the 1646 edition of the 1644 Confession. It ought also, at the same time, to be recognized that this association

as a whole, in spite of the part played in it by the Fifth Monarchist, John Pendarvis, shows little sign of millenarian excitement though some churches seem to have favored radical political reforms. Page 125.

Now, note the following points:

1. The Abingdon Association is under the influence of the aged minister from London, Benjamin Cox; who signed the **First London Confession** 1646 and wrote an **Appendix**. We have this in our Library ready for persons today to read and study.
2. John Pendarvis was murdered while out on a preaching tour. Being a Fifth Monarchist, or Post-Millist, his friends felt like the followers of the state religion had a part in his murder.
3. Stanley, in his **The Church of the Hop Garden** gives an account of the funeral proceedings and even suggests that this why the old church separated into two churches. He points out, as do others, that the Baptists and others, were so upset over Pendarvis' murder that a revolt nearly took place. Cromwell had to send several of his best troops into the area to settle things down and keep law and order. It was after this that the old church became two by a peaceful and mutual consent.
4. Be that as it may, this old Association has its roots in the Lollard days. It did not owe its origin either to John Spilsbury or to the Richard Blount efforts, but it did fellowship those churches and did maintain the same faith and order.

Now, we continue in White's **Records**, over to page 131 where we take up:

“an ensuing epistle which was subscribed by the messengers to the churches of Henly, Kensworth and Eversholt and afterwards by the churches of Abington and Reading:

To the church of Christ of which our brethren John Spilsbury and William Kiffen are members and to the rest of the churches in and near London, agreeing with the said church in principles and constitutions and accordingly holding communion with the same, the churches of Abington, Reading, Henlie, Kensworth and Eversholt send greeting:

Faithful and beloved brethren:

The Lord our God having made us to lay to heart how the churches of Christ in the apostles' days held a firm communion each with other and how necessary it was for us to endeavor to do the same, as it becomes particular assemblies which make up but one Mount Sion, Is. 4:5. 4:5, that we might endeavor to keep each other pure and to clear the profession of the Gospel from scandal and to manifest our love to all the saints, and thereby to manifest ourselves to be true churches of Christ, and that we may show ourselves sensible of the need that we have, or may have, one of another, and that the whole or God, wherein all the churches are concerned, might be the better carried on by a combination of counsels, prayers and endeavors. Through the assistance of the same God (after many conferences and seeking to the Lord) we solemnly entered into such an association each with other as this enclosed copy of our Agreement does manifest. And we have agreed to the confirmation of some conclusions of which we also send you an enclosed copy. These things we thus present unto you, not only because we desire to conceal nothing of this nature from you, but also that we may manifest both our due esteem of you and also our desire to partake of the benefit of the gifts which God has given you for the counsel and advice and brotherly assistance; and for the increase and furtherance of love and amitie and good correspondence between us, not doubting but that you will receive this our declaration with the right hand and so construe the same as the Spirit of love shall direct you.

Subscribed in the name and by the appointment of the churches last above mentioned, by us ect.

Postscript, it is our earnest request to the church above named, that this our declaration and the enclosed papers may be communicated to the rest of the churches above signified.

Those enclosed papers were: the copy of our agreement and of the conclusions confirmed at this meeting and the last. Page 131.

Several points about this epistle:

1. The Abington Association sent this to the one church of Spilsbury and Kiffen. Several other Epistles are so named and addressed, see for example Obadiah's Holmes Letter, after the Congregationalists nearly beat him to death at Boston near 1651. It is John Clark's **III News from New England**.
2. However, this old church at Wapping became two churches in 1638. Their closeness continued even up to this Associational meeting in April of 1653.
3. The entire association and those in and near London they addressed were one in principles and constitutions with the old Church walking with Kiffen and Spilsbury. There is no doubt that Kiffen was a strict communion and strict membership Baptist from 1639 to his death. He affirms such in his great book on Communion published about 1680.
4. In addition, Spilsbury's church, and the other churches in and about London were of the same in principles and constitutions.
5. This means they were all strict communion and closed membership churches just like William Kiffen and John Spilsbury.
6. This Epistle from the Abington Association destroys forever the idea that Kiffen and Spilsbury were different kinds of Baptists.
7. I repeat, these old churches were of the same principles and constitutions.

I hope someday the Spilsbury bashing will end.

Let us remember this before we go on, the most rigid and strict Baptists of those days, sought recognition and approval from John Spilsbury and William Kiffen. These two men, and their union together into one constitution and fellowship with the oneness of their principles, was well known among those old Particular Baptists.

I believe I have demonstrated the ancient origin and long existence of this *Old Church at the Hop Garden* and have showed its oneness with the other churches near by and their oneness with the churches in London. These all were one with John Spilsbury and William Kiffen.

The minutes of the old Abington Association are a study of the order and principles of Old Landmarkism (but not modern or new Landmarkism).

Before passing from this old association, let me note the following points which will further show and document their union with the London Particular Baptists in general, and John Spilsbury in particular:

The church at Watford is known from one external source: in 1669 John Crawley taught in that town in his own house and John Coleman was also a Baptist teacher, O. P. II.883. James Stuart, op. Cit., 9ff., quotes church records to indicate that the Baptists there in the 1650s grew from 'a branch of a church in London meeting at a place called Coal Harbour, Mr. John Spilsbury being pastor.' Among local preachers were Richard Coleman, George Eve, John Crawley and John Reeve. The church was maintained, with help from London preachers, for a number of years but during the years of persecution, while one group tended to keep their links with London, many others joined the Hemel Hempstead congregation. B. R. White, **Particular Baptist Records**, p. 214.

The Abington Association and John Bunyan

From its very beginning the ministers and churches that formed this association were strict communionists and closed membership. By that, I mean they were in church in their ordinances and they gathered their churches only of baptized believers.

John Bunyan was the opposite. We know he practiced open communion and walked with an open membership church. Now, please note B. R. White's remarks:

The Bedford church reported that one of their members, John Taylor, had been suspended for attempted suicide. This helps to prove that the church was not the one known as Bunyan Meeting. In any case these associations were 'closed-membership' Calvinistic Baptists and so neither Bunyan Meeting or any other which tolerated infant baptism would be welcome to join. In any event no such case as John Taylor's figures at that period on Bunyan Meeting's records. Ibid.,

Speaking of another church then, White continues:

It is clear that this church must have practiced 'closed membership' to be considered 'orderly walking' by Benjamin Coxe and his friends. Ibid., page 214.

The reason there has been so much confusion about these old Particular Baptists is because there often existed Particular Baptist Churches in the same town or area, one was mixed membership and the other was closed membership. In these churches also there seems to have been a going back and forth of some of the members. Moreover, to add more problems, often times men or women of the same names would be found in different places and in different churches.

However, this one thing is certain, the closed communion and closed membership Particular Baptist Churches gathered around the First London Confession of Faith and measured themselves by the walk, principles and constitution of the one church of John Spilsbury and William Kiffen. This is very important, as I shall later tie this all-together dealing with the origin of the London Particular Baptist Churches.

Whitsittism Would Make John Spilsbury and John Bunyan Agree on Communion and Mixed Church Membership

For now, let me observe that John Bunyan practiced open communion and mixed church membership. He and his church were not among these old Baptists. Get this point very well; the Whitsittes claim John Spilsbury held these views. **John Bunyan, not John Spilsbury practiced open communion and mixed church membership.**

The rejection of John Bunyan and his open communion and mixed membership church in the old Abington Association and its measuring itself by William Kiffen and John Spilsbury and all the other churches of London of the same constitution, order and principles as that church, prove, beyond doubt **that both Kiffen and Spilsbury and their one church were strict communion and closed membership.**

Therefore, Whitsittism is again weighed in the balances and found wanting.

William Kiffen, John Spilsbury, Benjamin Coxe and the London and Abington Churches were One

These old churches were all strict communion and closed membership churches, that is, they were made up of baptized believers only. Bunyan, Tombes (who will be considered under the Midland Association), Jessey and Powell, were all open membership and open communion Baptists. They stood outside of these old churches. Whitsittism would make

Spilsbury into the very same type of Baptists as these open membership and open communion Baptists.

The Old Particular Baptist Associations

Before passing on, it may be well to show some of the ancient ways of those old Particular Baptists and their Associations.

B. R. White's studies and his publication of the **Particular Baptist Records to 1660** are a must study for any serious student of Particular Baptist history during those times. By a careful study of those records from their original sources, we note the following:

1. The old associations met often at one of the churches. The officers in the hosting church served as the leaders of the association.
2. The minutes were copied by the clerk of the hosting church and preserved as a part of the official church records.
3. There was much inner communion among the churches, that is, inner church workings, but I have not found any instances of their taking the Lord's Supper, at any of the meetings or of the practice of an inner Lord's Supper. I have found no document, nor statement, nor sermon from that time period dealing with an inner Lord's Supper between the churches,
4. The churches had no standing officers, such as modern associations or conventions have, but they did have strong aggressive out reach efforts. Many of them had begetting ministers, or church messengers, some even, in the case of the Somerset Association, had an apostle, Thomas Collier.
5. These men functioned outside of the pastoral office of a particular church and served at large to preach, baptize and constituted new churches. They were often called evangelists, apostles, or church messengers. They were also known as begetting ministers in distinction from the feeding minister or pastor. They believed strongly in a God called and church sent ministry. Please go to my work **A Vindication of the Old Paths**, and therein study well the documented statements on the old Particular Baptists and church sending.
6. These old associations were not executive associations in any way, for those old Brethren rightly believed in the old Baptist concept that the power was in the people. The saints in a gospel church called out one from themselves and ordained him as their shepherd.
7. As to Associational officers as such, the mostly didn't have any. Thomas Collier seems to have been the only exception to this rule. He wanted the Somerset association to chose him, ordain him at large, and send him forth. This they did. His case seems to have been a very rare one and was not the practices of the churches of that time. However, in all but this the Somerset Association was one with the London Association. I will show this when we deal with the Somerset Association.

Now, we move into Northern England.

The Ancient Particular Baptist Church at Hill Cliffe

The ancient name of the place where Hill Cliffe Chapel stands was Stockton, and it so appears in the deeds and elsewhere. The name Hill Cliffe was probably taken originally from the fact that the hill on the side of which the chapel and burial ground are has to peaks or high points, and was consequently called the Clift Hill or Hill Clift, the way the name was often spelt. Hill Cliffe is the modern name. The site of the chapel and burial ground contains one Cheshire acre of land. James Kenworthy, **History of the Baptist Church at Hill Cliffe**, Baptist Tract and Book Society, London: n.d. (about 1900, REP): page 50.

This old church was located near Warrington. This is in the northern part of England. I am very disappointed that B. R. White did not include the associational history and record of this old church and its association in his excellent work, **The Particular Baptist Records to 1660**. At one time, I had Douglas' **History of the Baptists in Northern England**, published about 1850. It is very good, but does not give the minutes as is found in White's work. Furthermore, I do have the history of the Hexhem Church and its records. This will help us greatly because the old Hexhem Church and the Hill Cliffe Church were in close communion with each other. Thomas Tillam served them both.

In the following quotes, please note the absence of Whitsittism, and a clear and unmistakable belief in the divine origin and unbroken succession of the Baptists. I note in particular the following points:

1. The Baptists have a divine origin and have continued to exist since Christ's time;
2. The old Anabaptists and the dark ages groups such as the Waldenses and Lollards were what we would now call Baptists;
3. The historic mode of baptism among the Baptists, for all times had been immersion;
4. The close relationship between the old Hill Cliffe Church and the Particular Baptist Church at Coleman Street, in London, pastored by Hansard Knollys.

The following comes from Kenworthy's **History of the Hill Cliffe Church**, pages 1-50.

HISTORY
Of the
Baptist Church at Hill Cliffe,
Near Warrington.

GENERAL HISTORY.

BEFORE entering on the definite object of publishing the records of and references to the ancient Baptist Church at Hill Cliffe, it will be useful to give a short account of the tenets of the Baptists, as well as a statement of some of the facts of history relating to them and to the practice of immersion Baptists have, in all ages, insisted upon full religious liberty, every man to act according to the dictates of his conscience and the Word of God—the Bible, the whole Bible, and nothing but the Bible, being the guide of this body. Consequently, wherever Christians were found they formed communities called churches, entirely independent of each other and of the State. While insisting on their spiritual rights, they ever insisted, with equal firmness, on being subject to the powers that be in *temporal* matters, even suffering injustice rather than *being* rebellious subjects of the State. In spiritual matters, no outside influence was allowed to intrude between them and their God. Their authority was derived direct from the teachings of Christ and His apostles, and no teaching was accepted unless there was a "Thus saith the Lord for it. To the present day, these have continued the principles of this body.

On the subject of baptism, they have always followed the practice of the Christians of the New Testament and of the early churches—baptism by immersion or dipping. The subjects of this ordinance have always been those who were of an age to fully comprehend its meaning and object. None were baptized but those who themselves professed faith in Christ for salvation. Of the ordinances, there were only two, baptism and the Lord's supper. By the former, a public profession of faith was made, and nothing further was symbolized than that they believed in Christ and were now about to live a new life and forsake the old paths. Only after such confession and baptism was a person received among the membership of the Church. The Lord's supper was a memorial service by which baptized members were to keep in their memory their Master's dying love and to carry out His commandment, "Do this in remembrance of Me." Very often has a Roman Catholic, who had the history of the *Church* (as he called his Church) ever ready for use in argument, said to the writer, The Baptists are the only *honest* Christians outside the *Church*, for they are the only body that carry out the teachings of the New Testament in their practice; all other denominations practice baptism as altered by the *Church* or ignore it altogether as of no importance or use. The

Church has altered both its form of administration and the subjects of the *rite* to suit the circumstances of the time, and they have forsaken *the Church*, but keep up its teachings."

All writers on this subject now agree that adult baptism (immersion) only was practiced by the Christians of the Bible history, and that for several centuries no alteration was made in the mode of adding members to each separate community or Church. The first trace in history that we have of a departure from this practice was in A. D. 370, when there is an account of an *infant* being baptized (by immersion). This was the beginning of infant baptism, and was brought about by the teaching of the false doctrine of baptismal regeneration. If baptism did save, as was then and is still taught by many teachers of Christianity, then perform the rite as soon after birth as convenient, and make salvation sure. The form of baptism by immersion remained practically the same, however, for many succeeding centuries. Those who most strenuously opposed this new departure were firm in their opposition, and required all who wished to join their communion to be baptized a second time, as the first immersion was considered not valid, having been administered to an unconscious subject. Hence arose the name Ana-Baptist, or one who baptizes again or rebaptizes. The first time this body appears in the history of religion, as opposed to the teaching of infant baptism, is in the sixth century, showing that in about one hundred and eighty years from the first commencement of infant baptism it had become the rule of the then Established Church, and opposers of the practice were persecuted and afterwards nick-named Ana-Baptists. These Christians were always very numerous and were as ruthlessly destroyed by the Romish Church and its emissaries, as are the Armenians of to day by the savage Turks. A further alteration was the introduction of triune baptism or dipping three times, once for each person of the Trinity. Some time after this alteration came the split of the Catholic Church into two parts, the Eastern or Greek Catholic Church and the Western or Roman Catholic Church. The Greek Church has retained the then practice of both branches, and immerses the child three times in the names of the Father, of the Son and of the Holy Ghost. This division took place about A. D. 1054. It was about 300 years after this event that the form of baptism was altered to that of sprinkling, but thl8 form was never fully accepted and enforced. When the Reformation took place under Henry VIII., no great alteration in the teachings of religion was made, the only serious change being that Henry deposed the Pope from having authority in religion in England and reigned in his stead. In the reign of Elizabeth, the present Church of England was established firmly, and its prayer book is little more or less than the ritual of the Church of Rome transferred bodily for use in the Church of England service. In its baptismal service It will be found that the priest Is ordered to *dip* the child warily, unless of delicate health. The custom has grown to be sprinkling and not dipping, with the approval and sanction of those placed in authority for the purpose of keeping up the integrity of the Church. So popish was the established religion, minus the Pope, in the time of Henry VIII., that a witty Frenchman said in Latin to an English friend: "I see that in England if a man is for the Pope you hang him; hut if against the Pope you burn him."

It has been estimated that during its existence the Romish Church has been responsible for the martyrdom or murder of upwards of fifty millions of men, women and children. All governments are or should be for the protection of the weak and defenseless against oppression. Yet this government, to which it has added the name of religion, has gained for itself immortal shame and disgrace as by far the worst form of government that ever existed

The persecutors of Christians were first the pagan Romans. The Christians refused to worship the images and idols, and were in consequence made to suffer even to the death. A little later, Constantine professed Christianity, but insisted on putting the idols and images he previously worshipped into the Church buildings. From this circumstance arose the bowing to images so prevalent even to day in Roman Catholic worship. Constantine was baptized at the age of 62 years, a few months before his death. The persecutions that were perpetrated by this unholy Church on what they were pleased to call heretics have already been referred to under the various names of Donatists, Paulicians, Waldenses, Vaudois, etc.; these Christians suffered terrible persecutions in various parts of Italy, Piedmout, Switzerland, France, North Africa (Carthage, Egypt), Asia Minor, Germany, Hungary, Holland, England, Wales, etc. Those who wish to read the harrowing details must con- suit the histories already published.

That portion of the Church of Rome which was reformed during the reigns of the Tudors, and thenceforth called the Church of England, was itself a *bitter* persecutor of those who would not subscribe to its tenets. Thus the Separatists, as well as the Romish Catholics, had to suffer at the hands of the Established Protestant Church. For from two to three hundred years this dominant Church imbued its hands in the blood of fellow Christians who preferred the teaching of the word of God before that of kings or bishops. Later persecutors were the Presbyterian Church, formed by John Calvin and John Knox, both brought up in the Romish Church, and who transferred many of its errors to the new Church. These were bitter persecutors during the Commonwealth. All the other religious bodies, Congregationalists, Wesleyan and other Methodist bodies, Quakers, etc., are of modern origin, and are none of them yet three hundred year old.

Editor's Note: Here are some points Mr. Kenworthy was mistaken about:

1. Being an Englishman, the Baptists who were involved in Oliver Cromwell's efforts, are an embarrassment to Mr. Kenworthy. It is the usual practice of the English historians to try and forget certain things about these old Baptists. They were very active in political affairs and many of them were involved in bringing down the Anglican Church and the resulting times of the Civil Wars, about 1641-1649. Once these efforts failed, and the Stuarts again were re established with their state church after 1660, the papalized Anglican Church, the old brethren were not involved much in political affairs. A good documented study of this may be found in Brown's **The Baptists and the Fifth Monarchy Movement** published near the 1900s.
2. During the 1600s, the Baptists held that there were several church ordinances not only just two. For an example of this see Thomas Collier's **Body of Divinity**, and Thomas Tillam's **The Temple of Lively Stones**, published in the 1660s.

What I have said is not to discredit Mr. Kenworthy's remarkable work, but to clarify some things he may not have been aware of because he did not have the abundant materials we now have.

LOCAL HISTORY

IT is generally acknowledged now by all learned men that in all ages of the Christian era there have been found bodies of Christians, under different names, who have practiced and upheld the doctrines and principles which the Baptists now hold. Suffice it to say with an eminent writer, not holding the opinions of this body, that "no man of any ecclesiastical, historical knowledge will care to risk his reputation by denying that immersion was the one form of baptism in the days of the Apostles, and for several succeeding centuries."

Mosheim says that "the true origin of Anabaptists is hid in the remote depths of antiquity," and that "in the third century no persons were admitted to baptism by the churches generally but such as had been previously instructed in the principal points of Christianity, and had also given satisfactory proofs of pious dispositions and upright intentions." In the year 410, Pelagius, once a monk at Bangor, spread his opinions in *this country*. He believed in the lawfulness and necessity of infant baptism. Two continental bishops labored to prevent the spread of his opinions. Many were reclaimed and baptized in the River Allen, near Chester (now Alyn).

It is thus seen that 400 years after Christ's birth, the general body of the people in England was in favor of baptism by immersion, and that many who were led away by the teaching of infant baptism were brought back to the religion of their forefathers, and baptized or dipped in the River Allen, only about 25 miles distant from Hill Cliffe.

About the year 600, Austin, a bishop of Rome, who was sent to England by the Pope, found a Society of Christians at Bangor, Flintsbire, consisting of 2,100 persons. They were afterwards destroyed because they refused to baptize infants at the command of the Pope.

That many of the people of England at this time, and for long after, held the opinions of the Baptists will be clearly shown by a careful examination of the writings of those who have dealt with this subject. These writers were almost invariably those who were opposed to the Baptists, and often "hated them with a bitter hatred."

In Shobert's "Persecutions of Popery," vol. I, page 216, it is said, "A Christian community, whose origin is based in the obscurity of the early ages, whose doctrines appear to have been transmitted them from the primitive Apostles, and to have been untainted from the successive corruptions engrafted on the mild precepts of the Gospel by the Church of Rome, a community which consequently never needed reformation, is a phenomenon that must excite peculiar interest in the mind of the philosopher, as well as the religious reader. Such a phenomenon is presented by the Vaudois, or Waldenses, the very purity of whose doctrines has gained them a place in the calendar of Popish persecutions." We will now see where these religious bodies were to be found, and what were their opinions as regards the rite of baptism.

Matthew Paris says, " The Borengarian or Waldensian heresy had about the year 1180 generally infected all France, Italy, and *England*."

Guitmond, the Popish writer, says, " Not only the weaker sort in the country villages, but the nobility and gentry in the chief towns and cities, were infected therewith, and therefore Lanfrane, Archbishop of Canterbury, who held this See both in the reign of William the Conqueror and of his son, William Rufus, wrote against them in 1087." Dr. Wall tells us that about this time (1100) the Petro-Brussians withdrew from the Church of Rome, then very corrupt. "They did reckon infant baptism as one of the corruptions of that Church, and accordingly renounced it, and practiced only adult baptism." Other writers say that several Waldenses, who came out of France, were apprehended, and, by the king's command, were marked in the forehead with a koy or hot iron. "This sect were called the Publicani, whose origin was from Gascoigne, and who, being as numerous as the sands of the sea, did sorely infest both France, Italy, Spain, and *England*."

Perrin, in his " Ilistoire des Vaudois," gives the confession of the Vaudois. Its seventh article is as follows:

" We believe that in the ordinance of baptism the water is the visible and external sign which represents to us that which, by virtue of God's invisible operations, is within us-namely, the renovation of our minds and the mortification of our members through (the faith of) Jesus Christ. And by this ordinance we are received into the holy congregation of God's people, previously professing and declaring our faith and change of life."

From these extracts and other writings it is quite clear that there were in England and in Cheshire those who were Baptists, although not known by that name, from the planting of Christianity about A.D. 100 to A.D. 1200. In the Dark Ages, it was the common practice of the ruling religion to destroy all writings and relics that would point to the existence of such persons as were by them styled heretics. Books and writings were cast into the flames in which the martyrs themselves were burnt to death. Thus, it is that, as a denomination, the Baptists have very few ancient documents to which they can refer to show their existence at certain times and places. Yet, the strong hatred of which they were the objects caused their persecutors to write things that clearly prove their existence in large numbers at different times.

We cannot go hack to the foundation of the Hill Cliffe Church, but at the time the earliest reference is made to it, it is then in a flourishing condition, and the very reference itself points to its earlier existence.

The selection of Hill Cliffe as a place of meeting for Christian worshippers can only be accounted for on the ground that the great object in view was concealment from their persecutors. It would be impossible to have chosen a better place for the purpose. Surrounded as it was until recently hid by woods, at a safe distance also from the public highway, and very the boundary of the counties of Lancaster and Chester, it was as safe a place as could possibly have been found in those dark days of persecution. Whenever the persecuting spirit was strong in Lancashire, then the people would worship at Hill Cliffe, but when the persecuting spirit in Cheshire was the stronger, the people worshipped in Warrington, there being at the earliest time of which there remain any records of the existence of 'Hill Cliffe Chapel, a meeting-house in connection therewith at Warrington. Also, as an Lancashire writ could not be served in Cheshire, nor a Cheshire writ in Lancashire, the Cheshire Baptists often worshipped at Warrington, and the Lancashire Baptists at Hill Cliffe.

The old meeting-house in Warrington was situated in what was formerly the Roe Rick Yard, Bridge Street. In Baines' " History of Warrington," after a description of the Parish Church and Trinity Church in Warrington, and St. James' Church, Labehford, is given a list of places of worship appropriated to the use of other religious communities, among which appears "The Baptist Meeting-room in Bridge Street, which is an elder branch of the early Meeting House at Hill Cliffe." The earliest evidence of the existence of Hill Cliffe is found on a stone in the burial ground and bearing date 1357. Another stone has been found with the date 1414. Another has the date 1523, *another* 1599, *but* the dates of the greater portion of the old stones are lost.

Over the grave of a young man accidentally killed

*Just as he bloomed, he drooped and fell,
He had not time to bid his friends farewell,
Reader, prepare, make no delay,
God only knows thy dying day.*

It has often been said among the Hill Cliffe people that during the persecutions in the reign of Mary (the bloody queen) the members at Hill Cliffe suffered with their fellow Christians in other parts of the kingdom. Although there is no direct evidence of this, yet it may be mentioned that a hole (about four yards long, three yards wide and two yards deep) was dug in the sandstone rock on which the buildings stand into which the persecuted ones fled for safety from their persecutors. This hole is now the cellar of the Chapel-house, and some of its walls consist only of sandstone rock; the brickwork of the house and chapel commencing on the rook at the top of the cellar. Also in the reign of the above-named queen, on June 27th, 1558, a Baptist of the name of Roger Holland, of a good

county family, suffered martyrdom because of his religion. Roger Holland was of the family of Sir Robert Holland, who, in the reign of Henry I., appears to have been a very prominent subject. It has been said that some of his descendants were the most powerful of subjects but the most unfortunate of individuals. Two of these Hollands were created earls, but were both killed by the populace. A third of the family was mysteriously destroyed in an unknown manner, his body being found floating in the Straits of Dover. His family gave the name of Up-Holland to a district near Wigan, and branches of the family were settled at Litherland, Dalton, Eccleston, Denton, & Co as well as at Upholland and several places in North Cheshire, and were allied by marriage with many of the principal county families. All these places of residence are within twelve or fourteen miles of Warrington, and lie around Warrington and Hill Cliffe as a common center. Roger Holland's death, instead of destroying the faith of the Baptists only made it the stronger, and his many relatives and friends in both Lancashire and Cheshire would be the more determined to uphold the principles for which he died. A striking coincidence is to be found in the fact that two of the signatories to the letter of 1654 from Hill Cliffe are of the same name, Holland. This points to, at any rate, a probability of his having been a Hill Cliffe Baptist, perhaps minister there. It is well known that the county family of the Hollands were strong supporters of Free Church bodies in Cheshire for a very long time.

During the rebuilding of the chapel in 1800 a stone baptistery, well cemented, was found in the ground. As no one at the time knew of its existence and it was evidently of a great age, it is likely that as the more troublous times had passed, it fell into disuse, and the baptism of believers in the brooks and streams in the neighborhood took place. (From the ministry of the Rev. John Thompson up to recent times, the chief places of baptisms were at Lower Walton, near the brook that ran through the center of the village and in Cann Lane, Appleton.) This stone baptistery points to a great change for the chapel and the practice of immersion there.

The first minister of Hill Cliffe of whom anything is known was Mr. Weyerburton, a person of property and a devoted man. He belonged to the Cheshire family of the Warburtons of Arley, and lived at Broomfields, now a farmhouse near Stockton Quay. That he was the recognized minister at Hill Cliffe was discovered in examining the deeds of the Warburton estates some years ago. He remained with the people to the end of his days, his death taking place in 1591. It is very probable that further information respecting this minister will some day be forthcoming which will throw considerable light on the early history both of Hill Cliffe and its earlier ministers.

Mr. Daintith succeeded Mr. Weyerburton, but very little beyond the fact of his being the minister is known of him. In the deeds of 1660 and 1663, the name of Peter Daintith appears a principal. It is probable that he would be a son or relative of the minister of that name.

The north-western portion of Appleton, including the two-peaked hill, was formerly called Hull or Hill, but is now included with the other portion of the township under one name, Appleton-with-Hull. In this portion (Hull) is to be found a farm which to the present day is known as *Daintith* Farm. A short distance south of the farmhouse is an old house called "Denow" which has in one of the window places an inscription "wDe, 1661." These are said to be the initials of William Daintith and his wife. The name of William Daintith appears in the list of Charterers in Appleton in 1666 in Sir Peter Leicester's history. There is a strong probability that these Daintiths were of the same family as the minister of that name.

The next minister, Thomas Slater Layland, was buried in the graveyard in 1602, and is styled on the stone "a minister of the gospel." In 1642 Mr. Tillam was the minister, and in 1650 he removed to Hexham, in Northumberland, but a year or two later he returned to Hill Cliffe for a short time. There are several published accounts having reference to Hill Cliffe, which will be here introduced. In an account of Cromwell's visit to Lancashire, by Dr. Kendrick, the following information appears:—Tradition further asserts—and with much probability, when the habits of the great soldier are considered—that Cromwell (not then yet Lord Protector) during his brief stay in the town attended worship in the ancient Baptist chapel at Hill Cliffe, a mile and a half distant from Warrington; and it is further said that one of his soldiers—a common occurrence during the Civil War occupied the pulpit on the occasion. No doubt the stern soldier-preacher would regale the General and his hearers with an address, under various heads, in the orthodox "I smite-them-hip-and-thigh style," and bristling with wrested texts supposed to be appropriate to the occasion. Another tradition current among the congregation who still worship at Hill Cliffe Chapel is to the effect that during the Civil War troubles, a man and his wife, members of the congregation suffered martyrdom presumably for their religious tenets by order of a person of high authority in Warrington." Lord Derby is evidently the person indicated. Dr. Kendrick was not successful in finding any written record of the occurrence when collecting materials for the compilation of his paper above referred to; yet the tradition, he observes, is singularly in accord with a passage in 'Lancashire's Valley of Achor,' printed in the same year (1643), in which it is stated that the Royalists at Warrington killed a godly man and his wife in their own house."

The next time Lord Derby passed through Warrington was after the "crowning mercy of Worcester" as a prisoner, on his way to Bolton, where he was executed.

The minister's walking-stick and pulpit Bible of this time are still in existence. The Bible was printed in 1638, and was used a few years later as the pulpit Bible.

Some records published in a history of the Northern Baptists, by David Douglas, have reference to Hill Cliffe Baptist Chapel and its position at this time. At page 7, writing of Hexham, the place to which Mr. Tillam, the minister of Hill Cliffe, had a short time previously removed, the author says :-" Hexham is also distinguished for the antiquity and beauty of its cathedral or abbey. This was erected in 673 by St. Wilfrid, Bishop of York. Two other churches, St. Mary's and St. Peter's, were erected by him about the same time. St. Mary's was the parish church, and its remains are nearly completely obliterated; St. Peter's completely so. In 1130 the cure of the parish returned to the abbey. The living is a perpetual curacy. A lectureship was established in the church by the Mercers' Company of London, pursuant to the will and bequest of Mr. Richard Fishbourne, dated March 30th, 1625."

We have given these minute particulars of this interesting town owing to the circumstance that the first Baptist minister in it held a lectureship belonging to the abbey, the duties of which he performed, and the salary of which he received. The messuage and orchard purchased by Mr. Fishbourne's legacies would likewise be possessed by him. The name of this individual was Mr. Thomas Tillam, "a messenger," as he styles himself, "of one of the seven churches in London." He appears to have been originally a Catholic, and had traveled on the Continent, but afterwards seems to have been converted to the Protestant faith, and to have united himself with the Baptists. He was selected by the church to which he belonged to be a minister of the gospel, as he gives himself the designation of minister. The nature of his work may be known from what is said of another individual who lived in the same period in Ireland namely, Mr. Thomas Patient. Of him it is affirmed that he had, by the Baptist Church in Dublin, "been appointed an evangelist to preach up and down in the country." Such appears to have been the work of Mr. Tillam. We are not informed to what church Mr. Tillam originally belonged, or by what church he was first appointed to ministerial labor; but when he came to Hexham he was married, and Mrs. Tillam is said to have been a member of the Church in Cheshire, probably Hill Cliffe, as afterwards noticed; and we find also that Mr. Tillam, soon after he came to Hexham, went to Cheshire to itinerate for a short time. From these considerations it seems probable that Mrs. Tillam was a native of Cheshire, and that he himself had, before his coming to Hexham, been a resident in that county, and had preached the gospel there.

It was the church in Coleman Street, London, then under the care of Messrs. Hansard Knollys, John Perry, and William Howard, that sent Mr. Tillam as their messenger to Hexham.

1653. In the beginning of March, the church at Hexham wrote to the church in London soliciting them to allow Mr. Tillam, to whom they refer in the most affectionate terms, to become their pastor. They say "Although as a general officer he hath labored amongst us, yet our hearts' desires are for a nearer interest in him, if by the will of God, this grace may be ministered unto us by you." Every church, it would appear, at that period, seems to have claimed a special right in its members and the ministers it ordained, so that none of these, without their sanction, could unite with any other church, either as members, ministers, or pastors. When a pastor then was wanted by any church, application was made) not to the minister himself, but to the church with whom he was connected, and if he did anything without their concurrence, he was either suspended or dismissed. Circumstances, however, so transpired that Mr. Tillam never became pastor. (Thus, so early as the 1st of March, 1653, did the feuds begin between Mr. Goare and Mr. Tillam, and went on increasing till 1655, when Mr. Tillam appears to have withdrawn from the church.) The good cause, however, still continued to advance in this place. On the 19th March three females were baptized. One Charles Bond, a member of Dr. Chamberlain's church, London, was admitted to communion on the 3rd April, and on the same day a member named John Hudspeth was excluded, and Mr. Tillam also, at this time, was solemnly commended to the grace of God (like Paul when he left Antioch) in proceeding to Cheshire on a missionary or evangelistic tour. It is called "The work in Cheshire," and it is said, "The church sent their deacon with their minister (like John surnamed Mark, with Paul) in much love, by which many were added to the church in Cheshire." When this church was formed in this county we are not told; but from its being *the* church in Cheshire, we may conclude that it was the only church in the whole county at that time.

1653.
On the return of Mr. Tillam and the deacon from their mission, it is said that "it caused great joy to the church at Hexham."

(The following is a footnote in the text, REP:

This was probably the ancient church at Hill Cliffe, in this county, near to Warrington, and was likely, from this sometimes called the Church of Warrington. Of this church Hr. How was pastor in 1689. Sec Chap. iv.

Mr. Tillam was an author, one of his books being entitled "The Temple of Lively Stones; or, the prophetic glory of the last days appearing in the perfect pattern of the House in the top of the mountains, established upon the never-failing foundation of Apostles and Prophets, by Christ, the Chief Corner Stone. Yes, we have this old work here in our holdings, REP)

Page 57. 1651. Some time between the 6th and 28th of May, Mr. Tillam appears to have gone to London and visited other churches. Whilst in London, Mr. Tillam wrote a letter to the church at Hexham, an extract from which Mr. Douglas gives ; then proceeds: ' There is no date to this letter, but it is probable that it was sent to Hexham along with another that at this time is dated Warrington, 4m. (June), 26th day, 1654. Mr. Tillam, in the above letter, mentions his having received a letter from the church at Coleman Street to the church in Cheshire. It seems, as already intimated) that this was the ancient church at Hill Cliffe, near Warrington. It is probable that some of the members lived at Warrington, and the church at Hill Cliffe had meetings there. It is known that they were a zealous people, as they afterwards laid the foundation of a church in Liverpool. No other church is ever referred to in Cheshire but one, and as Hill Cliffe is very ancient, it seems most likely to have been it; and from the interest Mr. Tillam seems always to have taken in it, and the affectionate manner in which they refer to him in their letter) and the relationship they say they have to him in common with the church at Hexham, all seem to render it highly probable that it was the church of which Mrs. Tillam was a member, and which Mr. Tillam had visited on a former occasion mentioned in our narrative.

OLD LETTER

"As this is perhaps the only ancient document of this church in existence, we give it entire:

"Dearly Beloved in ye Lord our hope and joy. The choicest graces and spiritual blessings be multiplied and continually flowing into your souls from yt Eternal Fountain where refreshing streams of Divine consolations have (through grace) been conveying unto us by His eminent (by us intirely affected) servant of Jes. Christ. [Note.-Supposed to be Mr. Tillam], who we trust will be instrumental in ye hand of our God, whom we serve, to carry on both you and us in this our pilgrimage in a progress of grace, so as one day He may present us with exceeding joy, one pure and spotless virgin before our Redeemer, when he of whom ye Lord bath made such a blessed use, shall shine as stare in glory.

"Precious brethren! that we faint not in this our journey, how necessary ist yt our joint interest be mutually improved at the Throne of Grace, in each other's behalf, that in these dangerous declining times, when 'tis evident, our grand adversary, perceiving his tottering kingdom near a fall, is employing his utmost force and deepest subtiltye to delude and draw poor souls from their profession.

"We desire to magnify the name of or God for that refreshment to or spirits received by yr sweet epistle, wherein doth appear ye steadfastness of yr faith in Jes. Chr., manger all ye malice manifested by ye endeavors of ye enemy and his instruments, some of whom have been busily employed in these parts to the saddening of many, yet through mercy we stand to ye praise of ye glory of yt grace, which we acknowledge our support.

"We bless God for ye continual enlargement of yr hearts to ye liberty of or dearly beloved brother's stay with us, though God is pleased to order it now but short.

"Brethren, we beseech you, pray for us yt ye know- ledge of Jesus Christ may increase among us, yt we may come to a more clear approbation of ye great mystery God in Christ and Christ in us, united and made one with Him by ye eternal spirit. Then shall we perfectly see ye tabernacle of God dwelling with men, and have occasion (from such blessed communion) to rejoice with joy unspeakable and full of glory when all doubts and distractions will be passed away; nee night or cloud to interpose between or souls and ye love of or precious Redeemer. Ah! this would he a precious pledge or earnest of yt glorious condition into which we shortly shall be translated when we have a full enjoyment of Him whom now our souls are thirsting after, in unconceivable and eternal joy.

Peace be to all, with love and faith from God or Father and Lord Jes. Chr. in whom wee are entirely yr affectionate brethren.

**WILL BOOTH.
PETER EATON.
JOHN TOMLESON.
ROBERT MILLINGTON.
JOHN SPROSON.**

**THOS. FOLLINGS.
THO. HOLLAND.
CHAS. HOLLAND.
Ric. AMERY.**
Warrington, 4m., 26 day, 1654."

Here are some important points in conclusion:

1. The ancient origin and succession the Baptists in general and the old Hill Cliffe church in particular;
2. The close connection between the old church and the Coleman Street Church in London which Hansard Knollys pastored. Mr. Knollys will witness for us alter about the orderly and historic origin of the London Particular Baptists. He was one with William Kiffen who was one with John Spilsbury.
3. The manner in which Mr. Thomas Tillam came among the old Baptists at Hill Cliffe. By noting this you will understand that The Coleman St. Church sent Mr. Tillam to the Hill Cliffe area as a church messenger. You will see that the Hill Cliffe church requested the Mr. Tillam's release from that church so he could become the minister at Hill Cliff;
4. You were introduced to Dr. Peter Chamberlain. He pastored an ancient Particular Baptist Church. Dr. Chamberlain's church stood for the laying on hands after baptism and before church communion;
5. Dr. Chamberlain and William Kiffen debated on the matter of laying on hands in 1646. Dr. Chamberlain suggested to William Kiffen that Kiffen should study more about eternal union. Dr. Chamberlain was a very high grace Particular Baptist. His church was never in the London Association of Particular Baptist Churches, but still was one with them except for the matter of laying on of hands.
6. This is an another example of an ancient Particular Baptist Church in the London area that we know very little about. In their first volume of historical studies, the Baptist Union of Great Britain and Ireland have a large and interesting study about Dr. Chamberlain, but there is not much about his church or its origin.
7. Note as well the mention of Thomas Patient in Ireland and his gospel outreach work.

In conclusion to Thomas Tillam, note Earnest Payne's remarks:

Thomas Tillam

EARLY issues of the *Transactions of the Baptist Historical Society* contain a number of references to Thomas Tillam, whom the late Dr. Whitley once summarily and somewhat cryptically described as "lecturer at Hexham, commissioned by Knollys church but disowned, organizer of Muggleswick, Seventh Day, emigration agent." The references in the *Transactions* are not all consistent with one another and they contain one or two obvious inaccuracies. Tillam has passing mention in the histories of both Whitley and Underwood.

Whitley more than once committed himself to the suggestion that Tillam was of Jewish origin. There seems little evidence to support this view except his later Sabbatarian and other vagaries. That *he* was a Roman Catholic in his youth he appears to have asserted in 1653 when hoaxed by a young Scotsman. Probably he first visited the continent in his early years.

At the beginning of the sixteen-fifties, Tillam came into association with the Baptist church in Coleman Street, London, of which Hansard Knollys was pastor. He was clearly already an able and energetic personality. An exposition of *Revelation XI*, entitled *The Two Witnesses*, came from his pen in 1651 and the Coleman Street church felt ready to authorize him to preach and baptize. In the fashion of the time, he was designated a "messenger." Presumably because of the status thus achieved and partly, it appears, through (the influence of Colonel Robert Lilburne, Tillam was able to secure appointment under the Commissioners set lip by the Long Parliament to inquire into the state of religion in the four northern counties, and was given the "lectureship"—that is, the post of occasional preacher—established at Hexham Abbey some twenty years earlier by Puritans connected with the Mercers' Company.

Tillam threw himself into his new task and speedily convinced a number of persons of the truth of

Believers' Baptism. A Baptist church was formed, which met at First in the Abbey precincts. One of those received into membership was Tillam's wife, Jane, who was connected with a Baptist church in Cheshire, perhaps Hill Cliffe. It seems possible that Tillam himself originally came from those parts or had early connection with them. Indeed, J. J. Goadby in *Bye-Paths of Baptist History*, says that Tillam was pastor at Hill Cliffe at the time of the outbreak of the Civil War. The Hexham church showed itself very active in propaganda and evangelism, achieving notable success in the village of Muggleswick and at Stokesley, in Yorkshire. The members also looked northwards and had a share in the formation of a Baptist church in Leith.

These beginnings were propitious and Tillam was held in high regard. Troubles came in 1653, however. A Roman Catholic, of Scottish parentage, came to the neighborhood by sea, masquerading as a Jew. Paul Hobson introduced him to Tillam—then army officer and Baptist leader in Newcastle—professed conversion and was baptized. However, the stranger's real identity was discovered, apparently by Samuel Hammond, a Congregationalist, who, like Tillam, held an appointment under the Parliamentary Commissioners. Tillam was reluctantly convinced of the fraud and then showed himself displeased with the account of the matter published by Hammond and others. Tillam's own narrative appeared under the title *Banners of Love displayed over the Church*. There were already difficulties between the Newcastle Baptists and the Hexham Baptists. To judge by the surviving correspondence, they concerned matters connected with both the " blessing of children " (with the laying-on of hands) and congregational singing in worship, but soon became more personal in character, Thomas Cower (or Goare), who had signed the London Baptist Confession of Faith in 1644 with Paul Hobson, was now with Hobson in Newcastle. He took strong objection to some of Tillam's views and actions.

The Hexham church was in correspondence with the Coleman Street church regarding the formal recognition of Tillam as pastor. The original commendations of Tillam by the London friends had been in very eulogistic terms, though they admitted that their acquaintance with him had been brief. Now they felt that Gower's criticisms should be disposed of, but that in any case it was for the Hexham church to take its own decision about the pastorate. George Fox was travelling in the north at the time and had " a great meeting a-top of a hill " near Hexham. His preaching proved a further embarrassing influence on the local Baptists.

These various complications and troubles caused Tillam to visit London in 1653 or 1654. He was already an advocate of the "laying-on of hands " in accordance with *Hebrews* VI. 2. Indeed, this rite had followed the first baptism he had administered in Hexham. For some years, a number of Baptists had been observing what they called " the fourth principle." Tillam made his position clear to the Coleman Street church and then set out to make contact with other groups who shared his views. Therefore, it was he came to know Dr. Peter Chamberlin, one of the most remarkable Baptists of his day.

" I was by a blessed hand," wrote Tillam, " guided to my most heavenly Doctor Chamberlin, one of the most humble, mortified souls, for a man of parts, that ever I yet met with, in whose sweet society I enjoyed the blessing of my God, by (lie laying on of their hands, and after a love feast, having washed one another's feet, we did joyfully break bread and concluded with a hymn: in all of which the singular majesty of Christ shined forth to the mighty conviction of some choice spectators."

The exact date of this letter is not known. At about the time it was written, Thomas Gower convinced the Coleman Street church that they should disown Tillam " and all that are in the practice of laying-on of hands." The church at Hexham then became divided on the issues that had been raised and Tillam's ministry there came to an end.

This final separation occurred, one supposes, in the spring of 1655. In February of that year, Tillam had) on behalf of the Hex-ham church, signed *The Representation and Petition of Christ's Servants, and your Highness's Loyal Subjects, walking in the profession of faith and baptism in Northumberland, Yorkshire and Derbyshire*, an address to Cromwell found among the papers of John Milton. Paul Hobson, it should be noted) was among those who opposed loyal addresses of this kind, being already among the critics of the Lord Protector.

Dr. Thirtle asserts that Peter Chamberlin became a Seventh-Day (or Sabbatarian) Baptist in 1651, so we may assume that it was his influence that caused Tillam to adopt similar views. Within a year or so, both men were vigorously advocating the keeping of Saturday as the Christian Sabbath. Tillam's next pamphlet dealt not with this issue, however, but with the laying-on of hands and was part of his continuing controversy with Paul Hobson. He had meanwhile made his way to Colchester. There were considerable numbers of Dutch colonists in the town, some of them of Anabaptist sympathies. Tillam is said so to have impressed the Mayor of Colchester that he was allowed the use of the parish church.

Within a short time, he had baptized over a hundred persons. It is possible that while in Colchester he came to know the Rev. Theophilus Brabourne, a Norfolk clergyman who had earlier adopted Seventh-Day views. In July 1655, Tillam staged a public debate "in the French school." The following year he began holding services in the parish church on Saturdays, but closed it on Sundays and urged people to carry on with their usual business. This brought him into conflict with the authorities and he was put in prison.

Like many oilier seventeenth-century prisoners, Tillam occupied himself in writing, sending forth from Colchester gaol his next and best-known work. *The Seventh-Day Sabbath sought out and celebrated: or The Saints' last Design upon the man of sin, with the advance of God's first institution and its primitive perfection*. This appeared in 1657 and was in form a reply to a pamphlet by William Aspinwall, a leading Fifth Monarchist. In 1659, it attracted the attention of Edmund Warren, the minister of the Congregational church in Colchester, and of George Fox. Twenty years later, Thomas Grantham alluded to Tillam's book in his *Christianismui Primitivus*, describing the author as an "apostate." There were, however, still sufficient Sabbatarian Baptists to secure its posthumous reprinting in 1683.

Tillam's pages are excited and confused. He refers incidentally to "a pretended conference at Peter's, Colchester," and quotes Thomas Shepherd's *Theses Sabbaticae* (1649) and John Rogers, of Dedham, as well as Aspinwall. In the dedication he mentions "the many brotherly favors and constant encouragements of that worthy instrument who first invited me to serve you"—presumably a reference to the Mayor. Tillam was already stirred by apocalyptic hopes. "The signs of his second coming who is the Lord of the Sabbath are so fairly visible that, although the day and hour be not known, yet doubtless this generation shall not pass, till new Jerusalem's glory shall crown obedient Saints with everlasting Rest" (pp. 1-2). However, among the most interesting things to be found in the book are two hymns and a metrical version of Psalm 92. Benjamin Keach has come to be regarded as the pioneer of congregational hymn singing in England, but it now appears that he had a number of predecessors. Keach's *Spiritual Melody*, a collection of three hundred hymns, did not appear until 1691, though many of his verses had been printed in the previous twenty years. In 1663, Katherine Sutton had published in Rotterdam a volume of religious verses, to which Hanserd Knollys, who was then on the continent, provided an introduction. If used at all in public worship, it would seem likely that Katherine Sutton sang these as solos. Tillam's productions claim notice because they appear to have been intended for general use, and because they date from 1657.

The first—consisting of six stanzas of four lines each—is headed

"An Hymn celebrating the Lord's Sabbath) with joyful Communion in the Lord's Supper by 200 Disciples at Colchester, in profession of all the Law's Precepts, *Exodus* 20, and Gospel's Principles). *Heb.* 6." The second—consisting of seven four-line stanzas—is, "An Hymn in honor of the outpouring of the Spirit on the day of Pentecost, *Acts* 2." The third is described as "That Psalm especially designed for the Sabbath." There are nine four-line stanzas and they are not unworthy of comparison with the versions of Sternhold and Hopkins and Tate and Brady. They are at least as good as most of Kencl's verses. Six of the stanzas may here be quoted as a sample of Tillam's skill:

"To praise the Lord most thankfully, it is an excellent thing, And to thy Name, thou most High sweet Psalms of praise to sing.

To spread thy loving-kindness Lord,
When Morning's glory springs, And all thy faithfulness record, Each
Night with heavenly strings:
For thou hast made me to rejoice in work so wrought by thee, And I
triumph in heart and voice thy handy works to see . . .
Those that within the house of God, are planted by his grace, In our God's
Courts shall spread abroad, and flourish in their place.
And in their age much fruit shall bring delightful to be seen, And
pleasantly both bud and spring with boughs and branches green,
The Lord's uprightness to express who is a rock to me, And there is
no unrighteousness in him, nor none can be.

Tillam's Colchester imprisonment cannot have been very lengthy, for in 1658 he was in London again and shared with Dr. Chamberlin and Matthew Coppinger in a lengthy debate on the Sabbath question with Jeremiah Ives, one of the leaders of the General Baptists, and an inveterate controversialist. We have Ives's account of this disputation, which lasted for three days' and took place in the Stone Chapel, which was a part of old St. Paul's.

By then, Tillam's lively mind had become dominated by millenarian hopes. Exactly what part he played in the excitement and confusion that followed the death of Oliver Cromwell we do not know. It is unlikely he remained inactive in those months of petitions and counter-petitions, plots and intrigues. When, in 1660, Charles II returned to England and replaced Richard Cromwell, Tillam, like a number of

other Baptists, found himself in prison. Again, he took up his pen. Describing himself as " a prisoner of hope," he produced *The Temple of Lively Stones, or The Promised Glory of the Last Days*, a work of 400 pages. It contains a greeting by Christopher Pooley, an East Anglia Fifth Monarchist and Sabbatarian, who had already become one of Tillam's closest associates and who was to join him in his activities during the next few years.

Again, Tillam cannot have been very long in prison, for in July, 1661, he was at Lowestoft with Pooley, busy with a scheme to transport his Seventh Day friends and their families to the Palatinate. What turned his eyes in this direction? Perhaps he had had earlier connections with the continent. Certainly, he must have known something of the Anabaptist and Mennonite communities in the area of the *Lower Rhine*. It may even be that through one or other of his acquaintances he had heard of Peter Cornelius Plockhoy van Ziericksee, whom Troeltsch describes as belonging to " the moderate Baptist movement" and who, while in England in 1657 and 1653, talked of the Anabaptist settlements in Moravia, Transylvania and the Palatinate, using them as an example of the kind of settlement he thought might be usefully established in this country. In any case, the contacts between England and the Low-Countries were far closer than Baptist historians have sometimes realized, while the dangers likely to be experienced by radicals who remained in England were considerable. In November, 1661, John James, one of the London Baptist ministers, was executed at Tyburn for Fifth Monarchy views judged to be seditious. Tillam is said to have become convinced that the personal return of Christ was imminent and that it would take place somewhere in Germany.

Tillam and Pooley became agents for an emigration campaign that may have resulted in as many as two hundred families crossing the North Sea. Much of their time must have been spent in dodging the authorities. There was considerable unrest in the country and a number of small, abortive risings took place, including an outbreak at Farnley Wood, in Yorkshire, in which Paul Hobson was implicated, and another at Muggleswick Park, in which some of Tillam's former friends were involved. These two outbreaks occurred in 1663. In 1664, Tillam was in Rotterdam and his behavior was adversely commented on. Two years later he was in Ireland and apparently associated with the notorious adventurer, Colonel Blood. By 1667 Edward Stennett and some of the quieter and more restrained Seventh Day Baptists felt it necessary to disown Tillam in a pamphlet entitled *A Faithful Testimony against the Teachers of Circumcision and the Legal Ceremonies, who are lately gone into Germany*. However, it is known that the following year another batch of recruits left Harwich to join Tillam. These folk came from both East Anglia and the North.

What happened to them? In the sixteen-sixties, a considerable number of Swiss Anabaptists made their way into the Palatinate. There for a generation they had a limited, if uncertain, toleration. In 1689, the French armies ravaged the country. Early the following century a movement of refugees across the Atlantic began and Mennonite settlements were established in America. Some day, perhaps, a continental scholar will be able to unearth details of what befell the (English) families who went to the Palatinate. Tillam himself died about 1676, an intriguing and quixotic figure. His zeal was by no means wise, but he had laid the foundations of Baptist witness in the North and his liveliness, versatility and courage make us wish we knew more about him. ERNEST A. PAYNE

Now let us briefly turn toward another church.

The Particular Baptist Church at Hexham

The Particular Baptist Church in London meeting in Coleman Street walking with Mr. Hansard Knollys sent Mr. Thomas Tillam to Hexham to gather a church in gospel order. This he did. We shall give an account of this in a few moments. First, I want to lay a foundation:

1. In 1645 Mr. Knollys baptized and ordained Mr. Henry Jessey. Jessey maintained his pastorate at the Pedobaptist church. In fact, in this church there existed two groups, a Baptist Church and a Pedobaptist church. Mr. Richard Adams pastored the Baptist group. When Jessey died, this group went over to Mr. Kiffen's church and joined there. Mr. Adams became Kiffen's assistant minister. For a while the old Hexham church letters from two Particular Baptists on Coleman Street, one from the Knollys' church and the other from the Jessey' church. When the strict Baptists left the Hexham church, then the strict Baptists disowned them, and the open and mixed communion people around Jessey and Tombs only recognized them as a church. This shall all be given later when I present the series of letters covering this. These letters are the original letters that passed back and forth between these old churches.
2. In the 1640s, unbelievable revivals broke out all over the land where these old Particular Baptist ministers went.
3. Multitudes were converted and baptized, church were constituted;
4. Great excitement followed hard upon these revivals and the new churches, with newly baptized ministers, gathered in many different types of people;
5. During the late 1640s and early 1650s two elements began to form, there started up the idea that the newly baptized should have the laying on of hands to give them the Holy Spirit; and also some went the other way and felt it was alright to take in many before and without baptism, while they were seeking for further light;
6. These two concepts produced devastating effects on many of the Particular Baptists in the late 1640s and early 1650s;
7. The church at Hexham was no exemption. It being a new church, and made up of many new Baptists, it was natural that it should be carried about with terrible winds of heresy;
8. It went into a mixed communion mode, and ceased much fellowship with Hansard Knollys and took up fellowship with Mr. Henry Jessey;
9. Mr. Henry Jessey was the father of mixed membership and open communion among the Baptists in the 1640s;
10. God raised up a very strong voice against this practice at Hexham and elsewhere, Mr. Thomas Goare;
11. Mr. Goare was one of the original signers of the First London Confession, editions of 1644 and 1646. He moved out into the country and gathered a church at Newcastle.
12. That is not all, Mr. Goare came from that old Church that he, Paul Hobson and Mr. Green formed in 1638;
13. They were first with Mr. Spilsbury and his Waping church;
14. Mr. Goare stands as another link in the oneness between Spilsbury and the others on the side of closed communion and closed church membership.
15. In due time this will be explained more fully.

Now, here is an account of the origin of the church at Hexham.

The Hexham Church

In dealing with this old church, there are certain epics to be noted:

1. Thomas Tillam began the church as a messenger from Hansard Knolly's church in London;
2. Soon thereafter, a member of Dr. Chamberlain's church came among them. This began the controversy of the laying on of hands;
3. Thomas Goare, one of Spilsbury's early ministers, now in Newcastle with Paul Hobson, opposed Tillam and was so successful in his opposition that Knolly's Church excluded Tillam over the laying on of hands upon baptized believers;
4. In due time the Hexham church split over this issue;
5. In addition to this split, the Hexham church became also an mixed membership church, and started receiving letters from and fellowshiped with Henry Jessey's mixed membership church meeting in Coleman St. in London; soon they were recognized by John Tombs and those who fellowshiped with him in mixed membership churches.
6. An added highlight is that of Edward Hickhorngill. The original Hexham Church sent him as a messenger into Scotland to help in the Lord's work there.

These points are all very important and show again the oneness of John Spilsbury, William Kiffen, Paul Hobson, Thomas Goare and Hansard Knollys.

This information is from **The Records of the Churches of Christ, gathered at Fenstaton, Warboys, and Hexham, 1644-1720**; edited for The Hansard Knollys Society, by Edward Bean Underhill; London, 1854.

THE RECORDS, ETC

IN the name of the Lord Christ, I (Thomas Tillam-REP) came to Hexham the 27th day of the 10th month, 1651, and so wonderfully hath God appeared in this dark corner, that upon the 21st day of the 5th month, 1652 (that is, the 7th month following), after serious consideration and some gospel preparation, a living temple began of these living stones:-

THE CHURCH OF CHRIST IN HEXHAM

Thomas Tillam, minister, and a messenger of one of the seven churches in London, did administer the holy ordinance of baptism, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, (under the] 4th principle'). (Here is a listing of several names, under the fourth principal means laying on hands following baptism and before the Lord's Supper. REP)

These, solemnly giving up themselves to the Lord and one to another, to walk In communion together with submission to all the ordinances of the gospel, I, Tho. Tillam, espoused to one husband; hoping that I shall present them a chaste virgin to Christ, with all that in sincerity of heart, have (through the mighty power of God), or shall be, joined to them.

At my desire and testimonial of my wife, as a member of the church of Christ in Cheshire, they gave her the right hand of fellowship.

The 25th day of the 5th month, 1662, the church joyfully celebrated the Lord's supper:

John Thirlwall being desired (for proof) to supply the place of deacon. And the church began a stock, putting it into his hand. Persons since baptized and added to the church,

The 23rd day of the seventh month] the church celebrated a day of praise, and had a love-feast, and after it the holy ordinance of our Lord's supper; to which we admitted Richard Denton Trumpet, a member of one of the London churches.

Brother Holmes minister of By well [Northumberland], a member of a church in London, was admitted to 'our communion, 8th month. 17th day.

The 20th day of the 10th month, the church, with prayer, fasting, and imposition of the hands of the minister, ordained brother Hickhornhill a minister, and their messenger into Scotland; and brother John Thirlwall, deacon.

Charles Bond, a member with Dr. Chamberlain,' was admitted to communion, 2nd mo., 3rd day. And the same day, John Hudspeth, who before was suspended and again embraced, was now excommunicated.

The same day the church solemnly commended their minister to the grace of God for the work in Cheshire, and sent their deacon with him, in much love. By which means many were added to the church in Cheshire, which, upon our return, caused great joy to the church of Hexham; whereunto, by the Lord's presence with the labors of Tho. Tillam and S. Anderton, preaching in several parts of the country, many precious souls fly as a cloud, and as doves to their windows.

The 4th month, 4th day, a child of the devil came from Rome to ruin this church, and with great subtlety made a most glorious confession of Christ, pretending that he had been a Jew, and that his name was Joseph Ben Israd. After his declaration in the parish house, he was baptized. But the Holy One of Israel, our gracious Protector, brought the hellish impostor to light before he had any church communion. Ever blessed be his glorious name for this great deliverance.

[Mr. Douglas has given at some length an account of this singular imposture. The pretended Rabbi turned out to be the son of Dr A. Ramsey, a Scotch physician. This story is confirmatory of the wide spread impression existing during the Commonwealth, that papist spies were employed to add to the distractions of the times, by mixing with the various sects. Douglas, History of N. Churches, pp.24-29. Broadmead Records, pp. 42-46.]

The 5th month, 3rd day, we prepared for the great work at Stokesley,' seven members engaging in the journey, where Mr. William Kaye,⁷ the minister, and nineteen with him, were baptized by Tho. Tillam; a work of wonder, and calling for our high praises. In our journey, going and returning, eight persons were baptized, and are since added to the church of Hexham.

Three ministers engaging at Muggleswicke, their great design being to set up infant sprinkling, and the people in great expectation; the Lord so appeared on our side, that six persons, the same evening, desired the ordinance of baptism, and the next morning were baptized.

The 16th of the 6th month, Capt. Sympson and Capt. Mason, with br. Blenkinsop, came to visit us, by order,- from London and Newcastle churches. They hearing of our constitution

and condition, sweetly and lovinly owned us as their brethren; which was far from the rugged and unbrotherly carriage of Mr. Goare,' &c.

The beginning of the 10th month, 1653) a charge came from the church of Newcastle, to the brethren of Derwent-side, consisting of twelve articles against Mr. Tillam, wherein manifestly appeared a subtle design to break or divide the church of Hexham. To which the person concerned returned (55 was but needful) a speedy answer, which was approved; a Christian, sober, and faithful answer, and such as they did hope would amount to the satisfaction of those that follow after such things as make for peace amongst brethren. And as such it was subscribed by the whole church's full consent.

STEPHEN ANDERTON, JOHN THIRLWALL, JOHN READSRAW, Deacons and ect.

Notwithstanding, Mr. Goare, with much violence, labored with the church at London, from whom Mr. Tillam was a messenger; but God blasted all his endeavors, and wonderfully preserved the integrity of his despised servant, giving him still a large room in the hearts of his people of that society. Ever praised be His most glorious name.

Mr. Thomas Gower, or Gower, or Gover, was a member of the church at Newcastle, and a colleague of Mr. Paul Hobson, at this time one of it's ministers. This other church is the one at Coleman St. of Mr. Hansard Knollys was pastor.

Great storms and commotions, raised by Mr. Gower more than ever, so far prevailing with the church in Coleman Street, as to a disowning of Mr. Tillam, and all that are in the practice of laying on of hand.

Mr. Anderton first endeavored a schism about imposition of hands; but failing therein, he opened his mouth in blaspheming against Mr. Tillam's doctrine, and plunged himself into other gross evils. For which he was by the elders, with the joint approbation of the church, delivered unto Satan, with Thomas Ogle.

The 4th of the 9th month, 1655, the church withdrew from Jo. Warde and John Readshaw. Rom. 1. 31; 2 Tim. in~. 3.

The lath 18th of the 9th month, 1655.

Being at Richmond, Ann Blackburne and Ann Lambe were added to the church.

Brother Blenkinsopp and brother Angas having been at Dotland Park to invite us to a meeting with Derwent friends, we met them at Eadsbridge, the 26th of the 4th month, 1656; where we debated the cause of our division. And we did confess we had done better if we had laid Mr. Tillam aside, and not so suddenly bad communion with him, till & first we had used all means, and waited some time, to satisfy Coleman Street church by which we know) in the insufficiency of their grounds of dealing with Mr. Tillam. And also for the evil that br. Heslopp acquainted us with, we should not have communion with him, till God should give him repentance; laboring by all means for peace with truth, but could not have it, unless we could see ourselves to have & sinned in not hearkening unto the first testimony of Coleman Street church, concerning their withdrawing from Mr. Tillam, though contrary to our consciences and [to] appearances, and would own our friends' withdrawing (as they call it) from us to he according to rule. And so we parted) leaving them (as appeared to us) in the

same mind they were before they went to London. Though in private, elder Warde did seem to confess their withdrawing not right, as to manner, before brother Blenkinsopp.

The 11th of the 5th month went to Newcastle to the messengers. The 15th of the same, our Derwent friends and we met before them there. The 22nd [was] agreed upon for a conclusion between us and meeting at brother Joblin's, and each party declaring the sense of their miscarriage to the other, we were by the messengers declared to be one body in the Lord.

The same day, the messengers having the bearing of the difference betwixt Mr. Anderton and the church, they judged Mr. Anderton had no warrantable ground to withdraw from the church, and that his withdrawing was but a fruit of passion, and [a breach of] the rules by which he pretended to withdraw; but the grounds for which the church dealt with him [were] warrantable and . . . much whereof was confusedly by himself granted.

The 28th of the 9th month ('58), the church withdrew from Tho. Rewcastle, for marrying with an unbeliever. - 1 Cor. vii. 39, and ix. 5; 2 Cor. vi. 14, 15.

The 26th of the 10th month ('58), John Johnson did acknowledge his sin (from Rom. xiii. 13, 14), in going to one of the world's drinkings after a wedding, and so was received; and so did Jo. Orde for the same.

The 14th of the 2nd month, 1660, Stephen Anderton made a declaration to the church of his repentance; and was again received with great joy.

The 22nd of the same, Aylos Robson and Elizabeth Younger were baptized, and the 13th of the 3rd month were added to the church.

The 10th day of the 4th month, 1660, the church, after many tender admonitions, withdrew from Thomas Rewcastle, because he held, from Rom. xiv. 5, that he was not bound in duty from any command or practice, to give a seventh part of time to the worship and service of God, judging it a doctrine not according to godliness. 1 Tim. vi. 3, 5.

After this, the church here began sadly to decline their duties, break off their meetings, and forget their Rock. Whereupon miserable effects ensued to be their portion, so that most of them returned to folly. In this state, they continued for many years. Though reproofs and admonitions were not wanting from several members of the church of Eadsbridge, on Derwent, but little of a [right] spirit yet remained in them to return unto the Lord, until the aforesaid church was pressed in spirit, in the year ('72), to send brother Ward and - brother Blenkinsopp' to give them a meeting at Dotland Park. When and where the Lord was pleased to speak so powerfully and convincingly, through them, that there began a little few of them, weakly and faintly, to return to the Lord, and sometimes [to] meet together. But notwithstanding, they could not come up to walk in all the appointments of the Lord, in respect of the fewness of their number, and the remoteness of the dwellings of those few; which began to be a grief of heart to some of them, who went to advise with the church of Derwent what course to take herein, whom they found very ready to assist in what they might. In which interval of time, they were not a little helped and encouraged by brother Turner, pastor of the church of Newcastle, who, by a providential hand of the Highest was cast amongst them at Hexham, who did encourage them to make their addresses again to the church of Derwent; at which meeting it was agreed by the church there 'to send their two aforesaid elders, along with Mr. Richard Orde, to the remote members, to exhort them to return to their places and duties in the Lord's house. Which motion were 80 desirable unto

them, that they did embrace it with readiness of mind. And then a day was appointed, with all our consents, to meet together at my house at Ardley. And in order to a right preparation for 80 great a work, we had days of humiliation set apart, when scheme of our number being admonished to be [there] did come, in particular brother Aydon, and made a declaration of his shortcomings, and brokenness of heart for sin, that these few sheep here were much affected, and willing to embrace him.

The day before appointed being come, which was the 27th of the 10th month ('74), where also brother Blenkinaopp and brother Warde had laid out themselves to be; the method which was used was this, every one of us did particularly declare our state, with a manifestation of our desires to walk together as a church of Christ in all his appointments, giving ourselves up to the Lord, and to one another by the will of God, willing to watch over, and to be watched over, in the Lord. This done, the two messengers of the church, viz., brother Blenkinsopp and brother Warde, did declare their satisfaction, with much joy, and did solemnly pronounce us to be an orderly church of Christ

The good Lord help us to walk worthy of our vocation wherein we are called, unto all well pleasing, and make us fruitful in every good word and work to the praise of his grace, &C

Then we did address ourselves to the ordinance of the Lord's supper, in the close of the day; and our King was with us. Brother Ward did administer it.

The names of our members who are remaining, and [who] entered into a covenant to be the Lord's, are. . .

March 19th '71 Ales Robaon who had been *one* with us formerly, and had been wandering in the world and after the Quakers, did declare her sense of evil, gave the church satisfaction, and was received.

May the 12th ('78), the church having used all endeavors to recover those disorderly members, and finding it unsuccessful, at last did excommunicate John Johnson, for refusing to hear or come at the church. Matt. xviii. 17; I Cor. v. 5; [also] Ales Robson for the same, and joining with the Quakers. Matt. xviii. 17; 1 Cor. V.5. And Frances Browell, for owning herself to be a papist, and saying she judged it, viz popery, to be the way to salvation, &C

August the 4th ('78), Michael Aydon), under suspension for excessive drinking, and was withdrawn from, according to 2 Thes. iii. 14, 15; 1 Tim. vi. 5 ; and September the 1st ('78), upon his repentance, was again joyfully received.

1680

Samuel Sharp was baptized the 12th of the 7th month (1680).

1682

Mic. Adon excommunicated, the 2nd of tile 5th month, for excessive drinking, by the rule Rom. xiii. 13 ; I Cor. vi. 10; I Cor. v.5, 11.

Letters

1. Edward Limburgh to the Church at Hexham.

To all the saints congregated in the order of the Gospel, and walking therein, at Hexham.

Dear and beloved Brethren,-I salute you in the Lord Jesus our righteousness, *and* in the spirit of love, whereby he loveth us, and hath washed away our sins by his blood, being made a curse for us, and an offering and a sweet smelling savor, acceptable unto our God; by whom we have access unto the Father, having our minds enlightened that were dark, hut now are light in the Lord; and bath given us of his Spirit, whereby we cry, Father, Father, with full assurance of faith, and draw nigh unto the throne of grace, unto our Father by Jesus Christ, with confidence of receiving *mercy* from him; unto whom be glory and praise.

Beloved brethren, I thought it meet to let you know my condition, and the dealings Of the Lord with me since by providence I was taken from you; wanting that communion and fellowship that formerly the Lord was pleased for to afford me with you, and that spiritual comfort that I received by your walking in the truth, according unto the declaration and manifestation of his will; being cast into these parts, where there are no visible saints, but in the midst of a rugged generation, being led by their priest, who bears rule over them, by their power, and the people delight for to have it so. But I hope their folly will be made manifest by the day. But, brethren, for my spiritual condition, it is full of barrenness and deadness having been under great temptations and sufferings of Satan', and almost given up to hardness of heart. And many times [I] questioned the power of God; nay, whether there is any God at all; but truely, the book of the creation hath presently preached that divine power. But, beloved, for that interest that we that believe have in Jesus, my eyes were veiled, my Beloved had withdrawn himself, as unto me; but yet my Lord upheld me, and gave me power for to seek his face, and that I could say, "Lord, why hidest thou thy face from thy servant ?" And I speak to his praise, he is come skipping over the hills. But, dear brethren, my desire [is] that you would seek the Lord's face for me, that I might have more strength for to withstand these darts of Satan, and that my heart might be enlarged with praises, for receiving so great mercy in the time of need; and that the Lord would fill me more with his know- ledge, and keep me closer unto himself, by his power working in me obedience unto all his commands. And now, brethren, my desire and prayer unto the Lord is, that he would fill your hearts with all spiritual wisdom and know- ledge, that we might prove what the will of our Lord is, and therein might continue with prayer and thanksgivings, with all watchfulness over one another; building tip one another in that holy faith, bearing one another's burdens, strengthening the weak, distributing to one another as we have received. And the Lord carry us so forth by his power, that we may not render evil fur evil; but that we may be as a city set on a hill, and that others by our walking may glorify the Lord in the day of their visitation. And now the Lord of peace, that is our peacemaker, keep us blameless in all things, until his coming.

Your brother in our Lord Jesus and fellowship, EDWARD LIMBROUGH.

Jadbert, the eighth month, the 30th day, 1652. [He was **baptized and** added to the church on the 27th Sept.,1652]

2. To the church of Christ walking in communion with the reverend and dearly beloved in the Lord, Mr. Hansard Knollys, in London.

(This church was formed by Mr. Hansard Knollys in 1645, and first met in Great St. Helen's. From frequent letters, it appears to have met in Coleman Street at this time; till now it has been supposed, they met somewhere in Finsbury Fields. Mr. Knollys possessed a house there, and erected buildings for the use of his school. It may have

assembled there too. At the time of his death in 1691, after fifty years' service, the church met at Broken Wharf, Thames Street, **Life**, pp. 7, 36; Wilson's **History of Dissenting Churches**, 2, 568.)

Grace be to you, and peace, from God the Father, and from the Lord Jesus Christ.

Beloved of God, -As it is just cause of holy rejoicing before the Lord when saints hear that Sion prospers, and that many are made partakers of the like precious faith with themselves, so we know and are persuaded in the Lord, that it will be the joy of your spirits, when by these our letters you shall understand, that the word of the Lord which sounded out from you is come unto us, not in word only but in power; wherein, through riches of grace, we stand, and rejoice under it with joy unspeakable and full of glory. For this cause, therefore, we are bound to thank God always on your behalf, as it is meet. For your debtors verily we are; for whatsoever appearances of God are risen upon us, since that your faithful messenger, and now our dearly beloved brother in the Lord, Mr. Thomas Tillam, whom we love in the truth, and very highly esteem for his work's sake, hath been eminently instrumental in carrying on the Lord's work amongst us. But that your hearts may the more affectionately be drawn out to admire the riches of the Father's love to us-ward, we desire to show of ourselves what manner of entrance your gospel had in unto us, and the blessed success wherewith it had been accompanied, from the first day even until now. This is the twelfth month since Providence first directed Mr. Thomas Tillam into these parts, when, by the encouragement of the commissioners authorized by the parliament for propagating the gospel in the 'our northern counties, and by the importunity (especially) of some of them, the Lord was pleased to open a door effectual for his preaching, the lecture established here at Hexham, by the honorable Society of 'Mercers, London.' And now 'vas the time, determined by the Father, come, for the revealing of his will to us poor creatures; and the dawning of the glory of; the Lord arose upon us, even upon us did light break forth, who were a people sitting under gross darkness, even under the shadow of death; the Lord being pleased to be found of those that scarcely asked after him; in the place where it was there were not a people, are we (through grace whereby we stand) become the people of God. And such trust have we through Christ to God-ward, that he who hath begun the good work in us will perfect it to the day of Christ, not with standing all the oppositions of men. For we would not have you ignorant, beloved of God, what great opposition hath befallen us, both on right hand and on the left, since we first made a visible profession of the despised truths of the Lord Jesus. Not to mention the many reproaches, the many lying slanderous reports, cast upon us, and upon our practice, by formal professors, atheists, and papists, whereof there are multitudes swarming in these dark corners of the land: not to mention them, our sorest and sharpest (conflicts] have been with the ministry of these parts, and with those amongst them who are accounted most honorable for learning, and eminent for [godliness. They] unanimously set themselves against us.

(The art for propagating and preaching the gospel and for the maintenance of the ministry and schoolmasters for the four northern counties, on the 26th February. 1649-50, at the same time with a similar one for Wales. **Whitecock's Memorial**, p. 427.)

One of them . . . in a public dispute which we had with the ministry concerning believers' baptism, did, in the face of the ministry, call our practice detestable, abominable, and blasphemous. Another of them, publicly, in this parish meeting-house, did preach against it, and asserted sprinkling as more consonant to the mind of Christ, which assertion was then opposed by us, and our practice, with much clearness, justified to the great satisfaction of the unprejudiced auditors. Thus we are perplexed on every side, but not in despair; persecuted, but not forsaken; cast down, but not destroyed; on fire round about, but not consumed; through the goodness of Him that dwelt in the bush. Nay, the Lord so wonderfully bears up our spirits, that in all this opposition we are so far from shrinking, or giving back, that we are the more encouraged, through him that strengtheneth us, to go on in our most holy faith, and the Lord is pleased to add daily unto us such as we hope shall be saved.

And now, what are the panting of our spirits, and what are the longings of our souls? Are not ye? and communion with you? that since it hath pleased the Father to count us worthy, not only to believe in him, but also to suffer for his name, and hath made us partakers of you in one Lord, one faith, one baptism; that you would own us in the Lord, and reach out unto us the right hand of fellowship, that

token of love which passes in all the churches of the saints, that our communion may be with you, whose fellowship, we are confident, is with the Father and with his Son Jesus Christ, by his Spirit, in the ordinances and order of the gospel; that you may be helpers [of] our joy, and that we may be comforted of you, with the like comforts wherewith you yourselves have been comforted of God. For in all these trials we are but followers of you and of all saints, who have endured the same sufferings which we also suffer; so that our hope of you is, that you who are strong and grown in the faith, will support us that are weak; since it is a righteous thing that they who have been partakers of [the] same suffering, should be partakers also in the consolation. Finally, beloved in the Lord, we pray you help together by prayer for us, that we may be filled with the knowledge of the will of God, in all wisdom and spiritual understanding; that we may walk worthy of our vocation where with we are called, strengthened with all might by his Spirit into the inner man, unto all patience and long suffering, with joyfulness, being fruitful in every good work, and increasing in the knowledge of God; that we may adorn the doctrine of God our Savior in all things, by being blameless and harmless, the sons of God without rebuke, in the midst of a crooked and perverse people; holding forth the light of the word in a shining conversation, becoming the gospel of Christ. Now, the God of peace give you peace, by all means, that ye may stand fast in one spirit, with one mind, striving together for the faith of the gospel, abounding always in the work of the Lord, forasmuch as you know your labor is not in vain in the Lord.

Your brethren in the faith and fellowship of the gospel,

STEPHEN ANDERTON, THOMAS STACKHOUSE, John THIRLWELL, JOHN CARNABY,
THOMAS OGLE, JAMES CARR, RICHARD ORDE,

With the joint desire of the brethren, meeting in order of the gospel, assembled in Hexham. The 4th day of the 10th month, 1652, To HANSERD KNOLLYS.

3. Edward Hickhornhill to the church at Hexham.

To my best beloved brethren, gathered together in the name of the Lord at Hexham, these:

Dearest Brethren, -I know you long to hear from me, and of the dealings of our God with me. And truly, I do equally desire to acquaint you with them, as it is my duty and great privilege. I had a very safe and comfortable journey hither (blessed be God), and spoke with the Major-General upon the 30th day of the 10th month, being the 5th day of the week, in the morning, he being then about to go to dinner. After he had known my business with him, by reading Mr. Howard's letter, he sent for me to dine with him; and, after dinner, he told we he would give me an answer, which was this: that as for himself he was about to quit his interest in Scotland, but he had given orders to Col. Lilburne to take cognizance of me. Which accordingly he did, and after some discourse with me, he ordered that his housekeeper should forthwith provide me a chamber in the castle, and as near his own chamber as he could conveniently. Whereupon I came to the castle, where I now reside with him; and, in short, the Lord hath much inclined his heart towards me. Providence cast me into the company of Captain Gardiner, (This is the brother who walked later with John Spilsbury and helped publish Jane Turner's work, REP) once a chaplain in the army, not unknown to some of you, who, before my address to Col. Lilburne, informed me out of his own experience of

[Mr. Hickhornhill was appointed a messenger of the church to Scotland on the 20th December, 1652.]
[Monk, who shortly after left Scotland, and took a command in the fleet in the Dutch War.]

[A Col. Charles Howard was associated with Col. Lilburne as a substitute for Lambert, in the execution of his office as one of the military major-generals appointed by Cromwell in 1655; Carlyle's *Cromwell*, ji. 376.]

[In Guizot *Memoirs of Monk*, Lilburne is spoken of as a "fanatic Anabaptist". In 1647, he was governor of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, and the year following sat as one of the king's judges and signed the

warrant of execution. On the restoration he was tried as a regicide, but offered no defense. He was exiled to the isle of St. Nicholas, off Plymouth, where he died in 1665.]

the inconveniences of the condition of a chaplain, and that such could not speak out the mind of God so freely. And that it was a chief stumbling-block to many that are without, keeping them off from the way of God; but especially to those brethren that are assembled in this country, according to the order of the gospel; bringing likewise that notable scripture to this purpose in Acts xx. 35. All which wrought so powerfully upon my soul, that when I came to make known my request to Col. Lilburne, I told him that I could not accept of a chaplain's place, however God dealt with me; but should rather desire some employment from him, whereby I might live without making the gospel burdensome. his answer was, that he commended my tenderness, and would act for me to the utmost of his power; and hereupon caused his servants to make provision for me in the castle, as above. There is no command nor convenient place as yet fallen, and therefore I do yet continue with the colonel. And I perceive he hath no desire to part with me yet. Whether I stay with him or no, I intend to press him to settle me in the next convenient place that falls into his power in Scotland, being confident of his readiness to bested me, as having already great experience of it; what great cause have you and I to praise our gracious God in my behalf. It is the Lord's doing; and therefore fit it is that we should render him the calves of our lips, and the choicest praises of our hearts. I earnestly beg your fervent prayers for me, that God would be my counselor and companion, and prosper me to every good work. And I think I need not press you to send me your Christian advice and direction, having had such experience of your unwearied affection and care of me.

Your very loving brother, engaged to you in the nearest union, EDWARD HICKHORNGILL.
Dalkeith, this 8th day of the 11th month, '52.

4. The church in Coleman Street to the church at Hexham.

To the church of God assembled in Hexham, walking in the order of the gospel; Grace be to you, and peace, from God our Father, and from the Lord Jesus Christ.

Holy Brethren, partakers of the heavenly calling, we greatly rejoiced in the Lord on your behalf, when we read your gracious epistle unto us; which also occasioned many thanksgivings unto God, for the grace bestowed upon you, and for the faith and love wrought in you, by the preaching of the gospel. For this cause, therefore, we are bound to give thanks to God always for you, brethren beloved of God, that the word of God which bath sounded out from us, by that messenger of the Lord, our dearly beloved brother, Mr. Thomas Tillam, sent unto you, hath come to you, not in word only but in power, and in the Holy Spirit; whereby you are effectually called into the fellowship of Jesus Christ, through faith in him, and also are planted together by baptism in the likeness of his death; and being gathered into one congregation, to worship God in spirit and truth, are built up an habitation of God by the Spirit, and so are constituted by the Lord to be a visible church of Christ.

Now, therefore, beloved brethren, we, the elders and brethren, with the whole church, being assembled with one accord, do own you in the Lord, to be a visible constituted church of God; who are made partakers with us in one Lord, one faith, one baptism. And, hereupon, we do give unto you the right hand of fellowship, in token of our communion with you in the faith and order of the gospel. And we rejoice with you, brethren, that God bath enabled you to endure so great a fight of affliction, with so powerful and subtle enemies; who not only gainsaid and opposed the truth, but also loaded you with reproaches and revilings, for the truth's sake, which you have patiently borne, with longsuffering and joyfulness. Whilst in all these trials, you have been followers of us, and of all the churches of Christ, who have endured the same sufferings which you also do suffer. And we pray for you that God, who hath comforted us, in all our tribulations and temptations which we suffered for his name's sake, will comfort you also with the like consolations in Jesus Christ; and that you having washed your robes in

the blood of the Lamb, may come out of your great tribulation with white garments and palms of victory; that you may shine in a gospel conversation, and be to the praise of the glory of God, who hath vouchsafed the unsearchable riches of his grace unto you, and made you his people who were not his people.

Finally, dear brethren, we commend you to God, and to the word of His grace, which is able to build you up in him. And we do earnestly desire your prayers for us, that we may walk worthy of that holy vocation whereunto we are called, having our conversation in heaven, and [that] being blameless and harmless, as the sons of God, in the midst of an evil generation of the sons of men, we may shine, and so adorn the doctrine of God our Savior.

Now peace be to you, brethren, with faith and love, through our beloved Lord Jesus Christ; the King of saints, the Prince of peace, the Lord of glory, the Son of God, and the great Shepherd of the flock; in whom we are Your brethren and companions in tribulation and in consolation.

HAXSERD KNOLLYS,' JOHN PERRY,'

[Mr. Hansard Knollys was born in 1598; and died at the good old age of Ninety-three. He we buried in Bunhill field. He became a Baptist about the year 1536, surrendering his preferment in the establishment. As confessor of Christ he was eminent, and endured several imprisonments, and years of exile, for the truth; Wilson, 2, p. 563].

THOMAS BUTTIVANT, HENRY PARRPOINTE, THEODORE JENNINGS, JOHN . . . WILLIAM SPIER, WILLIAM JENNINGS, BENEDICT HUNT,

London, signed with the unanimous consent of the church assembled in one, this 9th day of the eleventh month, 1652-3; William Howard, John Amiger.

5. Edward Hickhorngill to the church at Hexham:

To my best beloved brethren in the Lord, assembled at Hexham, these.

Dear Brethren,-I have long expected an answer from you to mine, sent to you about a month ago. Sometimes I fear the miscarriage of my letter to you, and sometimes I attribute this long intermission on your part to the better employments that possibly might delay your more speedy dispatch of a letter to me. Sometimes a consideration of mine own unworthiness makes your apology. Sure I am that I had never more need of your Christian and brotherly advice and counsel than at this present. I acquainted you in my last letter of my scruple, touching the condition of a chaplain; and chiefly upon this ground, lest I should offend some brethren in these parts if I should close with it. And, the apostle in the like ease, Acts xx. 35, lays an injunction upon the elders of Ephesus, that they should labor with their hands, according to his example. This was that principal motive that prevailed with me to request the Colonel Lilburne for some other employment than that of a chaplain, 'which he told me he would endeavor to the utmost of his power. But, since that time, he hath mustered me as chaplain in his own regiment of horse, without giving me the least notice of it; and intend (as I suppose, and that upon good grounds) to dispose of the profit of the place [to] me, as from himself, if I will accept it, and so to run on till Providence open a door for some other employment for me. The Lord hath exceedingly drawn out his heart towards me; he 'lath given me every free and noble entertainment since I came hither, and I perceive he hath no thoughts of parting with me whilst he continues in this employment nor afterwards, if I will accept of being chaplain to his regiment except I be disposed of in some other command, that will hinder my constant abode with him. I long to hear from you as to this particular, that I might have your serious thoughts and direction, whether I should disclaim and reject that condition, which Providence, without any seeking, hath so strangely cast upon me, and so stay till the Lord make my way for some other course of living, by a second dispensation, and thereby humor the brethren here; or that I should resolve upon the contrary, by accepting a chaplain's place when the colonel shall proffer it to me, which yet he hath not done, taking it for granted that I will refuse it; and

yet of certain he hath mustered me. Some brethren here have a latitude to the above named particular, and others are more straitened. I find it exceeding difficult to know when it 'may be lawful to use our liberty, though it give offence to some weak Christians, and when it is our duty to forbear. Sometimes I think a saint may use his liberty, though lie offend the weak, as in this case. It is lawful for the army to accept of their pay, though forty weak Christians should be offended at it; and if so, then it is equally lawful to live upon the gospel, though divers weak saints scruple it, and be offended. If it can be proved that a man may as lawfully, and with as clear warrants from scripture, receive money for preaching as for lighting, which perhaps is evident from 1 Cor. ix. 7- Who goeth a warfare at any time at his own charges?--certainly as it is an abominable wickedness to preach purely for money, as those in Micah iii. 11, so it is likewise a parallel wickedness to fight purely for money. Yet a sincere soul can make a good use of that which others abuse; and convert that to good nourishment which [some] persons abuse, and is poison to others. Let me again beg of you, that I might be happy in the receipt of a few lines from you touching these things; as, likewise, whether you think it convenient that I should join myself to the church here at Leith, which truly I am unwilling to do at present for some special reasons, though I have been often solicited thereunto by the chief of them, as Major Holmes, Major Harrison; & C Well, I must abruptly conclude, and subscribe myself, Your truly affectionate brother, EDWARD HICKHORNGILL, Dalkeith, Feb. 5th, 52-3.

[The name of Abraham Holmes is appended to a reprint at Leith of the Confession of 1646, dated the 10th of March, 1653.]

[Harrison was shortly after dismissed the army by Cromwell, with many other Baptists who disapproved of his assumption of supreme power. Harrison was one of the judges of Charles II. On the restoration he was tried as a regicide, and being convicted, was hung. "or the integrity of his life, for the Christian heroism with which he endured a cruel and ignominious death, he may deservedly be classed, if we may not challenge priority, with a More, a Russell, a Sydney." Burton's Diary by Rutt, iv. 432, note.]

(Also, remember this is the Major Harrison I spoke about before, whom Benjamin Coxe addressed because he had been disowned by the churches because of taking state pay; REP)

6. The church at Hexham to the church in Coleman Street, London.

To the church of Christ walking in the order of the gospel, with our reverend brethren, Mr. Hanserd Knollys and Mr. John Perry.

Holy and precious Brethren, -We salute you dearly in the Lord, praying that grace and peace, by the eternal Spirit, from our Father, through his Son Jesus Christ, may be multiplied upon you. When we call to mind that sweet interest which you have (to the unspeakable refreshing of our spirits) given us in the bowels of tender love, we abound in thanksgivings to our God always, upon every remembrance of it; yea, we joy exceedingly, accounting it our especial mercy and choice privilege, that we have your bosoms free and open unto us, where into we can transmit all our affairs, and those designs which we have in our hearts for the promoting the honor of our King in the midst of us.

Holy and beloved, it many times hath been, but now more especially is, the desire of our souls, that as to gospel order we might be a people standing perfect and complete in all the will of God. For since the day wherein it pleased the Father, to the praise of the exceeding riches of his grace, to call us out of the way of error and the world into the way of truth as it is in Jesus, it hath sometimes sat sadly upon our spirits, to see some things wanting in us, which, how to set in order, as from among ourselves, we found not. Yet our God, who hath given us abundant consolation through you, doth seem to open unto us a door of hope, that our greatest [desire], which is of a pastor to take the care and oversight of us in the Lord, may through your condescendings be supplied unto us. We desire, therefore, to give you to understand, that as our eyes and our hearts have formerly been, so now at present they are, more intently set upon that eminent servant of the Lord, and your messenger, Mr. Thomas Tillam, to call him to take the charge of us, and as a pastor to be over us in the Lord. For, although as a general

officer he hath labored in the gospel among us from the first day until now, and hath faithfully supplied to our great comfort and spiritual advantage, whatsoever service hath been lacking to us in the things of Christ; yet our hearts' desires after him are, for a nearer and closer interest in him, if, by the will of God, this grace may be ministered unto us by YOU. That he being given from you into our embraces, his way may be plain, to be taken into a more particular relation to us in the body than hitherto he hath been. Many persuasive inducements are upon our spirits, drawing us forth to make this our solemn address to you. As those several gracious testimonies, which yourselves have servedly given of this our truly precious brother, commending him to the saints, where soever he should come, for the building them up in the knowledge of the gospel; which thing also you did, in your gracious epistle to us, your poor brethren, in particular. Add here, unto your clear experiences (the best of testimonies), [those] which we have had of him, and the full proof which we have had of his ministry, whereby he 'lath been thoroughly manifest amongst us, approving himself a man of God, whose purpose and manner of life we have fully known.

Besides these, we shall only present You with a short view of our present dangers 'which threaten us, and then leave you either to assent to, or dissent from, these our desires, as God shall move upon your spirits. Beloved in the Lord, we are a people brought forth in these parts of the land wherein iniquity doth most abound, and many deceivers are risen up; yea, even swarm in these northern parts, especially of those called Quakers, whose pernicious ways many do follow; a generation whose main design is to shatter the churches of the saints, by stealing away the tender lambs out of the folds of the Lord Jesus; crying down the scriptures, those sacred oracles of truth, as a dead letter, and crying up the lights within, as they call it; making great shows of self denial in a voluntary humility, and neglecting of the body, which are very taking with weak ones; all for a Christ within, nothing for a Christ without. With such smooth words and fair spiritual speeches, the hearts of simple ones are deceived from the simplicity of the gospel ever more need of watchmen than at this day.

All Sion's towers should be planted with sentinels to warn the inhabitants thereof of their enemy's approaches; to excite them to a holy watchfulness, and an earnest looking for the return of the Captain of our salvation. And blessed are they, whom in his return he shall find so doing.

Finally, brethren- we beseech you to pray for us, as we do for you, that we may be preserved steadfast and unmovable in these tottering times; that we may be strengthened with might by the Spirit of our God in the inner man; that he would, out of the riches of his grace in Christ Jesus, supply all our wants. Into whose embraces we commend you, and remain, your brethren in the faith and fellowship of the gospel,

ROWLAND HARRISON, EDWARD BROWELL, JOHN READSIIAW, JOHN JOHNSON, WILLIAM MARSHALL, ANTHONY TAYLOR, MARK TAYLOR, ANTHONY HUNTER, ROBERT TAYLOR, STEPHEN ANDERTON, JOHN MARCH, THO. OGLE, CHRISTOFHER VICKERS, RICHARD ORDE, JOHN WARD, ROBERT SHARPE, HEN. ANGAS.,

We salute our truly gracious and dearly beloved sister in the Lord, Mrs. Alice Swanne, who (as we hear to our great comfort) is taken into sweet communion with you. To whom we desire to give thanks, for her large contribution, which after her departure from us was ministered to the necessities of the saints here, as a token of her love. The bowels of the poor saints here were sweetly refreshed by it, and we have this confidence, that it will be found fruit abounding to her account and praise in the day of the Lord Jesus. We have also been refreshed through her lines, to which (if God will) we intend to return her a speedy answer.

By the appointment of the church of Christ at Hexham, 1st day, 1st month, 1653.

7. Edward Hickhorngill to the church at Hexham.

To my well-beloved brethren in the Lord, assembled at Hexham; these.

Dear Brethren,-Your kind and Christian letter came about a week ago, not only acceptably, but seasonably to my hands. For within two or three days after the receipt of it I had a meeting with the church at Leith (according to their desires and mine), to debate those things wherein we dissent; that if it were the will of God, we might accord in brotherly union and fellowship, and sit down together; that so we might be mutual helps to one another. One of the chief things wherein we dissented was that case of receiving moneys for preaching, concerning which we have had a serious and mild conference. And in the issue we came to this result, that it was not unlawful, nor disorderly, to receive what was freely given for preaching the gospel, according to your judgments in the same case specified in your letter to me. After which conclusion, we came to discourse of some other particulars, wherein our opinions were different; as, whether it was lawful to pray with unbaptized believers, or to bear a gifted and well qualified Christian preach the gospel, if he be not under the same order of the gospel with us. Some of the church held the negative; but because it was not the judgment of all the brethren, we resolved to leave each one to his liberty; with this caveat, that he should be very wary and tender in giving offence to the weak. In these, as in all other points wherein formerly our differences kept us at a distance, our gracious God brought us to a happy and much desired agreement; so that now we are embodied in much affection and union, to my exceeding great comfort. Col. Lilburne hath given me liberty to be with the church, whenever they shall please to call me amongst them. I am to exercise with them the next first day. It would be comfortable to me to hear of a good correspondence and union twixt the saints at Newcastle and yourselves, that fellow members of the same body might not disown each other, having one Lord, one faith, one baptism.

Captain Turner hath, since his last coming hither, changed his judgment about the above-named particular, of living upon the gospel when maintenance is freely given. I hope bro. Gore [Gower] will shortly be like-minded; that I hope you and our brethren at Newcastle, will own each other in all Christian fellowship and communion. I am desired by Col. Lilburne to propose to you, that bro. Tillam, Bro. Anderton, Bro. Stackhouse, or any other fitly qualified brother amongst you, will bestow his talents in the condition of a chaplain to a regiment, about which place there are divers honest Scotch people that long to be gathered into the same gospel order with us, but they want a faithful pastor. Fail not, I pray you, to give me an answer herein, with all convenient speed. Let me not, I beseech you, want your prayers to the Lord in my behalf; neither your Christian advice, so far as it may be needful to your brother that dearly loves you.

EDWARD HICKHORNGILL. Dalkeith 3 Mar.5th, 1652-3.

8. The church at Coleman Street, London, to the church at Hexham.

From the church of Christ assembling in Coleman Street, London.

To our beloved brethren at Hexham, who walk together in the faith and order of the gospel of Christ, grace, mercy, and peace be ever renewed and multiplied on you, from God our Father, through our L9rd Jesus, that is full of grace and truth, and from whose fullness all his receive grace upon grace.

We pray for you, that your hearts may be established therewith, that you may be abounding in every grace, that you may have sufficiency in all things, whereby you may be furnished and fitted for every good work; being strengthened in the inward man by the Spirit of God, that you may walk worthy of that vocation whereunto you are called, and of that near relation with himself unto which he hath brought you through faith in his Son Jesus; who is become our head, from whom all his body, being knit together by joints and bands, have spiritual nourishment ministered unto them, and do increase with the increasings of God, that they might grow up to be a temple in the Lord, and an habitation for God, that it might be the place of his rest for ever.

Beloved brethren, these may also give you to understand that we received your letter, wherein you express the growth of your faith, and also your love towards us. The which gives us occasion to give God thanks, and to rejoice in hearing of your fellowship in the gospel, from the first day till

now, being persuaded that through grace you shall continue in the faith grounded and settled, and not be moved from the hope of the gospel, which you have heard and received in truth, as it is in Jesus, till he come who will confirm all his unto the end, when he shall present all his faultless before the presence of his Father; for he is able to keep them from falling, and to preserve them unto salvation.

We have also taken into consideration your desires that you wrote about in reference to our brother Tillam, and we are very free and willing to answer you therein as the Lord shall direct us and assist us. We would therefore inform you, that when our brother went out from us, we judged, from that little knowledge we had of him whilst he was with us, that the Lord had enriched him with some spiritual gifts, the which might be useful and successful through the blessing of God in other places abroad. And thereupon we gave him our letter of commendation, and sent him forth to preach the gospel, and to baptize them that did believe the same; and accordingly, as the Lord should assist and direct him, to be instrumental to set them in an orderly way, wherein they might worship God in spirit and truth, and might be edified and built up in their faith and the knowledge of Jesus Christ (as his Truths). But as for our approbation that he might be given up to you as your pastor, or elder, if the Lord shall call him thereunto, we conceive it more concerns you than us, you having more knowledge and understanding of his qualifications than we, whether they are answerable to these scriptures: 1 Tim. iii. 2-7 ; or Titus 6-9. And if so, if there be then a freeness and fitness in him for the work, it is then your privilege, if you do so approve of him, that you may with a mutual consent make choice of him amongst yourselves. And if the Lord shall make the way clear both to you and him, we hope we shall be one with you, and rejoice therein. And if you find that we might be any way further serviceable to you herein; than we have at present expressed, we desire that we may hear thereof from you and him: especially when our brother Tillam hath given us an answer to our letter, that we have now sent to him, concerning our judgment of our brethren's charge of Newcastle against him, and his answers thereto.

We desire, if it were the will of the Lord, that the occasions of your differences might be removed, and all your breaches healed. And if brethren seem to be contentious, we have not, or at least we should not have, any such custom, neither any of the churches of God. We desire that the Lord may give us and you all, of that wisdom which is from above, that is pure, and then peaceable, gentle, and easy to be entreated, full of mercy and good fruits, without partiality and without hypocrisy. For the fruits of righteousness are sown in peace of them that make peace, and follow after peace; for the kingdom of our God consists in righteousness, and peace, and joy in the Holy Spirit. And he that in these things serveth Christ, is acceptable to God, and approved of men. We desire the Lord to help you to that end, and in that way wherein you may follow after those things which make for peace, and things wherewith you may edify one another. And as concerning brotherly love, we hope we need not write much unto you, for you are all taught of God to love one another. But we shall desire our God, that he would make you all to increase and abound in love one towards another, and towards all men; to the end your hearts may be established, and be kept unblamable in holiness before God, even our Father, at the coming of our Lord Jesus with all his saints. Till then let brotherly love continue. Farewell in the Lord.

Your brethren in truth

JOHN PERRY, WILLIAM JENNINGS, W. HOWARD, RICHARD SIGNET, JOHN WATSON,
JOHN AMMIGER, THEODORE JENNINGS, WILL. SPIEL [24th March, 1653.]

9. Mr. Thomas Tillam to the church at Hexham.

Thomas Tillam, the unworthiest of the ministers of our Lord Jesus, to the beloved saints of Christ, walking in the faith and fellowship of the gospel at Hexham.

Grace, mercy, and peace be ever multiplied upon you, from that full Fountain who hath washed your redeemed souls in his most precious blood. The remembrance of you, holy and beloved, is very sweet unto me, because you are written in my heart, and are an epistle fair and legible, seen

and read of all men; which hath exposed you to such reproaches, temptations, and sufferings of several sorts, that they now make you very comely in Christ's eye (however the world look upon you as black, swarthy, and sun burnt), so after the running of a few more sands you shall certainly find, that this was none other but the king's highway to those eternal mansions which your epoused Lord is now preparing for you.

O my beloved brethren! my sons, my daughters in Christ, my own children in the faith, I cannot tell you how well I love you. Does not every artist, love, prize, and praise his own workmanship? It is the joy of my soul, that ye, even ye, are my workmanship in the Lord. For I have begotten you through the gospel; either from profaneness unto holiness, or at least from error unto order. And now the God of order establish you, that you may be found complete in all the will of God; delivered from that confused noise of many waters, in the obscure parts of your present abode, which obstructs the sweet, silver, single stream, the still and soft voice of the gospel, that makes glad the city of God, and will assuredly lead and conduct your precious souls through the gate into the city. And now, my beloved, you have a season, through the hand of providence detaining me from you, to recollect your thoughts, and raise your meditations upon the breathings of the spirit through this poor earthen vessel. While I was with you, you may not forget my last words, from I John iv. 17. The Lamb of God, who hath made you spotless like himself, is flow in heaven, busily employed in preparing, praying, obeying. And as he is, so are we (if right) in this world. Oh! To prepare, pray, obey, my dear ones, in the spirit of truth and love. You will not surely be offended that the hand of my Father hath drawn me to this great city, to obey him in those precious truths which he pleased to make known unto me, and which he hath filled brimful of mercies in the practice of. For after I had enjoyed heavenly communion with my precious brethren in Coleman Street, and had acquainted them with my purpose to obey Christ, in that fourth principle, and had received this gracious letter to the saints in Cheshire from them, I departed in much love, to the melting of my hard heart. And having found many congregations in the practice of the ordinances I wanted, I was by a blessed hand guided to my most heavenly brother, Doctor Chamberlain, one of the most humble, mortified souls (for a man of parts) that ever yet I met with. In whose sweet society I enjoyed the blessing of my God, by the laying on of their hands.' And after a love feast, having washed one another's feet, we did joyfully break bread, concluding with a hymn. In all which the singular majesty of Christ shined forth, to the mighty conviction of some choice spectators. And now, what am I, to whom God should make known his truths, professed even of late by so many of his eminent servants, and among the rest

Mr. Tornbs. Brethren, be earnest with God, that I may walk worthy of his mercies bestowed upon me, and that I may have a prosperous and speedy return to you For God is my witness how greatly I long after you all in the bowels of Jesus Christ. Oh I how greatly have you endeared [yourselves to] me, by your faithful affection and tender care of my dear yoke fellow, which is conveyed through mine eye to my heart, by the faithful pen of my beloved brother Rich. Orde unto whom I return my unfeigned thanks. And I thank and heartily salute you all. Oh that you could embrace it as the mind of Christ, to greet one another with a holy kiss. Oh how amiable it is in the churches where it is practiced. Salute my beloved yoke fellow. The churches of Christ do bless you and heartily salute you. The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you all, Amen.

[The laying on of hands, Heb. Vi. 1.]

[Mr. Tillam and Mr. Anderton were commended to the work in Cheshire, by this church, on the 3rd April, 1653.]

[Mr. D'Anvers says the practice of laying on of hands was first introduced in 1646, by Mr. Cornwell, then a minister of a baptized congregation in Kent. It was first practiced in London by the church meeting in the Spittle in Bishopsgate Street, after sermons by Mr. Cornwell on the subject, see the above year. **Treatise** page 53.]

10. A Letter of Commendation.

To all the saints of Christ, walking in the order of the gospel, grace and peace from Jesus Christ, the Prince of peace, and King of saint.

Beloved Brethren,- We salute you in our Lord Jesus, rejoicing to commend unto you this our very dear and precious brother, Mr. Thomas Stackhouse, faithful and approved in the Lord, who bath much honored the gospel of our dear Redeemer by a seasonable submission to the despised ordinance of baptism; with whom we have enjoyed much sweet communion, his great design being to promote the honor and advance the interest of our King, by public declaration of his glorious mysteries.

We desire that you with cheerfulness receive him in the Lord, and hold such in reputation. Brethren, we do heartily commend you unto the Author and Finisher of our faith, in whom we are,
Your very loving brethren,

THOMAS TILLAM, EDWARD STEPHZNSON, STEPEN ANDERTON, THOMAS OGLE,
JOHN CARNABIE, JOHN ORDE

From the church of Christ at Hexham, in Northumberland, 3rd m., 18 d., 1653.

JOHN THIRLWALL, MICHAEL AYDEN, RICH ORDE, JOHN JOHNSON.

11. The Church at Leith to the church at Hexham.

[This letter would appear from No. 12 to have bee brought to Hexham by Mr. Stackhouse who had gone to Leith and returned]

Dearly beloved Brethren,-We salute you in our Lord Jesus Christ, wishing grace, mercy, and peace may he multiplied unto you, through the knowledge of the Father, that you may have the full communications of grace and of the love of God abed abroad in your hearts, being filled with the Spirit of truth; and may grow up in all things into Him who is your head, and may approve yourselves to be persons making it your great study to honor God in your generations; that so you Way be [the occasion] of joy: unto all God's people, and may indeed appear to be trees of righteousness of the Lord's own planting.

Beloved brethren, we are refreshed to hear of that eminent work of God that bath sprung up amongst you in these parts, in that he has pleased to add unto his church daily such as shall be saved; and to make you or any of you instruments in his hands to gather in the outcasts of Israel, and to bring poor souls out of the kingdom of darkness into the kingdom of his dear Son. Truly we desire to be affected with the goodness of God, in that he is going on to accomplish, the precious promises which he hath said shall come to pass in the latter days He hath said, the mountain of the Lord's house shall be established upon the tops of all the mountains in the earth, and shall be exalted above the hills. And he hath said, King Jesus shall be lifted up as an ensign, and many people shall go and say, Come ye, and let us go up to the mountain of the Lord, to the house of the God of Jacob, and he will teach of his ways, and we will walk in his paths; for out of Sion shall go forth the law and the word of God from Jerusalem. We desire to believe that all these things are fulfilling, by these many signal testimonies that the Lord is pleased to give forth to his people, in bringing down the kingdom and power of antichrist, and in the enlarging, establishing, and erecting the kingdom of his dear Son.

Dear brethren, we trust your eyes have beheld the out goings of God in these things, and do hope that your hearts are made alive, in some measure, in the consideration of it, and likewise made willing to wait upon the Lord in all obedience before him. And we entreat you not to be weary in well doing, for the patient expectation of the poor shall never be forgotten. Now, brethren, we commend you to the Lord, and to the word of his grace, which is able to build you up, and to make you cast off the works of darkness, and to put on the armor of Light; that knowing the time, that now it is high time to awake out of sleep, for now is your salvation nearer than when you believed. The night is far spent, the day is at hand. Be you, therefore, diligent, that you may be found of him in peace, without spot or blemish; having on the white robe of Jesus Christ, being always covered with the of salvation, and clothed with the robe of righteousness; in

which garment you may be able to stand, looking for and hastening unto the crown which the Lord, the righteous Judge, shall give you and all that diligently look for his appearing at the last day; which is the earnest prayer of those who desire to approve themselves to be your faithful brethren in the faith and fellowship of the gospel of Christ,

JOHN CARLILE, THOMAS POWELL.

Signed in the name, and by the appointment, of the church of Christ at Leith, third month, 25th day 1653.

12. The church at Hexham to the church at Leith;

[An edition of the Confession of 1646 published at Leith. The preface concludes thus:- "Leith, the 10th of the first month, vulgarly called March, 1652-3, and signed in the name and by the appointment of the church of Christ meeting at Leith and Edinburgh, by Thomas Spencer, Abraham Holmes, Thomas Powell, and John Brady."]

To the beloved spouse of the Lord Christ, walking in the blessed order of the gospel, at Leith, in Scotland.

Precious Brethren, - In the endeared bowels of unfeigned love we desire to breathe our salutes into your bosom; as those who have had rich experiences of your heavenly frame of spirit, in your Christian embraces of those members of our body, who by Providence have been cast among you. But especially of your saint like love unto, and tender regard of this our dearly beloved brother, Mr. Tho. Stackhouse, in whose gospel-like visit we have been greatly refreshed, as also by the fair salutes from you, our much honored sister church. We glory in the service wherein you have employed him for the enlargement of the borders of our Lord Jesus, whom we heartily bless for his supporting grace in these shaking revolting times; preserving this our beloved brother steadfast in the faith. And now we return him to your lovely communion, in the unspotted robes of Christ's righteousness; humbly begging of God that a thousand-fold may be repaid into your bosoms, for those Christian encouragements which from you have greatly cheered the spirits of your faithful and affectionate Brethren in the Gospel.

13. The church at Hexham to Major General Lilburne,

For the Right honorable Major General Lilburne, the Commander-in-Chief over all the Forces in Scotland; these presents, Dalkeith,

Honored Sir,-It hath been matter of great joy and consolation to our spirits, ever since we heard of the glorious appearances of the divine nature in you, which manifests itself through your love, which you have towards all saints, and particularly towards us. We desire to admire the good hand of our God in it, that we who are less than the least of saints should have favor given us in your eyes, whom God hath so highly honored to set in a place of so great eminency. Whilst that our sometimes precious (but now, alas! deluded) brother, Mr. Edward Hickhornigill, continued in his steadfastness. Oh how welcome were his letters to us, and caused Daily thanksgivings by us unto our God in your behalf, when in them was made known unto us the interest you were pleased to vouchsafe him in your favors, and not only him but even the whole church; for whom we not only give thanks, but also for our brother Charles Bond, whose bowels you have sweetly refreshed in taking (as we hear) into a family relation to you. But most especially, that we may not be tedious unto you, we desire with all thankfulness to acknowledge your continual love to us in your courteous and respective entertainment of the bearer hereof, our dearly beloved brother Mr. Thomas Stackhouse; who, upon his return to us, made known your sweet and gracious deputation towards him, and your loving invitation of him that he would come unto you. We have therefore, having first sought the face of our God, and commended him unto the embraces of our

Father through prayer, being assembled in one with one consent, sent him, and by this our epistle commended unto you, and desire that you would own him as one whom we have in high repute for the gracious appearances of God which we have seen in him; and of whom we have this confidence, that he will approve himself, both to God and his people, such an one as we would.

Now the Father of mercies, and God of our comfort, who hath given us so great consolation through your bowels of love, return into your bosom sevenfold; that you may be comforted of God in what hour so ever you shall stand most [in] need of it. And this confidence have we in our King, that since he hath promised that he will not let a cup of cold water, given to one that belongs to him, go unrewarded, surely he will not forget these refreshings, wherewith you have exceedingly made glad the spirits of those who cease not to make mention of your honor in their prayer.

EDWARD BROWELL, HENRY ANGAS, MICHAEL AYDON, THO. TILL AM, JOHN ORDE, STEPHEN ANDERTON, JOHN THIRLWALL, THO. OGLE, RICHARD ORDE, JOHN CARNABY.

From the church of Christ assembled at Hexham, 22nd day of the 4th month, 1653.

The First London Confession of Faith from Scotland:

A

CONFESSION OF FAITH,

Of the several Congregations or Churches of Christ in London, which are commonly (though unjustly) called

ANABAPTISTS.

Published for the vindication of the Truth, and Information of the ignorant; likewise for the taking off of those aspersion which are frequently, both in Pulpit and Print, unjustly cast upon them.

**Unto which is added
HEART-BLEEDINGS**

For Professors abominations:

Or a faithful general Epistle (from the same Churches) presented to all who have known the way of truth, forewarning them to flee Security, and careless walking under the profession of the same; discovering some of Satans wiles, whereby also wanton persons and their ungodly ways are disclaimed.

But this I confess unto thee, that after the way they call heresy, so worship I the God of my Fathers, believing all things that are written in the Law and the Prophets, and have hope towards God, which they themselves also allow, that there shall be a Resurrection of the dead, both of the just and unjust, Acts 24. 14, 15.

**For we cannot but speak the things which we have seen, and heard,
Acts 4:20.**

The Fourth Impression Corrected.

Printed at Leith, 1653.

To the Impartial Reader:

The consideration of these many errors that is this day abroad in the world, by which many poor souls are deluded through the entanglements of Satan, together with the inventions of men, by reason of that gross ignorance which over spreads the hosts of people, we find

ourselves engaged to bear witness to that truth of God which we possess and practice, which is so much mistaken, vilified and rejected: We therefore are willing to preprint this ensuing Confession of our Faith, together with Heart-bleedings for Professors' Abominations, it being formerly set forth by the Churches walking in the order of the gospel in London as that which does contain the principals and substance both of theirs and our Faith and order. And since the Lord has given to us an understanding heart, and enlightened eyes in the reading hereof, it will be by a means to take off that prejudice which generally returns to us. We find that mostly persons in these days are subject to one of these three extremes, viz., to sit down in a state of wickedness, without in this evil world, or else to cloth themselves with a form of godliness without submitting to the power of it, and so walk short of the golden rule of the Gospel. . . (cannot make out the words here) or become notional under pretence of enjoyments tramplating the Lord and His Truth under foot, as legal, and too contemptible for them to walk in; but if any hereby shall gain information and a better light, and are willing to follow the Lamb whithersoever he goeth, God shall have the glory, themselves shall reap the benefit, and we shall receive our reward, who subscribe ourselves faithful friends to all that wish well to Sion;

Leith the 10th of the first Month, Vulgarly called March, 1652, 3.

Signed in the name and by the appointment of the Church of Christ, usually meeting at Leith and Edinburgh. THOMAS SPENSER, ABRA. HOLMES, THO. POWELL, JOHN BRADY.

The Epistle to the Reader.
Courteous Reader,

There is nothing wherein Saints should be more conversant than in promoting the honor of the Lord and His Christ, striving and studying to walk before him agreeable to the truth recorded in His word, the consideration of which, is a strong inducement unto us to engage (to the utmost of our abilities) in this work, that when other men content themselves by living below the rule, we may strive to walk close thereunto, (suitable to the pattern left us by God in His word) and when many account it their glory to turn their backs upon what they professed to have received from Christ, we may strive to honor God, by a steadfast continuance in what we have received, and in a diligent speaking the things which we have seen and heard from him; the weight of which at first prevailed upon us to declare unto the world this our **Confession of Faith**, and faithful Epistle, which we have again reprinted, and made public for the reasons following.

First, the invitations and earnest solicitations of several of our Brethren, from all parts of the Nation, whose hearts long to behold (in public) our stability and perseverance in the way and truth of our God, that by it they may have wherewith to put to silence those who have lately taken liberty to reproach and undervalue the truth professed by us.

Secondly, that the world may behold that through grace, (by which alone we stand) we are preserved from back-sliding or revolting from the way and truth, we for some years have followed God in: IN which (through the faith and obedience) we trust to be continued, unto the coming of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ.

Thirdly, that we might prevent Satan and his accomplices in their enterprises, who have of late abounded more than ordinary, with stratagems and inventions to circumvent poor Saints, in their stability and love unto the truth, amongst which this was no small one (in several

remote parts) that we had cast off all our former profession and practice, so that none remained together, worshipping God in His way, owning themselves the Churches of Christ, but were grown up to a further attainment and light (as they say) to live more immediately with God and Christ, then in so low, mean, and contemptible a way as Ordinances, thinking thereby to stumble and dishearten many, whose hearts were approved to God.

Fourthly, That we might take off prejudice from the hearts of those (many of which we have comfortable hopes) who are or may be prejudiced against us, from these many invectives, and bitter unjust reproaches, we are or may be (for worshipping our God according to our consciences and rule of truth) exposed unto, and they (if it be the good pleasure of our God) come to understand our practice, and subject themselves to the Lord in His commands.

Lastly, The remembrance of what good this our undertaking hath formerly done in the Countries, where it hath been spread (of which we have had particular notice from several, whose hearts have been refreshed therewith) is no small inducement to us to bring this forth again in print.

Courteous Friend, we desire thee soberly to weigh and consider what we have professed before men and Angels, out of the simplicity of our hearts, and let not prejudice prevent your profiting. But make it your great care and study to give up your understanding to love and receive the truth, as it is in Jesus, delighting thyself in that Government, which is by His own hand established in His house. Be not disheartened although thou should hear of the miscarriage of some, knowing that in many things we sin all, and come short of the grace of our God. Or if thou should be advertised of the falling away of any one, do but consider we live in the last ages of the world, Wherein many shall depart from the truth, (neither is it a new thing for men to relinquish their profession.)

But strive thou to follow God fully, and to stand fast in the simplicity of the truth; and God our Father, and our Lord Jesus Christ be with thee, and be your guide and Counselor.

Signed in the name, and by the appointment of the aforesaid several Churches, meeting in London.

| | |
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| William Kiffen, | Edward Harrison, |
| John Spilsbery, | Richard Graves, |
| Joseph Sanson, | Edward Roberts, |
| Hugh Gosnell, | Thomas Waters, |
| Thomas Pault, | Henry Forthy, |
| Joseph Patshall, | Thomas Young, |
| William Conset, | John Watson. |

Hickhorngill's Fall and Recovery

[After a while Mr. Hickhorngill went off into Quakerism and notionalism (seekerism), common for many in those days, but he did not remain in such a condition. What follows is a series of letters dealing with this issue between the church at Hexham and the church at Leigh. In addition, you will note his happy restoration and return from such a terrible condition.

After this series of letters we will consider the Hexham church being disowned by the closed membership brethren and then their being received by the mixed membership churches. This was the beginning of their long decline and near death for many, many years. REP]

14. Mr. Thomas Stackhouse to the church at Hexham.

Dear Brethren,- After that the Lord had brought me safe hither, I was kindly entertained by Major General Lilburne in his house, who lovingly received the epistle, inquired of you all, and declared his joy in my return. It was his pleasure that I should continue here until Mr. Hickhorngill came back, and then if he refused to stand as formerly, to take me into the same relation. I was invited, and went to the church at Leith, where I obtained this enclosed for you. Touching that passage of their dealing with Mr. Hickhorngill, I did object that it was the judgement of some in the church at Hexham, that no person ought to have the censure of excommunication past upon him in any church, but in that only wherein he was first a member; and that it was conceived to be their duty only to admonish, withdraw, and certify concerning him. And therefore I desired some scripture from them that I might represent to you as a warrant for such a practice, for the satisfaction of those that question it. They offered none to me, save that of Titus iii. 10, and their unanimous approbation of it. Yet, nevertheless, they desired me to acquaint you that they were willing, if you had an opportunity, that you rather should deal with him; because they apprehended you had where withal to charge him, which they had not. The 12th of this instant he came to Dalkeith in a swaggering garb, full of vain and idle discourse, and in my judgment a desperate atheist. He hath caused much sadness upon the spirits of all his brethren here. And the colonel professeth that he is very much afflicted in him. When at supper he was desired to crave a blessing, he publicly replied that his devotion was worn threadbare, and often saith that he hath left his religion in England. He saith that he went from hence a Quaker; but now hath attained to a better and higher dispensation, wherein he finds much comfort, and rests upon the everlasting arm of his God, being overtaken neither with fear, anger, nor sorrow, but is full of joy in his God. And [he] propounds no other rule to himself but his reason, which if a man sin not against, he shall be happy enough. He seems to be very worldly, and is willing to stand as chaplain, though he will neither pray nor preach, otherwise than by common discourse. He is very cautious and sparing of his discourse with me. The reason he gives is, because he knows it is my principle to declare to the church what I know of him. Though he cares not a fig for excommunication, yet he would not be talked of in the world. He is very wicked and blasphemous. I have acquainted brother Tillam with some of his impieties, which I think he will communicate to you. Let him that stands take heed lest he fall. And now, my dear brethren, if you consider my condition here, it will call for the improvement of all your interest at the throne of grace for me. My work is great; my strength is small. My life in every respect is warfare. Corruptions within, enemies without. And though I never was in a condition wherein I might enjoy God and myself more fully, yet therein I see much danger, lest in this fat pasture I should lift up my heel against him that found out my way. My life hath been sweet to me, ever since I came from you, until Mr. Hickhorngill came, who troubles all that love the welfare of Sion, and causes them to vex their souls from day to day with his unlawful deed. My brother Bond. and I had had a sore trial. We have not wrestled with flesh and blood, but with principalities and powers, with spiritual wickedness in high places, having had many secret temptations stealing in upon us unawares, even the fiery darts of Satan, our wicked hearts being full of atheism. But blessed be God that hath given strength to overcome them, and hath taught us to deny the wicked one and his instruments any further discourse. For why should we question the reality of those things which we have

seen, and tasted, and handled? I am much refreshed when I think of your faith and love (James v. 16), and I doubt not but you will be mindful of,

Your poor brother in the faith, Tho. STACKHOUSE
Dalkeith, 5th month, 14th day, 1653.

15. Letter of commendation.

To all the churches of Christ in the grace and order of the gospel, joy and peace, with everlasting rest.

Holy and beloved,- After our dear salutations in the Lord Jesus, we offer unto your Christian communion, care, and guard, this our beloved brother, Hugh Hesloppe, who is baptized in the name of the Lord, and in full communion with us, your brethren; who do beseech you to open your arms of love to embrace and instruct him, according to the mind of Christ; in whom we are, Your most affectionate brethren, praying for your flourishing estate in these days of the power of our Lord Jesus. THOMAS TILLAM.

From the church of Christ at Hexham, in Northumberland, 23rd, sixth month, 1653.

16. Edward Hickhorngill to the church at Hexam

For the church of Christ at Hexham,

Dear Friends, - I cannot but be sensible of the perseverance of your love and tenderness, signified in a letter to brother Stackhouse, notwithstanding my inexcusable slighting and neglecting you. And truly how much your and long-suffering, after all my prodigal-like extravagances, bath wrought with me, I am not able to express. Blessed be God that bath not quite estranged the hearts of my dear brethren from me. But hath yet, through the abundance of his free love, not only afforded me smiles from himself, but bath given me a room (as I hope) in your hearts which as I saddened too, too long, by a grievous apostasy. So now I doubt not but by an unfeigned return to rejoice you. For I can, through grace, experience that godly sorrow that worketh repentance never to be repented of; having wrought in me carefulness to walk more uprightly for the future; yea, what indignation to my former wildness; yea, what fear further to offend. Yet still are my temptations strong, and my strength weak, having a heart hankering after novelties which haul (I find) hither to been my distemper, and partly the fuel of my extravagances. Let me, I beseech you, be happy in your fervent prayers to the Lord for me, and your Christian advice; and you will further be a comfort to me, and will add to all the former favors conferred upon, Your assuredly loving brother in the gospel bond,

E. HICKHORNGILL.

I am at present lieutenant to Captain Gascoigne, in Colonel Daniell's regiment, in his garrison of Johnston's; disposed hither by my old friend Colonel Lilburne, it being the first vacancy in Scotland after the resignation of my chaplain's employment. The brethren here at Johnston's are in good health, and would be glad to hear the same of you, and of the presence of the Lord with you. St. Johnston', 7ber, '53.

17. The church at Hexham to the church in Coleman Street, London;

To the church of Christ assembled in London, walking in the order of the gospel with our beloved brother, Mr. Hansard Knollys. Grace and peace be multiplied unto you through the knowledge of God, and of Jesus our Lord.

Dearly beloved Brethren,- We give thanks unto God, and the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, for his exceeding grace to us-ward; praying always for you, since we read your letters, hoped and longed for by us, which greatly refreshed our hearts, and turned our hope of rejoicing into praises and thanksgivings for your consolation. And this is our rejoicing, that the Father of lights hath not only in some measure shined into our hearts through the gospel, and called us out of darkness into his marvelous light, having quickened us who were dead in trespasses and sins, walking according to the course or the world, fulfilling the desires of the flesh and of the mind, being children on disobedience even as others; but also that it pleased the Lord when we were afar off, aliens from the commonwealth of Israel, and (as it were) without God in the world, to gather us who were scattered, and to call us into his fold, by that messenger of Christ, and your messenger, dearly beloved of us in the Lord, who is praiseworthy in the gospel among the churches, that we should be no more strangers and foreigner, but fellow citizens with the saints and of the household of God. And likewise that we should have a name and a memorial amongst the saints, who have obtained like precious faith, through the righteousness of God; and a room in your hearts, beloved of God, having acknowledged us that we are your rejoicing, even as you also are ours. And we thank our God upon every remembrance of you, always in our prayers for you all making request with joy, for your fellowship in the gospel from the first day until now, and for your example in an holy conversation (whose faith, and love, and piety is spoken of every where); that we may be followers of you as you are of Christ, walking by the same rule. And we also rejoice in your joy, giving thanks unto God and the Father for your thanksgivings, labor of love, and enlarged hearts towards us. And the rather, because all these things were for our sake, that the abundant grace might, through the thanksgiving or many, redound to the glory of God, that worketh all in all according to the counsel of his own will, and for the good of his chosen. For which cause we faint not under our present situation, but are exceedingly comforted in your consolation. Whilst that we know we are but herein followers of our precious Lord and Master Christ, of you, brethren, and of all that were in Christ before us, who received the word in much affliction, and endured the same persecutions which we also endure with patience and joy in the Holy Ghost. So that we can say, whether you were afflicted, or whether you were comforted, it was for our consolation and salvation; knowing this, that through many tribulations we must enter [the kingdom of God], and our light affliction, which is but for a moment shall work for us an eternal and far more exceeding weight of glory.

Now, thanks be unto God, which always causeth us to triumph in Christ, and gladdeneth our hearts with the savor of his knowledge, and communion with the saints in light. And we entreat you, brethren, that you would help together by prayer for us; that we may increase in all knowledge and spiritual understanding, being rooted and grounded in faith and love, and strengthened with might by his Spirit in the inward man; and likewise that we may be an honor to our profession, and so that they which speak ill of us may be ashamed, and beholding our good conversation in Christ may thereby be won to the obedience of the gospel. And we pray for you, brethren, that the great Shepherd of the flock would lead you forth in ways of pleasantness and paths of peace; establishing you in his truth, and making you fruitful, abounding in the work of the Lord, that so you may yet thrust forth many more laborers into the harvest, which may turn many to righteousness, and make glad the city of God. And our hope of you is steadfast, that an entrance shall be ministered unto you

abundantly, into the everlasting kingdom of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ; in whom, with much joyfulness, we subscribe ourselves.

[3rd day, 7th month, 1653.]

18. The church in Coleman Street, London, to the church at Hexham

From the church of Christ assembling in Coleman Street, London, 27th of the 7th month,

To our dear and well-beloved brother Tillam, with the church of Christ at Hexham, grace, mercy, and peace, be ever renewed and multiplied in you all, from the God of grace and the Father of all mercy; through Jesus Christ; who is full of grace and truth, and is the way, the truth, and the life, to all those that have an interest in him, for whatever may be desired in the life of grace, and enjoyed to all eternity in the life of glory.

Desiring also to have you in remembrance, in making mention of you in our requests at the throne of grace; that our God would give you the spirit of wisdom and revelation in the knowledge of the truth, the eyes of your understanding being enlightened, that you may know what is the hope of his calling in Jesus Christ, and may be able to prove what is the good, and perfect, and acceptable will of God; that through grace you may stand perfect and complete therein; that so you may walk worthy of the Lord unto all well pleasing. To that end the Lord guide you in the way that he shall choose, and make plain paths for you, leading you therein by his Spirit, ordering your steps according to his word, that you may not stumble in by-ways from the ancient paths, to walk in paths and in a way not cast up; but in the highway which is called holiness, wherein the way-faring men, though fools, yet shall not err; unto which the ransomed of the Lord shall return, and his redeemed ones shall walk there, where they shall obtain joy and gladness; and sighing shall flee away. For the Lord meeteth those that rejoice and work righteousness, and remember him in his ways, and hold on therein); that go on from strength to strength, that they neither faint in walking, nor are weary in running, till they come to their Father's house, and rest from their labors.

In the mean while, the Lord help you to cast weight, and the sin, whatever it be, that doth so easily beset you, that you may run with patience the race that is set before you, looking unto our Lord Jesus, the captain of our salvation, and the author and finisher of our faith; that you may be strengthened with all might, according to his glorious power, unto all patience and long-suffering with joyfulness holding fast the profession of your faith without wavering, till you come to the end of your faith, even the salvation of your souls.

Beloved brother, these may also give you to understand that we read your letter, dated the 3rd of this instant; the which was very welcome to us, not only for hearing of your affairs in the appearance of the Lord amongst you, for the which we have cause to rejoice in our God, and give thanks to our Father, as it is meet for us so to do; [but] because we hear of the growth of your faith, and that your love to each other aboundeth. We desire also to glory in our God, for the patience and faith in all your persecutions and tribulations that you do, and have endured, that you might be counted through grace worthy of the kingdom of God for which you suffer. Being not ashamed of the testimony of our Lord Jesus. You therefore are partaken of the afflictions of the Gospel.

We rejoiced also, in that you endeavored to answer those particular objections that our brethren at Newcastle had against you, that thereby, if the Lord please, we may also endeavor to satisfy them. To that end we have written a letter to them, wherein we have given to them

a copy of your answers to their objections. In the which we are satisfied only this -we see no clear rule, nor scruple, for the presenting of little children in our arms to Christ for a blessing, though it be we confess, our duty to pray for them, that the Lord would bless them. But in your expression we understand, that through grace you would not go beyond rule, nor come short therein; which gives us occasion to hope, that you will go no further therein, than rule will lead you into; and then, we doubt not but we and your brethren shall be one with you.

And as concerning the ministry, by which many of us have through grace been converted, and if so let us bless God for it, whomever he was pleased to make instrumental therein, and leave them to stand or fall to their Master, -we speak this the rather, that this might remove and not cause division amongst brethren. Because we are not much concerned in it, whether they are the ministers or Christ or no. But as for our brother Kaye, who, as we understand, being chosen by the mutual consent of the church of Christ, according to the order of his gospel, to be their minister, being fitted by the Lord thereto, we dare not but own, him a minister of Christ, and so will our brethren also we hope, at Newcastle, if they see no clear ground to the contrary. And as for singing of psalms with the world, that is with the multitude when you meet, as you have borne testimony against it, so you would shun the appearance of it, from the first to the last. We write it to take off all occasions of offence, that so through grace you that have received grace from Christ, may so walk in him that you may be perfectly joined together in one mind and in one judgment, according to the mind of Christ; yet you may be at peace amongst yourselves, and then the God of love and peace will be with you.

We have desired in our letter to our brethren at Newcastle, that they would give you a meeting, and that you would speak together face to face. And the like we shall earnestly desire of you, to give them a meeting; and if so, we desire that nothing may be done through strife, or from vain glory, but in all lowliness of mind, each esteeming other better than themselves. And let not every man look on his own things, but also on the things of others, that the same mind may be in you that was in Jesus Christ. Phil. II. 6, 7,8. And we do the more earnestly entreat you to have some conference with them, that, if the will of the Lord be [so], you may remove all dissentions and divisions [from] amongst you. And that every high thing in any of you, that exalts itself against the knowledge of God, may be put down, and that all may be brought into captivity to the obedience of Christ; that Christ may be all arid in all to you and amongst you.

It hath pleased the Lord, we hope, to put it into the hearts of the churches at London, with many other churches in other part's abroad, that have written lately to the churches of London, that there might be more knowledge taken of all the churches of Christ in the nation; whereby they may the better know how to own them, and demean themselves to each other upon all occasions; in confirming their love to each other, that they may serve one another in love, as it becometh saints. And therefore it would much sadden our spirits, if there should be any occasion given or taken amongst you, that you might not be upon the hearts of the churches in owning you as other churches. But if the Lord Please to make us one, we hope it will much refresh and rejoice our spirits. We would also advise you, if you think meet, that our brother Kaye, with some of the brethren there, may he at the meeting; that so their state may be more fully known to our brethren at Newcastle. But if they understand that both you and they are churches constituted according to the gospel of Christ, we doubt not but they will be satisfied therein, and we shall be certified thereof suddenly by them; the which will give us occasion to glory in our God, and to be intimate in our hearts to each other. We desire to salute the brethren at Stokesley, praying for you all, that whatever you have heard and received from our Lord Jesus, you may hold it forth and hold it fast till

he come. In the meanwhile, the Lord make you perfect in every good work to do his will, and work in you that which is well pleasing in his sight, and confirm you therein, to the end that you may be blameless in the day of our Lord Jesus.

Farewell in the Lord. Your brethren in the truths of Christ,

Jon. Penny, Elder, Walter JENNINGS,
W. Howard, Theodore JENNINGS,
TRU. CAMFIELDS, JOH. ARMIGER,
Jon. Posse, THOMAS BUTTIVANT,
WILLIAM Spier, JOH. WATSON.

We shall desire to hear of the receipt hereof, with all convenience.

[On the 1st of June, a letter was addressed by the churches to Ireland to their brethren in England, inviting the latter to unite with them in a monthly fast. The London brethren forwarded a copy of the letter to many country churches' on the 24th of July. They state their design to be, to obtain a full account of all the churches' in the kingdom, that a full knowledge might be possessed of all that were one with them 'in the sound principle' of truth." Among the names appended to this letter are those of John Perry, William Kiffen and Edward Harrison, Rippon's Register, App. p. 20.]

(Editor's Note, from here on note the open membership and open communion churches sending letters to the Hexham church, REP.)

19. To the church at Hexham from churches

To the church of Christ in Hexham,

Dearly beloved brethren in our Lord Christ,-We salute you in the Lord, praying for the multiplying of grace and peace upon you, from God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ.

The report of the works of God in you and for you, in persuading your hearts to obey his will in being baptized into the name of the Lord Jesus, whilst so many in all places endeavor to deter people from the embracing the plain precepts of Christ, and by all sorts of arts seek to darken the truth, and continue the profane abuse of infant sprinkling upon superstitious and Judaizing grounds, by which the reformation of the churches is hindered: and not only so, but that he hath kept you from those errors of universal grace, sufficient, but becoming effectual by the motion of man's will, not determined by God, [and] such other errors that corrupt other baptized people: and that he timely discovered that counterfeit Jew, who was likely either to have corrupted you, or brought you into obloquy: and the keeping you, as we hope, unspotted of the world-hath filled our hearts with joy, and enlarged our hearts in thanksgiving to God. And so much the rather, because we hope that from you the truth of God may spread further, and your holy conversation provoke those that are averse from the right ways of the Lord, in which you walk, to consider their ways and inquire after the mind of the Lord more earnestly. For all which reasons, and that there might be a holy union and correspondence held between us and you, as those that are members of one body, and have one spirit, and are called in one hope of our calling, having one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father, who is above all, and through all, and in you all, we have judged it our duty to write unto you, that we might congratulate with you for the mercy and grace of God vouchsafed to you, and assure you of our

readiness to assist you in any work of the Lord, whereby the kingdom of Christ may be advanced, and the opposite dominions of what sort soever may be depressed.

As for yourselves, though we are confident that he who hath begun the good work in you will perfect it to the day of Jesus Christ, yet being sensible that you have potent adversaries, who will endeavor with all cunning and violence to east you down to the earth, that you may lose the crown. We think it safe for you that you be exhorted by us to look to your garments, that they be kept clean, that you may be as the sons of God, without rebuke in the midst of a crooked and perverse generation, amongst whom ye shine as lights in the world. And because your steadfastness will rest much upon your order and unity, we beseech you that you mark them that cause divisions and offences, contrary to the doctrine you have received, and avoid them; and that you obey them that are over you in the Lord, who watch for your souls as they that must give account to God, that they may do it with joy and not with grief. Whatever differences may arise, labor to compose them among yourselves, and to keep the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace. Let nothing be done through strife or vain glory; but in lowliness of mind let each esteem other before themselves love, humility, will help much to unity. Take heed of lightness and inconstancy. If any have private opinion, let them not be divulged; but [let] each one seek privately information of their teachers or such as are most able, and not zealously promote them without regard to the church's peace. Let every one study to be quiet, and to do his own business; remembering that as in the body all members have not the same office, so it is in the church, and therefore each member is to keep his own place, and therein abide with God.

Brethren, if it had seemed good to the Lord, we should have been glad if our dwelling had been nearer, that we might have visited you in person. But the Lord otherwise ordering it, we have contented ourselves only at this time to signify our mind to you by writing; hoping to hear from you of the grace of God to you, in preserving and increasing you in the knowledge of Christ, and love of God, unto eternal life. We further signify to you, our longing to have with you, and all the baptized churches that hold the faith purely, such communion as that we may by letters, or messengers, in some meeting or meetings, communicate to each other our knowledge, for the rejecting of each other, and retaining of consent of doctrine among the churches. And we further desire, that there may be some certain way of approving and sending teachers from the churches, and of signifying to all churches of our communion, who are approved or disallowed as teachers, or in case of removal as brethren, that the churches of God may not be deceived by such impostors as the counterfeit Jew with you; and that popish and other devilish practices to divide or corrupt them may be prevented; though we hope the pastors in every church will be very watchful in this thing. For (the) present we have no more to write to you; but to entreat your prayers for us, as we for you, that you may stand complete in all the will of God; to whose tuition we commend you, and remain: Your strongly enchained brethren, in the bond of perfectness, [and] the unfeigned love of you in the Lord.

(It is probable that most of these churches sprang from the preaching of Mr. Tombs. In this year, 1653, he held a public dispute on baptism at Abergavenny. The Leominster brethren were wont to meet at Mr. Patshall's house, and were constituted a church on the 25th Sep. 1656. Some of these churches seem to have held the duty of laying on of hands, Ivimey, ii, 203-208, 589. Contrary to Ivimey's opinion, it would seem that at this time Mr. Tombs had identified himself with the baptists.]

In the name, and for the church at Weston under Penniard, in Herefordshire, JOHN SKINNER, Teacher, JOHN STREET, JOHN SLOMMER, THOMAS RUDGE, Brethren.

In the name, and for the church meeting at Abergavenny, Monmouthshire, WILLIAM PRICHARD, Teacher, RICHARD RODGERS, ANTHONY HART, Brethren.

In the name, and for the church baptized in the Forest of Dean, in the county of Gloucester, William Skinne, John Mills, Francis Pobb, Elders.

In the name, and for the church at Lintile, in Herefordshire.

John TOMBS, Pastor, JOHN PATSHALL, JOHN WANCKLIN, elders.

In the name, and for the church at Bewdley, in Worcesterhire

(Crosby attributes the formation of this church to the labors of Mr. Tombs during his residence at Bewdley, as the parochial minister. On his departure, Mr. Bolstone, or Captain Boylstone, seems to have become its pastor. Crosby, 1, page 288.)

THO BOLSTOR III, Phillip Mun, Robert Goodlad, Elders.

In the name, and for the church at Netherton, in Gloucestershire. RICHARD HARRISON; PAUL FRUM, WILL. DREW, Elders.

[This Harrison is said to have been a preacher at Hereford by Mr. Thomas. He is called "a noted popular baptist minister," p. 16.]

[Probably Mr. Paul Frewen, who was ejected from Kempsey at the Restoration. He was a good preacher, and very popular; and became ministers of a church in Warwick, Palmer's Noncon. Men. 1, 546]

In the name, and for the church in the city of Hereford, R. London, CHA. Powell, Steve Chamberlin.

In the name, and for the church at Wormbredy; John Bell.

In the name, and for the church meeting in Coleman Street, Swan Alley, London (it coming to us) 2nd day of the 8th month, 1653; HENRY JESSEY, Teacher, GEORGE BAOGOTT, GEORGE WADDLE, Brethren.

[This eminent man, Jessey, for some time pastor of the first independent church in London, was baptized by Mr. Hansard Knollys in 1645. During the Commonwealth he continued to lecture in St. George's church, Southwark; but was ejected at the Restoration. The locality of his church has till now been placed at Woodmonger's Hall. The letters now printed prove it to have been Swan Alley, Coleman, Wilson's Disa ch. i. 46; Ivimey, ii. 216.]

(Editor's Note: here mark the distinction between the two Particular Baptist Churches, both meeting in Coleman Street, in London, the closed membership pastored by Hansard Knollys, and the open membership pastored by Henry Jessey, REP).

The messengers from this our church, and that with our brother H. Knollys, and from Mr. John Simpson, and others, meeting at Blackfriars, wrote a large letter to you, many weeks since, about nearer communion and provoking to pray for the pouring forth of the Spirit, for furnishing ministry, magistracy, &c. But we received no answer back, though you seem to say that you received that letter, in the letter written by Mr. Thomas Tillam to Mr. Tombs, dated 5th month, 26th day, '53.

20. The church in Swan Alley, Coleman Street, to the church at Hexham;

2nd of 8th month, 1653;

To our beloved brethren and sisters, the church of God meeting at Hexham, faith working by love be increased through the good knowledge of God our Father, and of our Lord Jesus Christ.

Dearly Beloved,-It was much matter of joy to us, that by a hand of providence, this larger letter from some churches in Herefordshire, with whom we have communion, was sent to one of us to be sent to you; wherein we do sweetly accord our hearts joining fully with the contents thereof, rejoicing to behold of late this good spirit that dwells in the churches of Christ, which are his temple, so uniting and knitting them together in the bond of love, and so seeking to enjoy more communion together amongst such as are sound in the faith, and that desire to walk as becomes the gospel.

And much refreshing hath our gracious God afforded to our 5pirits lately, at the return of a messenger and teacher of ours, and of another of the church meeting at Great Allhallows, London (of which church about 200 have been baptized within these three years), who were sent to visit the churches nearer us than you, in the counties of Essex, Suffolk, and Norfolk, and to understand their way and order, and to further love, amongst all that love the Lord Jesus in sincerity, and communion with them. Who returning, have related to us with what sweetness in love, and heart meltings in beholding the Lord's love to the brethren, they were received in the Lord by the several churches, about ten in Essex, as many in Suffolk, and as many in Norfolk, sound in the faith, and holy in life, though differing from some about the subject and manner of the ordinance of baptism; or (from] some about such laying on of hands, or blessing children, or singing 'psalms, or hymns, or spiritual songs, &c, as they were advised also by these messengers. And though every truth is good, yet we desire that in all churches all truths be managed in the wisdom of the Spirit, and in all love, considering 1 Cor. xiii. 1, and vii, and Rom. xiv. and xv, chapters; Eph. iv.

We are not wanting to propound those six things that should [at] once be laid down, that are spoke of Heb. vi. 1, 2; and we endeavour to inform all therein that we judge faithful, being propounded to us, and to help the weak. But if some cannot receive what is held out about baptism, laying on of hands, or singing &c, and yet show forth teachableness and peaceableness, we dare not exclude such from the visible kingdom of God, merely for weakness' sake. Some scripture grounds for such practice are laid down in the book called "A Storehouse." If any of us he otherwise minded, we are to wait in God's way) until he shall reveal that same thing. If herein you are not satisfied as we are, we shall be glad if there may he mutual help herein, or else, so far as we have attained, let us mind the same things, and be as helpful each to others as we can.

[Those questions were agitated in all parts of the country at this time. At the Welsh Association in 1651, "Question concerning singing psalms and laying on of hands were propoused to be considered by the churches. Thoman's Hist. in Rippon's Register, p. 7. See also the precious records In this volume.]

["A Storehouse or Provision to further Resolution in matters of Conscience,... About living above ordinances & About general redemption. About Separation, Offences, Baptism, and its use. About Communion with unbaptized [persons], &c. By H. Jessey, London, 1650." "From my Lodging in Coleman St. London, in Swan Alley."]

By what we have heard of you) we judge you are a church of Christ, with which he hath communion; and therefore we are willing to enjoy communion with you, as occasions may be. And we do entreat you to seek the face of the Lord in our behalf, that we may walk worthy in all well pleasing, so as to glorify his name, and to give no just occasion of offence to Jew or Gentile, to one or other; and we hope that herein also we shall be mindful of you. Being your loving brethren and fellow servants, and fellow heirs, though most unworthy.

In the name of; and for the church meeting at Swan Alley, in Coleman Street.

HENRIE JESSEY, GEORGE BURRET, Teachers; Math. STRANGE, GEORGE WARE, Tho. SHEFOLD, Brethren.

If you would write back to the churches in Herefordshire,

[Although pastor of a pedobaptist church, Mr. Jessey did not relinquish office when his sentiments on baptism were changed but continued twenty-five years to minister to them. Baptism never became a term of communion in his church. "Though formerly the whole, and to his dying day, some of the congregation was of the contrary judgement, yet no division or falling off did thence arise at all. In 1647, Mr. Jessey wrote "This practice in our church [of mixed communion] **above two years**, hath produced no such ill fruits; but the contrary good, in procuring more to favor this baptism, or not so bitterly to oppose it. We all desiring to follow after love and peace in humility forbearing each other therein, and have no cause of repenting; but of much blessing the Lord, for this our course herein." The practice of open communion seems to have begun with Mr. Jessey. **Life, &c.**, pp.9, 87. **Storehouse, &c.** p.101.]

(Editor's Note, this is a very true and correct observation, but only so far as in England. Elsewhere it had already been practiced in Wales, as we have seen earlier, by Powell and his friends. Orchard presented the entire history of Open Communion very well in his *The History of Open Communion*, which we will include in these our studies in due time, REP)

and know not so convenient a way, you may send your letters to London for Mr. Tombs, &c, to Mr. Jessey, in Swan Alley, in Coleman Street, who is willing to perform that service of love.

(Please note from here on the regular Particular Baptists no longer recognized the Hexham church as a true gospel church. In addition, at Jessey's death, the baptized portion went and joined with Mr. William Kiffen, making about the fourth group to come out of that Pedobaptist church and go over to the Particular Baptists. REP)

21. The church at Hexham to the church in Swan Alley Coleman Street, London.

For our dearly beloved brethren and sisters, walking in communion with the Reverend Mr. Henry Jessey, in Swan Alley, in Coleman Street, London. Grace and peace be shed abundantly upon you, by the Spirit, from God our Father, and from the Lord Jesus Christ.

Dearly beloved in the Lord, - It hath been several times upon our hearts to return answer to your gracious epistle, sent to us many months since; but by reason of some, who seemed to be contentious, we have hitherto been hindered. For as the opposition hath been great, which we have met with from all hands, ever since we first made visible profession of the despised truths of the Lord Jesus so, especially, those conflicts have been most sad, which for some months last past we have had with the brethren of a neighboring church, who profess to walk by the same rule with us. **A spirit of rigidity doth so far sway among them, that they cannot own us, because we can own unbaptized churches and ministers for churches of Christ and ministers of Christ;** though we also judge in those churches and ministers something as to order wanting, which God in his own time may reveal unto them. Although from others we have endured cruel buffetings, yet these have made long furrows upon us. Neither yet are our breaches healed, though we wait and pray for the healing of them. But

our thanksgivings unto our God are upon every remembrance renewed in your behalf, for the gracious healing frame of spirit which breathes in and through your lines to us. It was sweet refreshing unto our spirits; and we were comforted in your joy, to hear of the prosperity of Sion, and that in several counties the standard of the Lord Jesus is set up, and many there be that flock unto it, who are sound in the faith and holy in their conversation.

[Mr. Gower's charges were sent in the previous December, see before, p. 294.]

[In "The Storehouae," from p. 96 to p. 122, Mr. Jessey treat, at length of this subject. See also Bunyan's Works, p. 591, vol. ii; Offer's edit. Bunyan quotes Mr. Jessey's opinion in support of his own, against Mr. Kiffen and Mr. Paul.]

Holy and beloved brethren, our hearts' desires and prayers to God are, that we may be one with all those who have union with the Father and the Son, by his Spirit, in all the ordinances of the gospel. As to the deformities which are found in the churches of the saints, if but merely circumstantial, we desire to walk by the same rule with you, Phil. iii. 15, 16. And as many as walk according to it, peace shall be upon them. It would be exceedingly for our consolation, if (as oft as God shall give you an opportunity) we may hear of your affairs, and of every design which God shall put into your hearts, and of the rest of the precious churches of Christ near unto you, for the promoting in the world the royal interest of the Lord Jesus.

Finally, brethren, we pray for you, and desire you to continue in prayer for us, that we may be kept steadfast and unblamable in faith and holiness, always abounding in the work of our Master, that at his coming he may find us so doing; in whom we [are],
Your fellow servants and companions,

THOMAS OGLE, THO. TILLAM, ROWLAND HARRISON, JOHN WARD, STEPHEN ANDERTON.

Signed by the appointment of the church, 2nd, 20th, 1654. [April 20th, 1654.]

JOHN THIRILWALL, JOHN READSHAW, Deacons,

22. The church at Hexham to the church at Leominster.

To the church of God which is at Leominster, with all those holy societies walking in brotherly communion, under the vigilant guard of faithful overseers. Unsearchable riches of grace be abundantly poured upon you, from the faithful Witness, who hath loved us, and washed us from our sins in his blood.

Holy and Beloved, - Your evangelical epistle, many months since read amongst us, was even as health unto our navel and marrow to our bones. Wherein we have greatly rejoiced, looking therein to God's gracious design of refreshing our fainting spirits, and through you, in the midst of those afflictions which we have through grace been counted

worthy to suffer, ever since we owned and professed the despised truths of the Lord Jesus, so valiantly maintained by the constant labors of that faithful and good soldier of the Lord of hosts, in whose endeavors (as all the saints, so) you in a special manner are blessed. The many contradictions we have met with must needs make us more truly sensible of his combats and affronts from time to time, both in England and Wales.

[Probably Mr. John Tombes. He was born in 1603, and settled at Leominster as its parish minister about 1630. He was baptized about 1646, and removed to Bewdley, his native place. He was one of the most learned men of his day. He addressed the Assembly of Divines on the question of baptism, but without effect. In 1653 he was appointed by parliament one of the Triers of Ministers, and held the living of Bewdley. After the Restoration he conformed; but without surrendering his views on the invalidity of infant baptism. Crosby 1, pps. 278, 292; jii. 2]

We hope, dear brethren, you need no motives to put your shoulders to this great task, by your fervent prayers, &c. And as we desire unfeignedly to bless God for that eminent worthy in our Israel, so for you all, in beholding that blessed band of love, so firmly fastened about so many precious congregations; which makes you very amiable in our eyes, as in the eyes of him whose heart your chain hath ravished. But, alas! dear brethren, we have never so much as tasted of such a mercy, being by the wise hand of God congregated in such a corner, where we have been so far from this glorious gospel privilege; that even that only church in this county, which was in the profession of the faith before us, hath rather weakened our hands in the Lord's work, through much harshness (as we humbly conceive); striking at our very foundation, because we dare not but own godly preachers and congregations (though unbaptized) as ministers and churches of Christ. For though as touching baptism we look on them as deficient, yet beholding so clear a zeal to their ministry, we are even constrained to bear this testimony. For though such be not ministers to others, yet doubtless they are to many of us, who cannot claim any work of conversion but even through such instruments.

And truly, brethren, these saddest conflicts have thus long occasioned our silence. But now, our God seemeth to moderate the spirits of our brethren, and through grace hath kept us sound in the faith, not any of us tainted with that Arminian poison that hath so sadly infected other baptized churches. Only those deceived souls, called Quakers, have

[Newcastle, sixteen miles from us.]

["This opinion of freewill, with the rest therein exprest, doth increase so much in these Northern parts, and it comes with such a face of rationality, that many poor precious hearts, who are weak in the faith are apt to stumble, and in an especial manner some about Hull, where I was an eye and ear witness not long since of the sad disaster that is befallen the church of Christ there upon that account. Hobson's **Fourteen Queries**, &c., Preface, London 1655.]

been very active in these parts, and have seduced two of our society and six of Newcastle church. And now, dearly beloved, having truly acquainted you with our state, we being about seventy persons (the greater number men), all kept alive from the first day (almost two years) Until now, we beg your praises, your prayers, your consolatory returns, not taking example by our long silence, whereby we have been even constrained. And now the blessed presence of Christ be ever with you, and bear you up steadfastly in his everlasting arms, waiting for our Lord's return, Heb. ix. 28, in whose rest we shall meet, and rejoice with all our precious brethren and sisters, who shall then fully experience the truth of Paul's doctrine, 2 Cor. iv. 14-18; with joint expectation whereof, we rejoice to subscribe ourselves,

Your endeared brethren in the faith of God's elect, THO. TILLAM.

23. The church at Stokesley to the church at Hexham.

To the pastor and brethren of the church of Christ gathered in or about Hexham, grace and peace be multiplied.

Dearly beloved Brethren,--The sweet savor of the gracious expressions manifested in your pastor's letter sent unto ours, being communicated unto us, hath refreshed our souls, and no less increased our thirsting after the enjoyment of your prosperity, we being desirous to be mutual instruments to establish one another; that is, that we may be comforted together with you, by the mutual faith both of you and us, Rom. i. 11, 12; that all of us, as a cloud of witnesses, may follow our Forerunner, the Author and Finisher of our faith, in whom alone all the churches are completed, to buy and Sell, Without any mark or stamp of man's approbation; so that as distinct bodies (though but as members of one mystical body, where of Christ is the head), we are sensible of our duties, as being bound with the ligaments of faith and love, so that we cannot but either mourn, or rejoice, and join in any duty of love With

you, our dearly beloved sister church. And therefore, though we do not doubt but that you have spread the libels and despiteful printed pamphlets, like the letter of railing Rabskakeh, before the Lord, Isa xxxvii. 14, compare Acts iv. 29; and looked upon the stones that cursed Shimei cast at David (as their violence that have assaulted the state of our dear brother and your pastor) with that Christian application, that (which to the blind world seems miraculous) you have already eaten your hidden manna, in the enjoyment of your peace, which the world cannot take from you; and thereby see the evidences of your salvation, and [are made] with your brethren to be conformable to Christ in sufferings: yet, nevertheless, we cannot but incessantly pray (as our duty, and as desired) that your faces may shine through the mire and dirt which the troubled sea hath cast upon you; that you all, like Paul and Barnabas (when the envious multitude contradicted and blasphemed), may wax more and more bold in the Lord, Acts xlii. 45, 46. And We hope that the blast of reproaches shall not blow out your light; but that it being set on a hill may burn more dearly, and thereby, Job-like (Job xxiii. 10), you become tried gold. For though Satan always hath acted in his 'instruments, to blaspheme those who have been chosen witnesses for the planting of the gospel in the primitive churches, in opposition to the world of heathens and Jewish church, as now we are engaged, to the ruin of antichrist, yet they have flourished.

Be ye therefore encouraged in the Lord. Rejoice and be exceeding glad. Christ must have his cross carried, and none more fit than we to bear it. Look up, it is white unto harvest. The dawning of the day of the reign of the saints is already begun, so: that this sun shall be dried up, or kept within its own channel. That God shall beat down Satan under your feet shortly, you need not fear. Nor shall you want our prayers, nor our assistance in any [matter], wherein we can serve you. And as a little taste of the fruit of our vineyard (returning you thanks for yours), we desire your acceptance of this enclosed, as being our experience, desiring the saints' prayers. The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with your spirits. Peace be with you all. Amen. Written by W. Kaye, Pastor.

And signed with approbation of the church of Christ, now at Stokesley, by the testimony of GEORGE BUTLER, Thomas Young.

24. The church at Newcastle to the church at Hexham.

Dear Friends, - We salute you in the Lord, wishing grace, mercy, and peace to be multiplied upon you, from God the Father, through the Lord Jesus.

The cause of our Writing to you at this time, is in reference to a letter we received from Mr. Tillam about some things he had against Major Hobson," who, through mercy, at this time is a brother with us. Although the ground of Mr. Tillam's information was from Mr. Hammond's letter, who

[He is said by Dr. Calamy to have been ejected from the chaplaincy of Eton College, In 1639 he took part in at the forming a baptist church in Crutched Friars, and with Mr. Gower signed the Confession of 1644, as an elder of one of the seven churches in London. He became after this a captain in the army; but when he and Mr. (lower came ~ Newcastle is uncertain, (Crosby, iii. 26. In 1655, he published a small volume, which-seems to have originated with the disputes referred to in this letter. It is entitled, "**Fourteen Queries and Ten Absurdities;** and to the extent of Christ's death, to predestination, and kindred subjects. He calls himself a member of the church at Newcastle. There is prefixed a recommendatory epistle from Mr. Thomas
Glower.]

we fear hath 'prejudicial thoughts, not only against Major Hobson, but also against Mr. Tillam, or any that are opposite to him. And that we judge you are sensible of as well as we, which gives us less ground of jealousy. [As it] ought [to be] considered to God as well as in answer to Mr. Tillam's desire, we thought it our duty to search the business to the bottom, and for that end we did appoint some of our brethren to go to Mr. Hammond? to know of him these three things: --first, whether he did inform Mr. Tillam; if he did, what ground he had for it; thirdly, the time when this should be. For the first, he acknowledged that he wrote such a letter. And for the second, we find the greatest ground of his reports was from the reports of others. And as for the last thing, which was the main thing, that is, the time when these things should be, whether it was since he set out his last book; or since he propounded himself to us; or whether it was before God met with his spirit, when he was in the ways of his wantonness; he did acknowledge that those things he did accuse Major Hobson of in his letter, were things done before the fore-mentioned time, and that since those times he cannot accuse him of any such things, and therefore we judge it no sufficient ground to hinder his joining with us, knowing that God hath been pleased, through his grace and love, to make him with shame to be more ready to accuse himself, and acknowledge his own evil committed in those days of wantonness, than any can be to accuse him. And we trust through grace it will appear to you and all the world, that he is not a lover but a loather of all such unworthy practices. Now, dear friends, we could not but let you know so much, being persuaded you know of the letter Mr. Hammond wrote to Mr. Tillam, and Mr. Tillam to us. And we are the rather provoked to write to you, fearing such reports may cause your spirits to slight and question the gracious and kind dealings of God with his soul. Besides we had some information that this report Mr. Tillam had from Mr. Hammond, is by some reported to the men of the world. But at present We cannot accuse any [One in] particular, until we are further informed. But if any such things should be, we judge it very unsuitable to the rule of truth. These things we thought good to present unto you, for your satisfaction as well as our own. So desiring the God of all grace to keep both you and us from embracing of, or acting in, any thing but what we may cheerfully look God in the face in the great day of the Lord, to whose grace we leave you, and remain,

Your desirous brethren in truth and love, if the way were clear in all gospel bonds.

By the appointment of the church of Newcastle.

Tho. GOWER, JAMES TURNER, GEOG. OLIVER, LEWIS FROIST, JOH. CARRATH.

We shall write to Mr. Tillam when we hear of his return. Newcastle, May the 28th, 1654.

[Probably minister of St. Nicholas, Newcastle, and who wrote against the false Jew. Douglas, p. 60;]

25. The church at Warrington to the church at Hexham.

Dearly Beloved in the Lord, our hope and our joy,--The choicest graces and spiritual blessings be multiplied and continually flowing into your souls, from that eternal Fountain whence refreshing streams of divine consolation have (through grace) been conveyed unto us, by Iris eminent (by us entirely affected) servant of Jesus Christ,[!] who we trust will be instrumental (in the hand of our God, whom we serve)

[Probably Mr. Tillam.]

to carry, on both you and us in this our pilgrimage, in a progress of grace, so as one day he may present us with exceeding joy, one pure and Spotless virgin, before^e our Redeemer; when he of whom the Lord hath made such a blessed use, shall shine as a star in glory.

Precious brethren, that we faint not in our journey, how necessary is it that our joint interest be mutually improved at the throne of grace in each other's behalf, that in these dangerous declining times, when it is evident our grand adversary, perceiving his tottering kingdom near a fall, is employing his utmost forced and deepest subtleties to delude and draw poor souls from their profession.

We desire to magnify the name of our God for [That] refreshment to our spirits received by your sweet epistle, wherein doth appear the steadfastness of your faith in Jesus Christ, maugre all the malice manifested by the endeavors of the enemy and his instruments, some of whom have been busily employed in these parts to the seducing of many. Yet through mercy we stand, to the praise of the glory of that grace which we acknowledge our support.

We bless God for the continual enlargement of your heart to the liberty of our dearly beloved brother's stay with us, though God is pleased to order it now but short.

Brethren, we beseech you pray for us, that the knowledge of Jesus Christ may increase Amongst us; that we may come to a more clear apprehension of that great mystery, God in Christ and Christ in us, united and made one with him by the eternal Spirit. Then shall we perfectly see the tabernacle of God dwelling with men, and have occasion (from such blessed communion) to rejoice with joy unspeakable and full of glory; when all doubts and distractions will be passed away, no night or cloud interpose betwixt our souls and the love of our precious Redeemer. Ah! This would be a precious pledge, or earnest, of that glorious Condition unto which we [shortly] shall be translated, where we shall have a full enjoyment of him, whom now our souls are thirsting after, in inconceivable and eternal glory.

Peace be to you all, and love with faith, from God our Father and the Lord Jesus Christ; in whom we are,

Your entirely affectionate brethren, WILL BOOTH, THO. FOLLINGS, PETER EATON, THO. HOLLAND, JOHN TOMLESON, CHARLESHOLLAND, ROBERT HILLINGTON, RIC. AMERY. JOHN SPROSGON, Warrlington, 4th mouth, 26th day, 1654.

26. The church at Hexham to the Church at Newcastle.

Dear Friends, -- We salute you in the Lord, praying that abundance of grace, and of the sweet Spirit of the Lord Christ, may be manifested in the midst of you.

We have, after many prayers, some conferences with you and sober replies, for many months sat down in silence, waiting when the Prince of peace, who delighteth to see His people walk in love, I would rebuke that spirit of bitterness and perverseness, which hath so long walked betwixt you and us. But now, alas to the amazement of our spirits, when we hoped for healing behold contention, and when we looked for a closure beheld a widening of our breaches. When your late letter, sent to our precious bro. Tillam, was with grief by him spread before us, it caused a sympathizing sadness upon our hearts, when we heard your lines fraught with so much prejudice against him, whom we own and have proved truly faithful, both to us and to you, and all the people of God as he hath opportunity. It is and hath been his and our Burden, and we must bear it, that the more we love you the less we are beloved of you. If our beloved bother Tillam had, out of his zealous affection for your welfare, acted something besides rule, which we judge in that business he did not, you ought rather to have forgiven him the wrong in love, than so highly (though without grounds) in your letter to have censured him for it. Since that what he did was in love and tenderness, which he bears to the honor of the Lord Jesus, and the preserving of your communion spotless, in case the thing which were reported of brother Hobson had been a truth.

We are so far from judging our brother Tillam to have acted disorderly, that we are satisfied his carriage in that business was according to the mind of Christ; and we dare affirm it before the Lord mad his saints, that he had been both wicked and unfaithful to his master, and [to]

you his, people, if he had not put you upon the inquiry into such reports, whether they were true or no. His work was only to be a monitor to you, not an accuser of your brother Hobson. What he did was to put you upon your duty, which was to inquire after, not to charge any evil upon him, as from his own knowledge. We had rather bewail than aggravate the many un-gospel-like actings which in your letter you appear guilty of, whilst you would charge brother Tillam with the guilt of one. Your particular irregularities, and his defense, you may expect from his own pen to be presented to you. We thought it our duty to leave this our sad resentment with you of your carriage towards him, and through him towards us; and to desire that you would see seriously lay to heart, how mightily the Lord Christ suffers through our divisions. Oh! what a vast deal of ground, ere this day, had the Lord Christ gotten in the kingdom of Satan and antichrist, which stands yet little or nothing broken in these parts, had a healing spirit timely interposed itself, so that we might as one man have put our shoulder to the work of God. Consider, we pray you, whether may not the apostasy of some, the staggerings of others that yet stand, the discouragement of weak ones whose faces are Sionward, yet do keep at distance, not thinking it safe to close with those who are not at unity among themselves---consider, we pray you, whether all of these and many more, shall not be scored up upon the account of our unhappy differences. We leave these upon your spirits.

The Lord make them of weight with you, that yet at the last, if it be the will of God, all bitterness may be taken out from among us, and a happy composure wrought among those who profess themselves-- Yours in the unity of faith and baptism,

Rich. ORDE, John Ward, Elders.

JOHN THIRLWALL, JOHN READSHAW , Deacons.

STEPHEN ANDERTON, EDWARD BELL, JOHN CARNABY, MICHAEL AYDEN, ROWLAND HARRISON, HENRY ANGUS, ANTHONY HUNTER, MARK TAYLOR, JAMES CARRE, John Johnson, John JOBLIN, JOHN ORDE, ADAM STEPHENSON, EDWARD BROWELL, ANTHONY COLLYER,

Signed by the appointment of the whole church of Christ, assembled at Hexham, 6th month, 3rd day, 1654.

For our friends in Newcastle, walking in communion with Mr. Thomas Goare [Gower].

27. The church at Newcastle to the church at Hexham.

Dear Friends, for so we must needs call you, 'though at present we cannot own you as we desire, We received an answer to a charge of ours, with all or many of your hands at it, wherein Mr. Tillam, with you, endeavored to give us satisfaction; which answer of yours we have received, and do judge it insufficient. It doth not in the least reach or amount to that as to give us any satisfaction, but by it we remain rather more dissatisfied; by reason of those evasions, and not that simple and single-hearted dealing in the things of God, as the gospel of Christ calls for at your and our hand. The reason of our writing now is, for fear lest you, or some of you, either have had, or may have, some hard thoughts of us, in that we have not returned you an answer to your reply to the charge; which charge and answer we have sent to London, to the church where he was a member, conceiving of it [as] the only equallest way that we could walk in; and not only so, but most suitable to a rule in our judgments and understandings, (in regard we could not own you [as a church] according to a gospel rule, however you seem much to be satisfied in yourselves that you are so), that they might judge

righteously between you and us, and also deal with your brother Tillam for his several evils there charged against him. Now this is the only reason we have to give you, why we did not meddle any further in reply to you, though there was then intended by some of us a taking notice of the an-rower, wherein it was short of satisfaction, seeing what we did was done principally with reference to them who (we trust) stand fast in the same faith and practice with us; who did at the first write to us about you, desiring (if it were possible) that there might be closure between you and us. Therefore we desire, if there have been any misconstruction put upon our silence to your answer 'to the charge, that you impute it not to us for the aforementioned reasons; because we could not well appeal to him nor you, judging you to be under sin with him, Psa. L : 18; in that you have made his actions yours, by owning of or consenting to them, and not yet as we hear repenting of it by a public disowning of them. Therefore what we have done was to satisfy those that were in communion with us, namely, the churches at London, and therefore absolutely did judge ourselves no further engaged to you.

Yet, however, we are willing to let you know this, that we may lie under no just censure from you in this business But that as our consciences are clear in the sight of God in this business, so it may be in yours also. Therefore, dear friends, be pleased to excuse us because we deal plainly. It is for God, and not for men, that we desire to judge. There, fore we hope we shall be the more excusable in your consciences, for we do verily believe our plain dealing with Mr. Tillam and you, will meet us with comfort at the great day, when the secrets of all hearts shall be judged according to the gospel. If we were in, or could be yet in, a capacity to do any Christian duty or office of love to you, we shall, we hope, and will remain willing. However, we cannot do that for you our souls desire at present.

Oh I dear friends, consider why will ye yet keep up that which makes this distance between you and us ? and why will you suffer yourselves to be robbed and spoiled of that comfort your precious souls seek out after, by going out of Babylon by half? Flee out of her.. Be not partakers of her sins, lest you be partakers of her plagues. Why will you suffer yourselves and us to be robbed of that comfort and communion we might have together? Why will you keep up that which neither God nor his truth enjoins you; we mean the aforementioned cause of distance? And why will you walk so uncharitably as you do towards us, seeing you own us as sister church with you, in that you will not remove the cause of our offence, trouble, and distance? Truly did that spirit of love and tenderness live in your hearts as lives in Christ's, you would not thus occasion this trouble and matter of sorrow and grief to us, as you do, by such an unsuitable walking. Therefore, pray consider and forsake that which is sinful; we mean, all those owning and pleadings for that which you have pleaded for in your answer to our case, with all other things that are justly a cause of difference between us, that the truth of God doth not approve of then, we trust, we shall be found meeting you in a way of truth and righteousness, doing our duties faithfully towards you, as such as are truly resolved to live and walk with Christ, upon a single and simple-hearted account.

We have no more to say at present; but to leave you to and with the Lord, and the simple consideration of what we have here faithfully [written] to discharge our duties to you in all gospel ways. With that gospel frame of spirit at present we stand in, and shall subscribe ourselves, Your friends, and desired brethren,

LEWIS FROST, Tho. Gower, Jo. Carruth, HENRY HUDSON, GEORGE OLIVER, SIMON Duxbury, MICH. DARKER, John READSHAW, ANDREW JOPLIN, Robert BLENKINSOPP, JAMES TURNER, MICHAEL CATESWORTH, Thomas Gibson;

This was signed by the appointment of the whole church. We have this to add, that if you desire a particular answer to your answer to our charge, we shall be ready to give it you, in a suitable and seasonable time, for your particular satisfaction. Only we desire you will be pleased to send us a copy of your commission to preach, which you had from the propagators,' and a copy of your order when you went to Hexham, and a copy of your order by which you receive your maintenance.

In the behalf of the whole, I, being appointed, do subscribe.

THOMAS GOWER. From the church of Christ at Newcastle, to our dear friends at Hexham, 27th day of the 6th month, 1654.

28. A Letter of commendation.

To all the saints walking in the order of the gospel, grace and peace be multiplied.

Beloved in the Lord, After our dear salutes in the Lord Christ, we commend Unto you this our precious and dearly beloved sister in the Lord, Elizabeth Heslop, who hath obtained the like precious faith, and Submitted to the same baptism with us, and hath continued in full communion with us from the first day until now. Receive her, therefore, we pray you, into your Christian embraces. For this confidence we have of her, that she will prove an ornament to the gospel, and give you occasion to rejoice in her communion; which will be matter of great consolation to our spirits, who are:

Your most endeared brethren praying for your steadfastness in the faith, and your perfection in every good word and work,

STEPHEN ANDERTON, MICHAEL AYDON, RICHARD ORDE, ROBERT ELWOOD, JAMES CARRE, JOHN ORDE.

From the church of Christ meeting at Hexham, in Northumberland, 1 st day, 7th month, 1654.
JOHN THIRLWALL.

29. The church at Hexharn to Sir Thomas Liddell.

From the church of Christ, assembled at Hexham, 7th month, 1654.

For the Right Worshipful Sir Thomas Liddell.

Worthy Sir,--The many and sweet experiences which this poor despised church hath had of your and your precious lady's' favors, have solemnly engaged us to honor you, and we look upon it as a duty incumbent upon us to acquaint you, that you have a large interest in our hearts, and a choice room in our prayers. It hath been many times as marrow and fatness to our spirits, when we have heard of your love, which you bear to the meanest that bear anything of the image of the Lord Jesus. But, oh! what consolation was it to us, when we heard of your bowels and tender affection towards our dearly beloved, but now, alas! sadly afflicted sister, Elizabeth Heslopp, in this day of her deep distress.. In our greatest sadness for our ' sister, this was even as life from the dead to our drooping spirits, to hear of those yearning of bowels which your ever to be honored lady had concerning her, her many thoughts of heart for her, her sympathizing with her, her care and endeavors how to bring her back, and your receiving again into your house and respects a poor afflicted member of Jesus Christ. This is such an eminent act of your goodness, that it hath even overcome our hearts, and all our thanks are below it. Only this confidence we have in our King, whose we are and

whom we sense, that he will not suffer your goodness to go unrewarded. If but a single cup of cold water, given to one that belongs to Christ, hath verily a reward, Mar. ix. 41, we believe and do assure ourselves that the good things ministered to our sister, in the days of our Master', appearance will be found to your praise and honor. Christ scores up your favors to her upon his own account. His answer, in that *day* of his return. Matt. xxv. 40, will be a satisfactory requital. In the meantime, we will not cease to make mention of you in our prayers, that God would comfort your hearts, even in the like measure as she and we have been consoled in your loves; that he would show mercy to you in that hour wherein you shall stand moſt in need of it; that he would reveal whatsoever of his counsel and will is wanting in you; that he would water with the dews of his grace the sweet pledges of your loves, those olive branches that are planted about your table; that he would recompense your loves sevenfold into your bosom here, and fit and prepare you for that glory, which we wait and press after, in ways of his own appointment. To his embraces we ' commend you, and take leave to subscribe ourselves, Your thankful servants for Christ's sake,
THO. TILLAM, HUGH HESLOP, S. ANDERTON, HENRY ANGAS, JOHH THIRLWALL, JOHN JOBLIN, JOHN JOINSON, RICH. ORDE.

[Of Ravensworth Castle.]

[Lady Liddell was the daughter distinguished Sir Henry Vane.]

30. The church at Hexham to the church at Newcastle.

To our long expected and much desired brethren.

Dear Friends, - We salute you in our precious Lord Jesus, wishing you well in him; desiring that the choicest graces of *God's* Spirit may be multiplied upon you.

The cause of our writing to you at this time is in reference to your last letter, wherein you gave us the reason of your so long silence not letting us know your mind concerning brother Tillam's answer to your charge, wherein you do desire your great dissatisfaction; but ; whatever grounds [do] you give as why you are not satisfied; we judge. Because the ground of your dissatisfaction we do not understand, as you describe it to us in these terms; you say, you are more dissatisfied by reason of these "evasions,": &c. Dear friends, we desire you to !et us understand what you mean by your term "evasions," &e. For we conceive there may be several things in it which we cannot rightly understand, unless you do expound it to us, and give us the proper meaning thereof in plain words. And whereas you seem to charge us, that there is not that simple, single-hearted dealing in the things of God that the gospel of Christ calls for at our hands and yours, truly we cannot, but say the same. Therefore, pray consider, is this plain, simple, single hearted, gospel dealing, to use such mystical terms as "*evasions,*" &c., to those who are called by you friends? Surely the gospel of Christ teaches neither you nor us such things. We beseech you with us to take Christ's counsel; that is, first to cast the beam out of your own eye, and then will you see clearly to pull the mote out of your brethren's. And although you make your appeal to the church of London, your defense, to clear you as not being any further engaged to us, either to assent to, or dissent from, brother Tillam's answer to the charge; but all this while you have sat in silence, we have ground to fear with prejudiced thoughts against him and us; and though you desire us not to impute your silence to you, yet, give us leave to tell you, that, as far as we are able to judge, you are very far remiss in that thing. For you did charge our brother Tillam with many things, while yet you never proved against him, nor we think never shall. For we must tell you, we have more ground to believe brother Tillam's answer to your charge, as judging him faithful, than to believe any thing in your charge against him unproved. And whereas you say, you could not appeal to us, judging us with him to be under sin; we cannot but blame you in this, that your

love to us should so little appear; to suffer him so long to lie upon us, if you judged us under sin; whereas you ought rather to have labored in the thing, that you might have been instrumental to recover us out of sin. For truly we hope and do believe that there is such a principle of God in him and us, that when so ever, or by what means so ever, sin is discovered to us, we shall no longer live in it, nor plead for it; but with all our might and strength, labor to get out thereof ourselves, and oppose in others, where so ever we meet with it. Now, dear friends, we beseech you as you will answer Jesus Christ, at the day of his appearing, that you charge nothing upon brother Tillam or us but what you can clearly prove, either from the scriptures, or by sufficient witness. And we hope, if we be in anything remiss, or walk contrary to a gospel rule, we shall submit. And whereas you say, we rob and spoil ourselves of that comfort our souls seek after, by going out of Babylon by halves: dear friends, consider. Have we been so long a time in the profession of the same truth which you do own, and do you judge us yet but half come out of Babylon? Surely, if you had no love to us, *your* zeal to Christ and truth should more appear by your earnest endeavoring to help us wholly out of her, that we might not be partakers of any of her sins. Now, dear friends, if you can make it appear that we are yet in anything uncome out of Babylon, if yourselves be escaped sure your duty is, when you are converted, [to] strengthen [your brethren]. Now, dear hearts, our whole desire is, that you and we all may consider, how sad it is that you and we, who profess all one truth, should walk at such a distance, having love so little continued among and our hearts so little drawn out to seek after peace and unity. Oh that you and we may seriously lay to heart these things in time, lest we be found to be disturbers of Sion's peace, and hinderers of her prosperity. So that by these things, you and we had need to take heed we do not provoke the Lord to say, as once he said to his people of old, "I sought for a man amongst them that should make up the hedge, and stand in the gap; but I found none."

These things we leave to your consideration, desiring that the Lord of his goodness, in his own time, would be pleased to remove all scruples and stumbling blocks out of the way, and [that] all that roughness of spirit [be] taken away which hath long passed between you and us, so that we might walk together as brethren, in love, with all lowliness and meekness, with long-suffering, forbearing one another in love; so that we might all endeavor ourselves to keep the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace.

Written by Elder Warde, and, signed by the church.

31. The church at Newcastle to the church of Hexham.

From the church at Newcastle to Mr. Tillam, and those walking under baptism with him at Hexham.

Dear Friends,-- We salute you in Lord, desiring through his grace you may appear in that sincerity, singleness, and simplicity of heart which the gospel requires, and that you may daily grow in power and principle suitable to the living plants in God's house; who amongst the false virgins may have oil in your vessels, as well as light in your lamps, when Christ our Lord shall appear.

We could not but embrace this opportunity to write a few lines in answer to your last, to remove those mistakes which we judge lie upon you, in misapprehending our intention in our letter to Mr. Tillam concerning our brother Hobson. The Lord knows our hearts, that we did not do it to make the breach between you and us wider; nor as a new charge against Mr. *Tillam*, as he is pleased in his to express. But hearing that the report from Mr. Tillam was [gone out] to the world, which we judged might bring dishonor to truth, and upon that

account seeing our brother's spirit under much sadness, for the removing of both we wrote to him and you in love. And that we had a ground to believe that he [had] read and reported the letter to the world (and to more than Mr. Liddle of Ravens-worth), though he affirmed the contrary to our wonderment, we think good therefore to give you two or three [reasons] to begin with to examine, wherein you and he may see that we had grounds for what we wrote, though he is pleased to say, there was neither religion nor reason in it. He at one time declared it to Thomas Gibson and Crane Liddill, both of Hexham; Edward Rowland standing by heard it. The same we hear he did to Mrs. Fenwiek.

Whereas he did demand of us a rule for admonishing our brother Hobson before he informed us, we think he had the same rule, and it was as orderly for him so far to own him, as to desire him to preach to the church at Hexham. We judge it far more suitable to a rule for him to have reprov'd him for sin, than to have procur'd him to perform such a duty amongst you. And upon that account we had just cause so to [write] to him; which, if seriously considered by you and him, we hope there is no such cause for him to spread it before the Lord as an injury from us, as he expresses in his letter to do. The Lord grant that' he and you may not as such expressions in bare imitations, but with fear, spirit, and power, having those weighty grounds as they had which used those expressions; knowing the Lord will not be mocked, though men may be deceived. And whereas Mr. Tillam saith, he exacted, rather an answer to his answer of our articles, which was to wonderment assigned by you all, we hope our last letter bath given you some account. Bu if the staying to have it decided by the church at London: will not satisfy you, we are willing to give an answer to you and to all the churches in the world, of the insufficiency c the answer to our articles. In which we hope we shall appear not with such ungodly- like spirit as he accuseth us of, nor appear an enemy to him; unless it be as Paul was to the Galatians, for telling of them the truth. And where he accuseth us for endeavoring to make divisions among you and not appearing willing to become one with him and you the Lord knows our hearts, that we own him and you so far as you own the truth. And nothing hinders us from being in all things one with you, but our great sense of your evil in owning the unrighteous wages of Balaam, and such things that our [Lord Jesus] Christ, in the rules of his church doth not own.

This is that, and no other thing in us, that keeps us from closing with you. And whether this will be a ground of reproof to us, or commendation, in that great day of the Lord, we leave with any heart that is acquainted with God to judge. So, desiring the Lord to clear up the cause of differences betwixt you and us, and to give you and us hear that we may use no expressions, nor perform no actions, but as in the sight of God, and warrantable to his word--whiz is that alone, and not the approbation of creatures, that v are to stand by in the great day of Christ--so leaving him and you, not as despised worms, but as those whom we can in sincerity say we love in Christ, and so desire to remain:

THO. GOWER, LEWIS FFROST, MICHAEL PARKER, JOHN CARRUTH, JAMES TURNER, ROBERT BLENKINSOPP.

The Irish Connection

As we continue our travel back to London, and the 1630-40s, we must pause briefly and note the Particular Baptist outreach into Ireland. At this point, I am not as certain as I would like to be about several points:

1. I have not yet been able to document when or by whom the Particular Baptist outreach went into Ireland;
2. Cathcart feels like Thomas Patient may have been the first. However, many other brethren were in Ireland just as soon, if not sooner, than Patience.
3. Edward Drapes and John Vernon were both in Ireland in the mid to late 1640s. They were both from the Glasshouse church.
4. In addition to the many different preaching brothers from the London Particular Baptist Churches, Christopher Blackwood was also there.
5. The Calvinian, Francis Cornwell, baptized Blackwood, a Particular Baptist. Blackwood belongs to that group of “Renegade Baptists” who believed in taking state pay for preaching. For this reason, he was never involved in the affairs of the London Particular Baptists though he wrote several interesting works. See our classifications of the Particular Baptists at the first part of this study.
6. When we first visit the Irish work and learn about their successes and their problems we find certain things present:
 - a. Well established gospel churches and ministers with a close connection with William Kiffen and John Spilsbury;
 - b. A close inner communion between the churches (not Lord’s Supper, but church fellowship);
 - c. The Irish brethren looked upon the London Particular Baptists as their foundational standard by which they measured themselves;
 - d. The problem of open communion and open church membership came into Ireland and the strong and clear majority of the brethren put it down.

Because of the increasing concerns about open communion, the brethren drafted, signed and sent a large letter from Waterford to Dublin on Jan. 14, 1652. **White, page122**. I do not now have this letter, if I secure it I shall add it later.

The Irish Particular Baptist records show us the close union between the Particular Baptists in Ireland and in London. In fact, most of the known ministers came from the Seven Particular Baptist Churches in London.

One important highlight of the Irish Baptist work occurred after Oliver Cromwell died. Henry, the new Protector of the United Kingdom, tried to bring John Spilsbury over into Ireland in an effort to make sure the Irish Anabaptists remained loyal to him as they did to his father. In her remarkable work, **The Political Activities of the Baptists and Fifth Monarchy Men in England During the Interregnum**, Dr. Louise Fargo Brown records this interesting fact about Henry Cromwell, Oliver's son, and his efforts to secure the services of John Spilsbury in Ireland:

He followed his father's advice in using efforts to conciliate the Baptists still hostile to the government, assiduously circulating the loyal address of the Welsh Baptists to Cromwell. He endeavored, too, to secure for Ireland the ministry of Spilsbury, the Baptist minister who had so successfully interceded with his brethren the previous year. That worthy divine had, however, just accepted a call from a “very great people” in England, and was not obtainable.

The date is documented at the note on the bottom of the page as Feb. 19, 1655/6; p. 160.

Spilsbury referred to the newly gathered church at Bromsgrove as the “very great people”

As we dig deeply into the pedobaptist writers, we find several bits and pieces of some value from Gangarea or Thomas Edwards, Presbyterian. In his **Gangraena**, volume 1, London 1646, he stated:

They (the Anabaptists-REP) send forth into several Countries of this Kingdom from their Churches in London, as Church acts, several Emissaries, members of their Churches, to preach, and spread their errors, to dip, to gather and settle Churches. They are not content with their own meetings on Lord’s days, week days, keeping constant Lectures in set places for all to come to

that will, thereby poisoning many in the City. They endeavor the leavening of all the Counties, as I might give instances of Lam, (Lamb, the General Baptist, REP) Kiffen, with many others sent abroad, yea are some sent into the North as far as York. Page 65.

Trying to make the Anabaptists look like the Jesuits, Edwards stated:

As the Jesuits are famous for sending out Emissaries into several Countries, to corrupt, not contenting themselves to do mischief at home, so do our Sectaries send forth their members into all Counties and places of this Kingdom. They lay hands upon, and send them as a church act to preach such and such errors, to rebaptize ect. Pages 45, 46.

He makes this interesting statement:

. . . these men were sent down from the Church as a Church Act unto the country of Esses to make Disciples and propage their way, and indeed into most counties of England (where these men can do with safety) some Emissaries out of the Sectaries Churches are sent to infect and poison the counties, some out of Lamb's, some out of Kiffen's, some out of others. About September last one Kiffen, an Anabaptist, went his progress in Kent, and did a great deal of hurt; and I have been informed from good hands, by the means of some that are acquainted and intimate with them, that not only Emissaries from London go into these nigher counties, as Esses, Kent, Suffolk, Harford, Cambridge, &c., but into Yorkshire and those Northern parts (since reduced to the Parliament) and no doubt also into the West; and several Sectaries went early to Bristol and those parts, as one Mr. Bacon, Sumonds, &c., and into Wales, also, so that we are like to have Sectarisme like a universal Leprosy over-spread this whole Kingdom. I pray God keeps it out of Ireland; and I hope Scotland by God's mercy, and the benefit of the Presbyterial Government will keep it out there. Page 93.

From these comments, we can gather that the Particular Baptists had not sent their "Emissaries" into Ireland yet in 1645. It is interesting to note that Edwards knew about their way of church sending.

The Irish notes which follow came from White's **Particular Baptist Records to 1660**, pages 110-124.

The Irish Correspondence of 1653

Editorial Note

The 'received text' of the documents printed below and dated from June and July 1653, was published by Joseph Ivimey in 1811 and was, apparently, derived from the work of John Rippon. The present text, however, is the result of the collation of a transcript made from the Ilston church book: with the version preserved in the Llanwerarth Church book. This is substantially different from Ivimey's. First, in the actual letter from Dublin as given here a longer text is preserved than that known to Ivimey and Rippon which reflects in rather more detail the political attitudes of the writers in the early summer of 1653. Secondly, some of the names of the Particular Baptists in Ireland are given more accurately and, thirdly, some additional fragments of information help to clarify a little further what was happening among them at the time.

The history in detail of the manuscript tradition of these documents can only be guessed but certain aspects of it seem quite clear. It seems probable, for example, that, when the London Baptists had read the letter and supporting documents which John Vernon had brought them, they had a large number of copies made which they had sent out, with their own covering letter, to a number of churches in England, Scotland and Wales. They, in their turn; it was evidently hoped, would make and pass on further copies to nearby congregations.

This correspondence has had its significance somewhat misunderstood by at least two students of the history of Baptist association life" in the present century and may finally prove to be of greater importance as reflecting political attitudes and eschatological hopes among the Calvinistic Baptists in

Ireland in the months before the failure of the Barebones Parliament and the inauguration of Oliver Cromwell as Lord Protector.

I. The covering letter from London.

From the Church of Christ at Glasshouse, London

Dearly beloved brethren,

Whilst we were slumbering and sleeping with those wise virgins mentioned by our Savior, Mat. 25, regardless of the obligations and engagements to the Lord which, by so eminent and signal discoveries of love and works of wonder wrought for us in these last days, he hath laid upon us it hath pleased the Watchman of Israel, who neither slumbers nor sleeps, to raise up a quickening spirit in the hearts of our brethren of Ireland, provoking them to call upon us to awake to righteousness, to remember our first love, to rend our hearts and not our garments and to turn to the Lord with our whole hearts that, doing our first works, we might receive answers of peace from the God of peace and healing of all our wounds from him, whose property is to heal backsliding and to love freely and that the weak amongst us might be as David and David as an angel of God.

We have sent you enclosed a copy of what we received from them, which we pray the Lord to sanctify to you as in some measure he hath clone to us, that it may serve, through the co-operation of the Spirit, as Nathan's parable to David and as the cock-crowing to Peter, to bring to our remembrance all the deadness, wantonness, unfruitfulness, want of love and unsuitableness of spirit which have too much prevailed in you and upon you, to the grieving of the Spirit of God, the provoking of the eyes of his jealousy, the hardening of such as know not the Lord and the wounding of each other's hearts in these times of Gospel peace and liberty. We desire you to communicate the same to all our beloved brethren near you and, with all convenient speed, to certify us not only what effect the subject therein contained hath wrought upon your hearts but also a particular account of theirs and your estates and conditions with relation to your communion each with other, as grounded upon your fellowship with the Father and the Son, in the faith and obedience of the Gospel of Christ. In order whereunto we entreat your care and pains in visiting the several weak and scattered brethren in your parts, that from a thorough knowledge of, and acquaintance with, their present standing, we may receive information from you and our brethren in Ireland, according to their desires, from us: what churches and societies we may groundedly communicate with, according to a rule of Christ, and what not. We shall not offer arguments to persuade you to compliance with our brethren's desires and ours, they carrying so much evidence and demonstration of truth, necessity and suitableness to the Gospel rule, in the very first view of them. We have already kept a day of holy fasting and prayer, upon the grounds therein expressed and, we trust, shall never lay down those spiritual weapons till Satan, the world, and the lusts of our flesh, be made our footstool. Which the Lord hasten, for his Christ's sake. To whose fatherly care and tuition we commend you and subscribe ourselves,

Your affectionate brethren in the faith and fellowship of the Gospel,

William Kiffen: Edward Harrison, Thomas White, Joseph Sansom, Thomas Cowper, Henry Hills, John Perry, Richard Tredwell, Robert Bowes, Peter Scutt,

Our great desire in this letter is to obtain a full knowledge of all the churches in England, Scotland and Wales and, therefore, we desire you not to forget to inform us not only concerning the estates of any churches that are in your country, or near adjacent that so, if it may be possible, we might have the full knowledge of all the churches or saints that are one with us in the sound principles of truth. And [to] yourselves, or any other church of Christ, we shall be ready to give the like account, if desired thereunto, of ourselves or the churches near us.

From the several churches of Christ in London, the 24th day of the 5th month 1653.

2. The letter of exhortation from Ireland.

For the Churches of Christ in London when assembled.

Dear friends,

We cannot without much sense and shame speak of our long silence to you nor, without much grief of heart, think of yours to us, which we earnestly desire may be mutually laid to heart by us all for to prevent the like occasion of complaining for the future. Surely, it is a needful, wholesome word of exhortation, Heb. 3. [13], to exhort one another daily. Had it been more in our hearts it would have been more in our mouths in those several opportunities we have had of conversing together by our private pennings upon more common and less profitable affairs. Oh, how many packets have passed filled with worldly matters since we have heard one word from you, or you from us. of the condition, increase, growth and decrease of the commonwealth of Israel for whose sakes we have heard with our cares and scene with our eyes that our God hath greatly reprov'd kings and mighty men. What hath the Lord been doing these many years but casting contempt upon princes and taking away the reproach of his people who were some years since brought low through oppressions, afflictions and sorrow. His hand hath been still stretched forth to set his poor despised ones on high from the kings of the earth, even whereby increasing the family of those that fear his name like a flock. Yea, God hath done great things for us, whereof we have made mention, for which we ought greatly to rejoice: but, how little dare we wisely consider of his doings for us. For which we have much cause to mourn or, having seen great things of our God for our good, but not observed, neither feelingly laid them to heart, how many have been broken that have been gathered together against Sion and fallen for their sakes. And, surely, were we not hardened through the deceitfulness of sin, our hearts would be more awakened, and all that is within us to bless his holy name, who has so blasted the wisdom and power of men, when it hath been opposite to the works that our God is carrying on in the earth. which, as we have clearly seen, we have soon forgot through our carnality's which have suffered too much to reign in our mortal bodies.

Precious friends, let us in this our day search and examine our hearts by the light of the Word and Spirit of our God, and, surely, we shall find that the posture of those poor virgins, Mat. 25, hath been too much ours. For, whilst our Bridegroom tarrieth, do we not all slumber and sleep so that little difference is discerned between the foolish and the wise? Alas, alas, what means the dull, cold, estranged frame of heart we bear each to other as is before mentioned? Moreover, is it not the like to our God? Doth it not appear by our little zeal for him and less delight in his ways, with constant complainings, with little sense of our victory over our leanness, our dryness and barrenness. Are not these instead of the songs of Sion and [that] in the hour of temptation wherein the Lord, as a man of war rideing on victoriously, conquering, yea, and to conquer and subdue all those that will not that Christ shall reign over them. Moreover, doth not his voice cry loud to every subject in Sion, Prepare ye, awake to meet thy God, oh Israeli. Yea, doth he not pronounce woes to them that are at ease in Sion? Doubtless expecting, whilst these turnings, overturning and changes are working in the earth, we should stand upon our watch, enter into our chamber, be a holy, praying, yea with all supplications in the Spirit, humble, praying people. For, doubtless now, if ever, we are especially called upon to put on the whole armor of God that we may be able to stand in this day, and, having done all, to stand.

We therefore desire to revive your memory and our own, with these known and approved exhortations, Eph. 6.10-17. Beloved brethren and sisters, we, even with tears, beg for you and our selves, that all and each of us may in truth of heart be retiredly exercised in recounting and calling to mind what the Lord hath done for our souls and for our bodies, for his people in general, and what he is doing and with what great and precious promises he tells us are in his heart, as his resolved intendments, speedily to accomplish.

Wherein and in expectation where of he calls upon us, Is. 65.18, but be ye glad, rejoice for ever, in that which I create. For, behold, I create Jerusalem a rejoicing place and her people a joy. We recommend unto you the foregoing and following verses, earnestly begging that every one of us may give all

diligence to keep alive, yea rather to beget oil in our lamps least they go out and we sit down in silence, yea, even depart in sorrow. We, therefore [are] to recount the special and signal ways the Lord took with our forefathers, Israel of old, with the returns they made and the frames of their hearts and therefore in very faithfulness [what] the Lord gave them; all which are left upon record for our instruction.

Dearly beloved brethren, the Lord engaged our hearts with the rest of the churches of Christ in the faith and order of the Gospel in this nation jointly as one person to wait upon him by fasting and humiliation and cry to him by prayer and supplications in the sense of our great shortness of and unsuitableness unto what is in the within-closed particular expressed; the which we also tenderly offer and, as our resolutions direct, recommend unto you, our fellow members, followers of the Lamb, our Lord Jesus Christ, being hopefully assured This will be our recovery from a slippery and slothful condition, the which hath made in us all too much as a seat of Satan, the sad fruits of which temper are manifest, Prov. 24, latter end. Yea, precious friends, the Lord hath given us comfortable hopes that, in the prosecution hereof, the Lord will roar out of Sion to the consumption and utter destruction of Antichrist, the man of sin, and will, through his mighty working of his blessed Spirit, fit and prepare us for every condition. Yea, if he shall bring upon us such a trial as hath not yet been seen in our days or this the dawning of his blessed day, so much promised yet too little hoped for. However, he will hasten it in his time, Is. 63.22.

We, for our convenience, have agreed to keep the first Wednesday in every month, from 6 to 6, the which, with others the breathing of our hearts, we have committed to the care and trust of our beloved and faithful brother, John Vernon, the bearer hereof who, through the blessing of the Lord, will suddenly be with you and will also acquaint you with our state and condition. He is in full communion with us, his conversation hath been in zeal and faithfulness. The Lord having put it into the hearts of all his congregations in this Land to keep a more revived correspondence with each other by letters and loving epistles. The which we acquaint you with having in the practice hereof found great advantage not only weakening Satan's suggestions and jealousies but it hath begot a closer union and knitting up of heart and, which is not in order to the rest, we are enabled thereby feelingly and knowingly to present each other's wants and conditions before our God in the sense thereof. And that we might be thereby the better enabled to answer our duty towards you and you towards us and bear each others burdens and so fulfilling the righteous law of Christ in our great and near relation, we hereby earnestly request and beg the same brotherly correspondence with you and from you desiring the same things by your means with all the rest of the churches of Christ in England, Scotland and Wales whom we trust you will provoke to the same feelings and which we hope, once in 3 months, may be mutually obtained. You may remember, sometimes since, our earnest request, which request was to you once and again, to have a perfect account from you of all the churches of Christ owned in communion with you in the places before mentioned, which desire, had it been answered, might have prevented our long sad silence and the dangers of receiving or refusing such as ought, or ought not, to be communicated with. And with this we offer one request more unto you, if it hath not been lately practiced: which is that you would send two or more faithful brethren, well acquainted with the discipline and order of the Lord's house and that may be able to speak seasonable words suiting with the needs of his people, to visit, comfort and confirm all the flock of our Lord Jesus that are, or have given up their names to be, under his rule and government in England, Scotland and Wales. And for the small handful owned by the Lord in this nation, we trust it shall be our care more naturally to look after and watch over then heretofore the rather because we have observed Satan, our subtle enemy, by his depths and wiles, whose time we believe is short, taking the opportunity of the peace and rest lent to us by our God, ready to slay us by casting us into carnal security even lulling our hearts asleep and that in this hour wherein as before exprest we are especially called upon to be a praying, watchful people. For surely the Lord is now at hand! Therefore, let us leave off the beggarly pursuit of the things of this world and let our moderation be known unto all men, being careful for nothing but in everything by prayer and supplication and thanksgiving making known our request unto God for Sion, for each soul therein, for all the particulars herein mentioned, for the peace and tranquility of the nation wherein we live, Jer. 29.7, and for the rulers and magistrates the

Lord hath set over us and particularly for those with you, in whose prosperity the honor of God, the quiet and rest of his people and the cause of the poor and needy, the widows and the fatherless are so much concerned and whose miscarriage (if the Lord shall suffer) we may expect will bring in as floods, sorrows and miseries, yea, what not!

Dear friends, ought not we to be earnest with the Lord to know our work and duties in these latter days wherein our God is working terrible things in righteousness and making his own pleasure to prosper, in pulling down the proud and mighty from their seats and exalting the base and mean things of this world. Yet such as he hath put his Spirit in and name upon, even such as he hath made a refuge from the storms of the violent, even hiding places and nursing fathers to his people. Now, friends, we are called upon to labor with them and for them in our prayers. Yea, how are we called upon to walk by faith and not by sense, is it not our strength to sit still and see the salvation of the Lord who worketh all things according to the counsel of his own good will and who will certainly bring his great promises and determinations to pass. Only believe, be strong in the power of his might, believe in the Lord your God, so shall you be established. Believe his prophets, so shall you prosper: not by might, nor by power, but by the Spirit of the Lord of hosts, shall these things be brought to pass. And, though the enemies come in like a flood and all tongues rage, yet that good Spirit shall lift up a standard against them and every tongue he will condemn, yea, the rage of man shall praise the Lord and the remainder he will restrain, so our eyes and hearts be fixed upon that God who changes not, whose glorious name is our strong tower. In him though the earth be removed and the inhabitants be dissolved have we ground to rejoice for evermore and humbly to bless all the daylong. Yea, though in ourselves and in the sense of the very vileness of our natures which lusteth to envy and is treacherously bent hell wards, there is continued occasions of the great work now desired and endeavored after even soul abasing and low prostrating ourselves at the foot-stool of his Majesty with a deep fasting, with a pressing the Lord by all manner of prayer and supplication to be gracious to us in not bringing upon us the fruits of our doings even which is recorded in Deut. 28.47f. Also that he would be gracious to us in knowing the sad condition of hearts searching, the heart breaking because of the sore and uncomfortable divisions amongst the redeemed ones which have their lamentable effects to the joy and puffing up of the uncircumcised which cry, "Ha, ha, so would we have it, did we not say this it would come to?" And, "Tarry. a little, you shall see these: divisions come amongst them all." Also that the Lord would be gracious to us in acquainting us with what he speaks to us in his sore snatching and removing from us not only useful members in Sion but even our eyes, our hands and our hearts, never to be forgotten young Drapes, dear Consett, pretious Peck, useful Saffry, and that in the midst of their days and beginning of wondrous works. Ah, dear friends, were they to holy, to heavenly for our society? Or did we abuse the mercy, some dotting upon them whilst others slighted them, yea, hardly took notice there was prophets amongst them. Or may we not all conclude that the indifference and worldly-mindedness and hypocrisy of hearts are so great and have so highly provoked the jealousy of our God who hath left his means unattempted that we might have been a people of and to his praise that he is coming forth against us in his indignation and displeasure with some visitation and scourge and therefore hath called home his choice ones that they might not see the evil that is coming upon us neither stand in the gap to appease his fury and turn away his wrath from us. And lastly. friends, mightily cry unto our God, even the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ. give him no rest until he be entreated by us in the things within mentioned and particularly for those poor insufficient instruments whom he hath signally signified out and whose standings are so slippery, whose temptations are so many and whose work is so great and mighty, on whom our eyes are fixed and from whom same three nations expect so great things as returns and fruits of all the abundance of blood, of travels, of hazards, of long waiting, large promises and vast expenses. Precious friends, though we are called to look higher then instruments, yea, the blessed Spirit directs us to look to our God through Jesus Christ who is the author and from whom all our mercies flow by whom what we expect must be brought about, to him they belong, being for his honor and praise intended. Yet, seeing hoc conveys and works by and through instruments and they are such with whom he hath much appeared and in whom we have cause to believe he hath placed his fear and who have by testimony of

his good Spirit obtained like precious faith with us and by whom his name is called upon and through whose suitable or unsuitable walking and actings either much glory and honor or shame and reproach will accrue to his great name. To our joy and consolation or to our sorrow and reproach, we therefore once more beseech you earnestly to beg of the Lord that he would not leave them to their own wisdom nor to be discouraged under their many strengths but that he would be wisdom and strength to them and keep their hearts in a holy depending upon him void of pride and ostentation; that they may be the repairers of our many breaches and restorers of paths to dwell in; that they may be nursing fathers, the officers under them peace and exactors [of] righteousness: that they may be a terror to evildoers and for prays to them that do well; that under them we may lead a quiet and peaceable life in all godliness and honesty.

And now, dear brethren, beloved of the Lord, let not this sad subject of long silence be any more amongst us but rather let us be constant provokers of each other to every good word and work by our epistles, by our holy, humble, persevering Christian conversation suiting ourselves to that precious and ever to be remembered example, our Lord Jesus Christ. And seeing that nothing can separate, neither height, nor depth, between us and that everlasting love of our heavenly Father in his &ere Son, and those inestimable mansions of love, prepared for us by him where we, even we, shall behold the glorious face of our God, and joyfully sing the everlasting song of Moses and the Lamb! Oh, then, Ice neither sea nor land, things present nor things to come, separate us from a Christian correspondence each with other, whereby we may be enabled knowingly to mourn with those that mourn and to rejoice with those that rejoice, that we may be sympathizing in faith, offer supplications and prayers answerable to the dealings of our God to any of his members. And now the very God of peace help you and us to bear one another's burdens and so fulfill the law of Christ and, in truth of heart, so to pray for each other, may we know the comfortable fruits of near relations.

Finally, brethren, farewell, be perfect, be of good comfort, be of one mind, live in peace: Let us follow the things which make for peace and things where with one may edify another, and the God of peace shall be with you and us.

Your poor weak brethren yet fellow heirs, expectors of the consolation ready to be revealed at the appearing of our Lord Jesus Christ who will now come, without sin, to our salvation.

From the Church of Christ in Waterford, being now assembled upon the ground within mentioned 1 day 4 Month 1653.

The names of the brethren that subscribed this be viz.,

At Waterford:

Robert Kingdom, Thomas Skelson, Edward Marshall, Peter Rowe, Thomas Boulton, Thomas Sparking, George Cawdron, John Rowe, William Leigh, Richard Sutton, Robert Murry, Thomas . .

At Killkeny:

Anthony Harrison, John Pratte, Humphry Prichard, Thomas Willsope, John Courte, Arnold Thomas, Christopher Blackwood, Richard Wood;

At Dublin:

James Hardish, Henry Jones, James Montely, William Sands, William Salt, Edward Roberts, Philip Careret, Thomas Patient, Nicholas Scots, Adrian Strong.

3. Two documents accompanying the letter of exhortation from Ireland.

i. The agreement concerning matters requiring prayer by the churches.

The churches of Christ in Ireland, walking in the faith and order of the *Gospel*, do agree together, through the Lord's assistance, to set apart one day in every, month, solemnly to seek the face of our God. And, by fasting and praying, humbly to mourn before him for the things following which is also recommended to our dear friends the church of Christ in England and scattered brethren in several places, who have obtained like precious faith with us.

1. Our little knowledge of and less trusting in the name of our God in Christ, so as to set him for ever before our eyes, that we may glorify him both in our bodies and souls, which are his, I. Cor. 6.20; Heb. 5.12.

2. Our little sincere love to the Lord and his people. And our little knowledge of the office and proper place of each member as God hath set him in the body of Christ, to the end that every particular member might be now effectually improved for the mutual edification of the whole, I. Cor. 12.21, Eph. 4.16.

3. Our little serious searching into the word of God and not substantially acquainting ourselves with the foundation truths revealed them, 2 Tim. 3.15; 2. Pet. 2.2; Rom. 1.16f.

4. Our little faith in the great and precious promises of the Lord, which are to be fulfilled in the latter days, Lk. 18.8; 2. Pet. 1.4.

5. Our little pressing after the mark of the high calling of God in Jesus Christ and our inordinate affections after earthly things, Luke 10.40; Phil. 3.9 [714]; Col. 3.2.

6. Our little praying and praising frames of hearts in particular for faithful laborers in the Lord's vineyard and for all whom he hath set in authority over us, under whom we have much opportunity to practice the truth we profess. Mat. 9.37f; I. Cor. 2.4; Is. 9.7; I Tim. 2.2; I. Pet. 2.14; Jn. 15.4; Ps. 22.4.

7. Our little sense of saints' sufferings, Lk. 18.7; Rev. 17.6.

8. Our great aptness to forget the great things God hath done for us. And the abuse of the many precious mercies he hath multiplied upon us, Ps. 7.8; 10.6, 13.

9. Our want of spiritual wisdom to reprove sin plainly in all without respect of persons and to exhort faithfully so as to stop the mouths of gainsayers and to give no just offence to any, Prov. 19.15; 9.8f; 2. Tim. 4.4; I. Cor. 10.28.

10. Our little laying to heart the great breaches the Lord hath made amongst us by removing many righteous ones from us and from the evil to come, Is. 57.1f; 2.22.

11. Our little mourning for sin both in ourselves and others, Ezek. 9.4; Hos. 4.1f.

12. Our great ignorance of the deceitfulness of our own hearts, Jer. 17.9.

These things amongst others ought to be sufficient grounds of our being low before the Lord that his voice [may] lift us up in due time, James 4.9f, and supply all our wants according to his riches in glory by Christ Jesus, Phil. 4.19.

ii. Details of the Particular Baptist churches in Ireland.

The churches of Christ in Ireland walking together in the faith and order of the Gospel and [*sic*] are resident in several places as followeth, viz.,

In Dublin. With whom are brother Patience, brother Lamb, brother Vernon, brother Roberts, brother Smith, with several others through grace who walk comfortably together. But most of the brethren besides brother Patient have relation to the army and therefore are subject to be called away, as occasion requires, to perform their duty in their places.

In Waterford. With whom are brother Wade, brother Row, brother Boulton, brother Caudron, brother Kingdon with several others walking together comfortably, most of them being resident there who, we

trust, are in a thriving condition in their spiritual state.

In Clommell. With whom are brother Charles, brother Drapes: and sometimes brother Hutchinson and Bullock, to assist them, who are commonly abroad improving their gifts in several garrisons. Some other brethren, scattered, are in several places in those parts who are recommended to the care of our friends at Clommell who are nearest unto them.

In Killkenny. With whom are brother Blackwood, brother Card, brother Axtell, brother Gough, with several others whom we hope also are in a growing condition and do walk orderly. We know, not any particular friends scattered abroad in the country but [if there be any they] are committed to the care of some friends near them who, we hope, as they are able will discharge their duty towards them.

In Corke. With whom are brother Lamb, brother Coleman, with several others who walk orderly together though in a place of much opposition to them by such as slight the way of the Lord, with whom also are in communion some friends at Brand Kingsaile, and other parts of the country.

In Lymrick. With whom are brother Knight, brother Uzell, brother Skinner, with some others whom, we fear, may be in a decaying condition for want of able brethren to strengthen them. Brother Knight having been weak and not able to be with them.

In Galloway. With whom are brother Clark, brother Davies, with several others who, we understand, do walk orderly but have few able amongst them to edify the body.

In Wexford. Are a people lately gathered by brother Blackwood with whom are brother Tomlins, brother Hussy, brother Neale, brother Biggs, with several others who have not much help amongst themselves but are sometimes visited by our friends at Waterford.

In Kerry. Also are some friends received lately by brother Dix, and brother Nelson, brother Browne, and his wife: with whom is brother Chambers that do speak to them. Of these we have not much experience but have lately heard from brother Chambers that they walk orderly.

In the north near Carrick Fergus are several lately, received by brother Reade, who were baptized here by brother Patient whom we understand are precious but want some able brethren to establish them.

Friends deceased of the several places and churches before mentioned as followeth Sister Watson, sister Marv Rowe at Waterford, Sister Deane at Killkenny. Brother Brookes at Clommell. Brother Brookes, brother Cooper, brother Rush, at or near Lymrick.

Several cast out for sin, viz., Brother Dixon, brother Clayton, brother Price, brother Thornhill, brother Francis at Clommell. Brother Fogg at Killkeny.

One at Galloway and some at Lymrick a particular account of whom we have not at present. Sister Sarah Barret at Dublin, sometime servant to brother Patient, who is now coming for England. Brother Vernon can more particularly inform you of her.

In conclusion to the Irish Connection, I cannot help but remarks about these additional points:

1. The place of Fasting and Prayer in the lives of these old Saints.
2. The several ministers in each area and in each church; the brethren believed in many preaching brothers in one gospel church;
3. Their efforts at maintaining the same constitutional order, that is baptized membership and closed communion.
4. The union between these churches and the London Particular Baptists.

At this point let us turn aside and note an account of the baptism of John Vernon's dying son, Caleb. John Vernon returned to England and, for a time, was a ministering brother in the Glass House Particular Baptist Church in London. He signed the introduction to Edward Drapes' **The Invisible and Visible Worship of God, issued from London in about 1648.**

An Old Particular Baptist Baptism

A YOUNG DISCIPLE

Caleb Vernon, was the son of Mr. John Vernon, a Baptist minister, who, during the civil wars, preached the Gospel in Ireland. He was a member of the Church in Dublin, and probably an elder at the time when John Thomas was pastor; and in the year 1653, was the bearer of some interesting letters to the Baptist Churches in London. It is not known where Mr. Vernon exercised his ministry in England, but we find that soon after the Restoration in 1660, he was a prisoner with many others for the cause of Christ in Newgate. After his liberation he resided at Epsom, where he practiced as a physician for the support of himself and his family, but was soon obliged to leave on account of the persecutions he endured. He then settled at Ewell for some time, and afterwards he moved to Newington. During the time of the plague in 1665, he was much employed in his profession in London.

Caleb was born in the Inns at Dublin in 1653. His parents gave him this name to express their desire that, like the son of Jephunneh, he might follow the Lord fully in this period of general defection. A very timid child, he was not sent to school till he was seven years old; yet so much had he profited by instruction received at home, that at the age of four years he could read the Bible distinctly; and when but six, was well acquainted with many parts of its history; while a constant regard to divine precepts and an affectionate attention to the will of his parents, even at this early period, marked his character and regulated his behavior.

Soon after he went to school in the year 1660, he was greatly afflicted with ague. His father's imprisonment also greatly distressed him; and it was thought that the terror occasioned by the soldiers who had apprehended his father, increased his affliction.

It was now that he began to feel a deep sense of the solemnity of death, and much feared, if he should die, that his soul would be miserable. As his illness increased, convictions of his lost and sinful state by nature increased also, and for several months, he showed great concern about his eternal welfare. When he was about ten years of age, he began in earnest to approach God in private, earnestly seeking the salvation of his soul. His sentiments and feelings will be best judged of by the following letter:-

To Mr. D...April 1663

Dear Sir,

I received your kind letter, for which I thank you, and desire the book you sent me may be made of good effect to my soul, and that my soul may be filled with the love of God; being ready for the day of His coming to judge the world in righteousness, when the kings of the earth shall tremble, and the rulers be astonished at the brightness of His coming; when He shall come with His holy angels in power and

glory, to judge the earth in the valley of Jehoshaphat. Oh that my soul was fit for His coming, that I may be like a flourishing flower in the garden of Eden, prepared for the Lord Christ! This is a trying day; the Lord is searching Jerusalem with candles, to find out professors, who do make clean the outside of the cup and platter, when their hearts are full of deceit. Oh that we might be comforting one another with His coming, putting on the breastplate of faith, and laying aside the traditions of men! Oh, how near is His coming, even at the door! therefore we should be watching, for we know not what hour He will come.

Thank you for your letters. I remain, Caleb Vernon.

Mr. D...was so surprised at the Scripture knowledge which was shown in this letter, that he suspected it could not be the writer's language. He therefore sent him the following answer:-

Dear Caleb,

I received your letter without date, but not without serious desire of the best things, and of your beginning to be instructed in them; which made your letter very acceptable and welcome to me, being willing to hope that what comes under your hand, is not only notions in the head, but something of the truth in your heart, which I desire may be more and more wrought in you. Your lines savor of an honest heart, and seem to come from an older head than yours. Yet being informed, from such as I can credit, that it was your own writing, I shall make no further inquiry than to have it confirmed from yourself in the next to me, whether you indeed had not private help of another before the writing of your above mentioned letter to me. It is a large desire expressed in yours, to be filled with the love of God; and my heart's desire for you is, that the Lord will fulfil that petition for you, together with that, Ephesians 3.16-19, which I desire you may often ponder, and be helped to pray in the same spirit of truth. The coming of Christ is hastening indeed, as your letter expresses. 'It is but a little while, and He that shall come, will come, and will not tarry'. In addition, it is worth all our inquiry, 'Who may abide the day of His coming?' Many there are that shall not, and few mere are that will be found blameless and harmless and without rebuke at that day, which yet is and shall be that portion of some. I shall at present only desire your answer to a few brief questions:-

1. What do you understand by the coming of Christ?
2. What you understand by His judging the earth?
3. What is it to be an outside professor?
4. What the traditions of men are?
5. Whether the answer you shall return to the above said questions are your own apprehensions, without any help from others?

A true and plain answer to these things will be a further satisfaction about your last letter, and I hope no disadvantage to you whom, by the serious thought of these things, may be brought to a better understanding in them. Thus with my love to you, desiring you may be taught and instructed in the truths of Christ as they are in Him, whom to know aright is eternal life. I remain your assured friend that desires your spiritual and temporal welfare. London, 1668.

To these inquiries Caleb Vernon immediately replied, without any study or assistance:-

Dear Sir,

I received your kind letter, wherein you have desired me to write you an answer to some questions, which I shall answer as I hope the Spirit of grace shall declare to me; for I know, and am assured, that the Lord will declare His Spirit to them that love Him, which indeed I may truly say I have not done, but have erred against His Word, for which I have great cause to mourn; but I hope He may be my God, who will be a God to them who truly seek after Him in spirit and in truth, who did put those words in my mouth which you desired me to send you word of, and nobody else. But as for the coming of Christ, I understand it to be two ways. First, His coming into the hearts of His people, to purge and purify them;

secondly, His coming on the earth, when He shall set all His people at liberty, and shall destroy all kingdoms that will not obey Him, and He shall set up Himself a kingdom. By His judging the earth I understand, when all, both quick and dead, shall be before His presence; when He shall sever the bad from the good; and shall say to them on His right hand, 'Come, ye blessed of My Father;' but unto them on His left hand, 'Go, ye cursed, into hell fire, prepared for the devil and his angels.' To be an outside professor, I understand to be one who makes a show of Christ, but they are not so in their hearts. I understand the traditions of men, to be following the lusts of the devil, rather than the commands of God, which things I have been told of. I would desire you to excuse me for not dating my letter; and desire you would write to me to unfold them to me more than I can do, which I hope may be made of use to my soul.

So I remain, your much-obliged friend. Caleb Vernon.

About this time, his father removed from Ewell to Newington. Here, being delivered from the hostility the family had experienced, Caleb went more cheerfully to school, where he made considerable progress in Latin, and began to learn Greek. But as the opportunities of hearing the Word were uncertain in the winter at Newington, and his father's employment being much in London, the family moved there. Caleb being now provided with able teachers, made such progress in the above languages, that all his masters said they had never a scholar at his age more apt to receive instruction, nor had they ever occasion to use any correction.

Enjoying greater opportunities of hearing the Word in London, Caleb grew up in divine knowledge, as a tender plant by the rivers of water. In his reading he manifested an enlightened mind and a tender conscience; he was disgusted with the absurdity and fiction respecting God and a future state, which he met with in heathen authors at school, and he was uneasy and distressed till, at his father's request, the master permitted him to read others.

For some time after this, he manifested great delight in learning, but a circumstance happened which abated all his zeal in these pursuits. Being employed by his master to write an English poetical exercise, wherein he had pertinently introduced some Scriptural expressions, his master wished him to expunge them as inelegant. This so astonished and discouraged the child, that he never took any delight in those exercises, but earnestly entreated his father that he might be brought up in his profession. With this, his father intended to comply, but the design was prevented by the affliction which now seized his son, and which terminated in his death.

He was soon after removed to Battersea, for the benefit of his health; and now his spirituality of mind began eminently to abound. The savory manner in which he conversed with those about him of the love of Jesus Christ, constrained them to admire the grace of God which had been displayed toward him. And though at this time the plague raged in London, with very little abatement, yet he desired to be moved back again, that he might enjoy the precious Word of God; and, as he said might sympathize with the Lord's poor and suffering people who were visited by that fatal malady.

A circumstance which happened on his return very much increased his seriousness. The honest weatherman, who took the children in his boat to the City, carried Caleb in his arms from the water to the house; in doing this he caught the distemper, fell sick, and in a few days died of the pestilence.

The same day in family worship his father read the ninth chapter of Ecclesiastics, and made some pointed remarks on the tenth verse - "Whatsoever thy hand findeth to do, do it with thy might; for there is no work, nor device, nor knowledge, nor wisdom in the grave, whither thou goest." This was attended with such effect, that the minds of Caleb, his brother, and his sister, were greatly impressed by it. Caleb being desired to ask a blessing on his food, refused, saying he feared he could not perform it acceptably.

But immediately his heart smote him, and the next day, with great humility, he offered to do it as well as he could; thinking as he said, that it belonged to the adoption to cry, "Abba, Father" and to a Christian, not to be ashamed of Christ.

His conduct in this instance produced a very humbling effect on his brother and sister, who were older than himself. They concluded that the first fruit of true conversion was to call on the Lord in truth, and not to be ashamed to confess Him, and they soon after gave proof of faith in Jesus, made a public profession of love to Him, and were, with great pleasure, received members of the Church.

Caleb now entreated his parents that he might have a little closet to himself, that he might more uninterruptedly seek the Lord in secret. This, to his great satisfaction, they complied within but his affliction increasing, he was prevented from frequenting it, for from this time he was confined to his bed, there to enjoy that divine support and those consolations which alone could cheer the wearisome nights and days that were appointed him. His mind was now so spiritual that his mother, admiring his knowledge of divine things, resolved to write some of his conversations without his observing it.

"Mother," said he, "I begin to see the vanity of all things in this life; it is a troublesome world, and if I were assured of the love of God, I would choose rather to die than live."

About the beginning of Nov: 1665, the month in which he died, after having intermitting fits during the night, he said to her in the morning, "Mother, I have seen the face of God; and God hath, as it were, taken me into His arms, and assured me of His love". He mentioned these Scriptures as the source of his enjoyment; 'Him that cometh to me, I will in no wise cast out.' Why art thou cast down, O my soul? Cease ye from man, whose breath is in his nostrils; adding, God had showed him that he should not trust to man for his healing, but look unto Him and trust in Him. He then said, "Before this enjoyment I was restless, and could not lie still in one place; but afterwards I had great ease, and could lie very quiet, though I had no sleep." He appeared, to feel deeply on account of his' vileness,' and exclaimed, I see now how I was by nature plunged in sin and iniquity, but my Lord Jesus Christ has been a ransom for me." This last sentence he uttered with the greatest earnestness. During one of his fits, he exclaimed, "This is my comfort in my affliction, thy Word hath quickened me."

He had many fainting fits on the 5th of this month, but his faith, and hope, were so powerfully supported, that he joyfully said, Mother, my flesh and my heart faileth, but God is the strength of my heart, and my portion for ever' "He rejoiced exceedingly in the idea that God was *his* God, saying, "How sad would it have been with me now, if God were not *my* God!"

On the 7 November, his fits were as violent as before. He once exclaimed, "What shall I do?" However, he immediately checked himself, saying "I know God will help me, and I will trust in Him." Calling his mother to him, he said "I am very sick, but God makes it very easy for me. I am made so joyful by the light of God's countenance, that though I am as weak as ever in my body, yet I can lie still and magnify the Lord greatly for His grace, in choosing me who was so vile by nature." He added, "God has taken away all my slavish fears; and whereas it was so that I could not endure to be in a room by myself, I care not now how long I am left alone." He blessed God for his afflictions, saying, "These light afflictions, which are but for a moment, work for us a far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory." And he added, "These are they which came out of great tribulation". The tenderness of his conscience was now so apparent, that he lamented in a conversation with his mother that once, when he lived at Ewell, he refused going to bed as she commanded him, and earnestly entreated her forgiveness. She replied, she had both forgiven him and forgotten it; and she hoped God had pardoned it, and all his other sins, through Christ, by whose blood sin was washed away on behalf of those who believed on Him.

The servant of a worthy friend of his father, who was in prison, coming to see him, Caleb desired she should tell her master that he loved him as the Lord's prisoner, and he was sure God would deliver his prisoner. Being asked how he knew that, he replied. "'He will bring them from the East, and from the West, from the North, and from all places whither they have been carried away captives,' and I am sure not a tittle of His Word shall fail, till all be accomplished." He was sure the enemies of the Lord would be destroyed and mentioned part of the forty-seventh chapter of Isaiah to prove it, desiring her to tell her master that he was in the place where God would have him to be, and desired him to stand fast in the Lord, and not give way to any adversary; and also to desire her mistress to be content, and not faint, but consider that the Lord was able to make up to her all her losses.

His father having provided two larks for him, he invited his parents and brother and sister to sup with him; asking his father whether it was not Levi that made a feast to invite his kindred to Christ when he was converted? Caleb gave thanks before and after supper in a very savory manner, and his father took this opportunity to ask him when he had first known convictions of sin. replied that he thought the work was never effectual till the time of his first coming to London. He had prayed many times before, yet he thought he was not right, but since he had spoken with him and prayed with him, of late he was fully convinced of his undone state by nature, and had been much supported by the gracious declaration, "Him that cometh unto me, I will in no wise cast out". "Come unto me, all ye that labor, and are heavy laden". "And sinners shall be converted unto thee".

About this time, his eldest brother and sister were proposed to the Church in order to communion. This appears to have led Caleb to think on the subject, and often in the course of the week, he mentioned his desires of being baptized and admitted to Church fellowship. He lamented that no one would take him to the congregation, being persuaded that he would be able to bear the fatigue, and to witness for the Lord before His Church. However, this was refused, as he had not been well enough to sit for an hour at a time for many days past.

Being disappointed in this desire, Caleb wished his father would propose that some of the congregation might be appointed to hear him as he lay in bed. In compliance with his wish, twelve faithful brethren were appointed by the Church to attend him, and hear him relate his experience of a work of grace upon his heart, giving liberty to as many of the members as chose to accompany them. Before they arrived, which was 12 November 1665, his mother went to tell him of their coming. Earnestly addressing her, she said, "Mother, I pray you, do not hinder me, for I know God will be with me, and enable me to be baptized; and I do not think I shall be worse, but rather better in my body, for I am assured God will not suffer any to receive hurt in doing what He commanded them. However, if I should die in it, I would not omit it, for I would do what I could." On coming up to him again, he said, "Mother, I think I have seen a vision since you went, and God has exceedingly comforted me and given me such strength, that if the maid would have suffered me to now, I am persuaded I could have come to the congregation myself." When about twenty of the members came to him, he said that he much wished to have come to them, being persuaded he should have more strength for that than common occasions. Whilst sitting upon,, bed, and all the friends standing around it,' he spoke as follows. God speaketh once, yea, and twice yet, many perceive it not. Thus it had been with me in two sicknesses in London, about five years ago, and afterwards at Ewell, about two years since, when I grew serious, and it stayed with me some time. I betook myself to prayer in private, and think I had some communion with God. But after I came to Newington and went to school, I fell into company, and lost those convictions, falling to play among my schoolfellows, as if those convictions had never been. Now you see that which Job experienced, 'The bones which were not seen stand out. Since which time God hath more than ever set me into a serious consideration of my condition, which began when I was at my father's house, before I went into the country; but I had not so much the savor of it there, though I was not without some thoughts of it, and I think I had some communion with God there, yet I lost much of that time. But since I came to London, things have been more powerfully revived upon my soul, and when I heard that word from my father, speaking from that Scripture, 'What thou findest in thy hand to do, do it with fill thy might,' he set me

afresh into a pursuit after God, and I have been seeking after Him, and desire to follow Him fully." Here he paused, and the following conversation took place between him and the company present:-

- Q. What have you to say to us by which we may judge of your true faith in Jesus Christ, as a qualification for the Lord's ordinances?
- A. God hath said, "Him that cometh unto me, I will in no wise cast out."
- Q. What do you understand by coming?
- A. To Christ, by believing.
- Q. How will you come, and what need do you see of Christ?
- A. I know I am a lost and undone sinner by nature. That Scripture hath much been on my heart, "And are by nature children of wrath, even as others". Also, "In Adam all die; I came not to call the righteous but sinners to repentance". I am sensible of this. That verse in Psalm 51 has been of great use to me, "And sinners shall be converted unto Thee". And if sinners shall be converted unto Him, there is hope for such a one as I, and it is my encouragement to expect good from God.
- Q. What sin are you sensible of, that you should make use of that word, "Sinners shall be converted unto Thee?"
- A. I saw I was a sinner in Adam before, and had spent my time very childishly, and played away my convictions, and had been light and trifling, which was my sin.
- Q. What did you do when you saw you were a great sinner?
- A. I applied to God by prayer as well as I could, as a poor soul that needed Christ.
- Q. What was the effect of that?
- A. God relieved me, and directed me to Christ.
- Q. How long were you under a sense of sin, before you received this satisfaction in Christ?
- This he answered by repeating much of what he had said when they first entered the room. He was further asked,
- Q. To what extent have you received Christ?
- A. As King, Priest and Prophet.
- Q. What have you received from, and expected of Christ as a Priest?
- A. He has been an acceptable sacrifice for me, and interceded for me.
- Q. What do you expect from Him as a King?
- A. To rule me and defend me.
- Q. Will you be subject to Him in all things?
- A. I desire to do so, for I am sure it is my reasonable service.
- Q. What do you expect from Him as a Prophet?
- A. That He and none else, may instruct me and guide me.
- Q. Why do you make a profession of faith to the brethren?
- A. That I may be baptized, and be joined to Christ's fold.
- Q. What views have you of Baptism?
- A. That Scripture has been made of use to me, "He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved." Christ's example is a pattern to us, as is also that of Philip and the Eunuch. Philip said, "If thou believest with all thine heart, thou mayest." The case of the Jailer also has instructed me.
- Q. How can you think of engaging in such a work in such a condition?
- A. I will trust in God and do what I can.
- Q. What if you should die? It may be you may die in the water.
- A. Death is mine if I die in it; it is the work of God, and I shall make it known that Christ has those that will follow Him in difficulties.
- Father. Though, child, it will be so easy to you, it will be a trouble to us; we cannot so easily part with you. Child, If I should die, God can make it up to you, and I shall go to heaven.
- F. The Lord will accept a man according to that he hath, and not what he hath not.
- C. I am sure I have strength to be baptized, and God will give me more.
- F. The same promise that was made to them .that prayed in. thee temple, when God gave them

ability to be there, was made to them that had respect there to, when. His hand hindered their attendance. And that which might justify Timothy, being a member, to be at Miletum, when he was sick, might excuse others who are unable to do what they would, wherein God will accept the will for the deed.

- C. Indeed, father, I know I have strength, and could have come down today, if any one would take me up, and God will give me more strength.
- F. What do you propose by baptism?
- C. I would obey all the commands of Christ. It is said, "Repent, and be baptized every one of you in the name of Jesus Christ for the remission of sins."
- F. Do you expect righteousness by baptism?
- C. Oh, no!
- F. What do you intend by being baptized?
- C. To put on Christ, and be obedient to Him in all things, that I might be buried with Christ in baptism, as an evidence of my dying to sin and living to righteousness. It being declared by all that heard him that they were satisfied in the point of his faith, it was agreed to spread the difficult case of his baptism before the Lord in solemn prayer.

On 13 November Caleb was much better, and said, ' God had more strengthened him in order to doing his duty;' and, "God bade me go forward." Though he seemed very weak, yet he desired to be laid in bed in the room, where prayer was to be made all that day He attended with great reverence, enduring his fits with great patience, and usually indeed when he was worse in body, he would forget the sense of it, by remembering how well he was made in his soul, admiring much that God was his God.

In the evening he eagerly inquired, "Father, pray have you come to any conclusion today about my being baptized?" Fearing to discourage him his father replied, "Child, we have not been without some serious thought of it, and some do much incline to it, we intend yet to consult about it seriously, if you cannot be satisfied to defer it." "I pray you, father, do," said he, "for indeed I cannot be satisfied, I would fain be in Christ's fold."

On 14 November he was much weaker, but was still very desirous of being baptized, though he had not been up many days before, except he was removed from one bed to another. His father asked him how he could think to set about such a work, seeing he was not able to be out of his bed for a moment? Though he was reduced to a mere skeleton, he cheerfully answered, "He did believe that God would help him to rise, and do that work, and give him strength; and he had some already, so that he was able to rise now if his father would have him." Thinking it might convince or refresh him, his father consented, and he was taken up in warm blankets, and sat upright, supported by pillows nearly two hours, in which time he had a very gracious converse, and with cheerfulness said, "Father, the Lord is my strength, of whom should I be afraid? Indeed, you are my dear father, but I have a dearer Father in heaven. How great mercy I should have such a tender father on earth, and in heaven also!" Seeing his little sister before him of five years, he said to her, affectionately, "Nancy, the Lord make you a mother in Israel.

Oh, how I long to see Christ formed in you" And looking to his father he said, "Why, indeed, father, she had very many expressions in the country, and would say to the maid in the morning, 'What a mercy it is that we are alive, and so many thousands taken away at London, and so many little children!'"

On 15 November his father went into the country, and meeting some Christian friends, he took the opportunity of consulting them about the propriety of baptizing him, telling them of his great concern in the case. These friends (one excepted, who desired that he might be persuaded from it by his father) were, unanimously of opinion that his desire should be complied with, leaving the issue with the Lord, as no reasonable objection could be brought to oppose it. His father, after much serious consideration respecting it, that the child would not die comfortably, resolved to yield to his request.

Mr. Vernon accordingly employed a person to search diligently for a house near the river, where the baptism might on the next day be conveniently performed. He tried again to persuade Caleb to defer it. On entering his room for this purpose, though he was much weaker during the day yet he was increasingly impatient to perform this duty before he died, and had been ardently wishing his father's return. He eagerly desired to know from his father whether he had consented to his request, and when he was informed that both himself and many others countenanced it, he rejoiced greatly, and smiling' upon his mother said, with great ardor, "Mother, tomorrow I shall go abroad to the glory of God, and I know He will strengthen me " One worthy friend still dissented, who would come presently, and confer with him. On hearing this, Caleb's rejoicing was ended, but he readily consented that he should come. Being arrived, he expressed himself satisfied with Caleb's faith, but mentioned some reasons why he thought it right to defer his baptism. When Caleb thought that some of the company were still opposed to his being baptized, he wept and said, "Well, if father is not satisfied that I am a proper subject, I will not." Finding him discouraged, the gentleman said, 'Well, we will wait till tomorrow, and if the weather be as tempestuous as it is today and you find you have not strength to go, you will then be satisfied "To which he replied, Yes, if I have not strength; but I know God will give me strength." His father noticing Caleb's deep dejection, assured him that they had no desire to put it off, and desired him to commit the matter to God in prayer. Sitting up in bed, he prayed very pertinently to the occasion, beseeching the Lord to strengthen him, His poor unworthy servant, to perform His will to His honor, and help him against all temptations of Satan. He prayed also for Zion's prosperity, for the revival of the cause of the Lord, that those that professed His name might maintain a good profession, and if it were His will to give him tomorrow to witness to Him, and order it for His glory.

On 16 November, the morning appeared calm and the sun shone, contrary to expectation, which gave

Caleb great pleasure, and he was very impatient to go. A person said in his hearing that at the place where he was to be baptized, an aunt of hers had been stoned by the soldiers upon a similar occasion, but this by no means discomposed him, and he appeared to be humbly and composedly trusting in the Lord, and resolved to do His will. Soon after Caleb was placed in a coach lent by a friend for the occasion, accompanied by his father and mother. Two other coaches besides many persons on foot followed. When he arrived at the place with his brother, who was to be baptized with him, he found himself much refreshed, having had some food by the way. Whilst he was getting ready, his father spoke to the company from Acts 21.14. "And when he would not be persuaded, we ceased, saying, The will of the Lord be done."

Caleb being ready, was carried down into the water to the administrator, who received him into his arms. Feeling him so light, as he was reduced to a mere parcel of bones, the minister felt somewhat alarmed. But Caleb, addressing him, said, "I am not afraid." He was very speedily and conveniently baptized, and was received by his father, who was standing with a warm blanket, in which he was wrapped. As soon as he could speak, he said "I am very well father." About half an hour after he sat up very cheerfully, and solemnly returned thanks to God before them all, for assisting such 'dry bones' in His service, alluding to the dry bones mentioned in Ezekiel.

He was very comfortable in the morning, and during prayer he appeared to be much filled with the love of God; oftentimes saying to his mother, "God loves me, mother" and sometimes, "I love the Lord." After supper, he earnestly prayed that God would strengthen him, This poor creature, and that he might not be ashamed to confess Him before men. Addressing the little ones, he said, "O, my dear sisters, I long to see you converted. O, think of the damned in hell! Seek the righteousness of Jesus Christ. O, that you knew the sweetness of the love of God as I do." Then he repeated:

"If comeliness I want
His beauty I may have;
I shall be fair without compare,
Though crippled to my grave.

And if above it all,
To Christ I married be,
My living springs, O King of kings,
Will still run fresh in Thee."

Now we will come to Caleb's last day. He was very weak and not willing to eat. In the night, after a fit of coughing, he said, for the first time, "Now I think I shall die." He consented that his father might be called about three in the morning, and said to him, "Father, God be with you; I am going now." Observing his father weep, he said, "Father, do not weep, but pray for me; I long to be with God." He desired his father to pray with him, and seemed to join fervently in his petitions. His mother entering the room, he said "Farewell, dear mother, now I am going." Afterwards he was in much distress and thinking that his father was going to give him some medicine, he exclaimed, "Oh, father, what shall I do?" But immediately lay back, and looking up said, "God, God". Endeavoring to say more, he expired. Thus, he yielded up his spirit into the hands of that Savior whom he loved and trusted, on 29 November 1665, when he was twelve years and six months old. Condensed from **The Sower**.

Th Particular Baptist Outreach into the Midlands

We are not able to tell exactly when the London Particular Baptists reached out into the Midlands, but we are able to show there were efforts there in the early 1640s. How long before then we do not know. That would take us into the terrible times of Laud and his hellhounds. Benjamin Cox and Daniel King were the main movers in the gathering of those old Midland churches. In fact, at least four men who signed the First London Confession of Faith played import roles in establishing the Midlands chruches.

Introduction to the Midlands Particular Baptist Association

For this part, I have gone back as much as possible to the original writings of the 1600s. They have come from two main sources.

First, I have taken most of this material from B. W. White's **The Particular Baptist Records to 1660**. I would call special attention to his footnotes at the conclusion of the section. In these, he documents many important items. He deals with two very important men living in that era and location, **Daniel King** and **John Tombes**. We need to pay special attention to these two very different men.

Secondly, I have borrowed many interesting remarks from **Robert Baillie**, Presbyterian. I have already introduced Thomas (Gangarea) Edwards. In **The Irish Connection**, he testified about the Particular Baptists of the 1640s, and their church sendings. Baillie is another very important Pedobaptist contributor.

In the early 1640s, the Presbyterian Kirk of Scotland sent Mr. **Robert Baillie**, Minister at Glasgow, into England. The English Presbyterians called out to Scotland for help against the Anabaptists, to repress them. Mr. Baillie issued his **Anabaptism, The True Foundation of Independency, Brownism, Antinomy, and Familism, and the most of the other Errors, which for the time do trouble the Church of England, Unsealed. Also, The Questions of Pedobaptism and Dipping handled from Scripture. In A Second Part of The Dissuasive from the Errors of the time.** London, Samuel Gellibrand; 1647.

Mr. Baillie set forth this thesis in his work: **The English Anabaptists of the 1600s are one with the older Anabaptists in Germany and other places, from the 1500s.** He covers the older Anabaptists of

the 1500s and makes sure he can place before his readers as many evil reports and slanders as he can dig up. However, in spite of all this, he gives a very good overview of those times and their different groups of Anabaptists.

One of the constants in his work is the place of John Spilsbury and his leadership among the London Particular Baptists. He shows that John Spilsbury wrote most of the **First London Confession of Faith**.

Baillie shows that the older Anabaptists were **rigid Anabaptist dipper separatists**. They were not only separatists, but also rigid dipper separatists. He explains by showing that they withdrew from all others who were not of their dipped way. He then shows that the English Anabaptists are just like them in this same regard of **dipped separation**.

Baillie claims one of the main problems with the Anabaptists of the 1500s was their desire to have a church made up only of **true believers dipped**. **This is what led them away from all other groups**. He then shows the same is true of the Anabaptists in England during his time, the 1640s.

In his efforts to make the Anabaptists look like an unorganized mob of dipped madmen with many, many different opinions, he singles out **John Tombes** for closer consideration. Baillie introduces us to John Tombes, the first English writer in favor of open communion in England. It seems that Tombes promoted open communion Baptist concepts a few years before he became baptized and joined up with some of the Anabaptists.

Baillie settles this question for us, did Spilsbury and the others walking with him in their church constitutions, practice open communion and mixed membership? He lists them as part of the rigid separatists Anabaptists like those of the 1500s. They were not open communion or open church membership like Tombes and later Jessey, and still later, John Bunyan. Baillie shows us that the conclusions of Gould and Whitsitt, centuries later, were **unfounded, misleading and false**.

John Tombes is placed almost alone and the Rigid Anabaptists are centered around John Spilsbury where they should be. Baillie shows us that the English Rigid Anabaptists held to the ordinance of hearing, that is, they would not even hear the Pedobaptist ministers. He shows us that they inherited this practice from the older Anabaptists of the 1500s. Remember that John Spilsbury was the main mover and writer among the Rigid English Anabaptists. In Baillie's work, Spilsbury is targeted as the main writer of the **First London Confession** and the leader among the Rigid Anabaptist Dippers. He succeeded in causing John Spilsbury later to move into the country away from London due to persecution.

As I give Baillie's definition of **Rigid Separation**, please remember he shows that the English Anabaptists of his days practiced the same concept. **This destroys the groundless falsehood that Spilsbury and Kiffen separated over Pulpit Affiliation, that is, Spilsbury invited unbaptized men into his pulpit.**

Along with Featley and Taylor, Baillie shows that the older Anabaptists of the 1500s and the English Anabaptists of the 1600s were constant **dippers**. Thus, he destroys the very foundation of Whitsittism.

However, one of his most important efforts centers around John Tombs, showing him as writing in favor of open communion before he became a **dipped Anabaptist**. I will take up his remarks about John Tombes because they are vital in understanding some of the positions the old Midland Association of Particular Baptists took.

After I do this, then, I will turn our attention toward Daniel King and show from whence he came. By doing this, I shall show the **oneness** of King and the London Particular Baptists in general and Spilsbury and Kiffen in particular. This will remove effectually even further Mike Ivey's false and misleading claims about the Midland Baptists and their **Confession of Faith**.

John Tombes is the **First English Writer in Favor of Open Communion**. Distinction here between open communion and open or mixed membership should be noted. Later Henry Jessey started the English practice of open or mixed membership, that is a church can include both the unbaptized and the baptized. However, early in Tombes' ministry, even before he became an open communion Baptist in practice, he wrote in favor of open communion. Soon following Tombes' book, Jessey simply practiced what Tombes had written, but had not done. Tombes is the first English writer in favor of open communion and mixed membership and Jessey is the first to practice it in England.

In its proper place I will include Orchard's **History of Open Communion**, show its origin, and rise among the Polish Socinian Anabaptists. For our purposes in England, Tombes and Jessey are the originators of this disorder.

Now, we will take up some of Baillie's remarks:

The Increase of the Mennonists:

While all the other factions of the Anabaptists did decrease, the followers of the priest Menno did much increase. They did reject the earthly Kingdom and Polygamy of the Monasterians and Battenburgicks, also the revelations and extraordinary calling of the Hophmanists, with the most of the blasphemies of David George. Against all these, Menno did write with passion. But to the point of Anabaptism and separation from all other reformed Churches to independency, and to a number more of the Anabaptists' tenets he did firmly adhere, alluring many thousands to his way, who continue to this day propagating their error to many countries.

The Errors of the Mennonists

The wickedness of that spirit which reigned in Menno, and yet rages in his followers, notwithstanding of all their profession of great piety, of singular modesty and extreme destation of all the other sects of Anabaptists, is apparent in the manifold grievous heresies and gross schisms, whereby they themselves have of old broken out and preserve therein to this day.

Who are pleased to read the late little and accurate and learned **Treatise of Clopenburgh**, may perceive that the Mennonists dippers do oppose the truth of Christ's human nature. (Editor's Note, they believed in the pre-existence of Christ's human nature, REP) **Page 16.**

Independency the Cause of their Increase and Boldness

Hence, it was that the Anabaptists made little noise in England, till of late the Independents have corrupted and made worse the principles of the old Separatists, proclaiming for errors a liberty both in Church and State; under this shelter the Anabaptists have lift up their head, and increased their numbers, much above all other sects of the land. Their ways as yet are not well known, but a little time it seems will discover them, for their singular zeal to propagate their way will not permit them long to lurk. Only the Confession of Faith which the other year seven of their Congregations did put forth, and of late again in a second corrected edition have set out with a bold preface to both Houses of Parl. May not no more be taken for the measure of their faith, then that Confession which their elder Brethren in Holland did print not long ago in the name of all their Congregations. (see Mr. **Marshall's Defense against Tombes**, page 76, REP) **Page 18.**

The Tenets of the old Anabaptists

The Most applauded Tenets of our modern Anabaptists are the self same with what the old Anabaptists did invent.

THE errors of the Anabaptists and their divisions among themselves are so many that to set them down distinctly in any good order, is a task which I dare not undertake, much less can I give assurance what is common to them all and what proper to their several sects. Only that I may demonstrate the same very spirit to breath this day in the Anabaptists of Britain, which inspired their Fathers of former times in Germany, I will remark what tenets Authors of good credit ascribe to both; hoping that this discovery maybe a means to bring many simple well-meaning people who are not yet plunged in the deeps of obstinacy to a more accurate trial and greater suspicion of their ways: when they shall all see it made visible and palpable upon undeniable evidence, that their most beloved tenets and practices which they, believe to be full of truth and holiness, are no other but the same very singularities which the known event doth now convince all who without prejudice can but read unquestionable Histories, to have been the inventions and dictates of the false and unclean spirit which acted and moved in Muncer, Becold, David George, and such like abominable monsters of mankind.

Their first and prime Tenet was a necessity of gathering Churches out of Churches, and of separating from the best reformed in their time, because of mixed communion.

The first and leading tenet of the old Anabaptists was a necessity to gather new Churches out of that which Luther and Zuingles and their followers had reformed from Popery. It is remarkable that these men had never a stomach to trouble themselves with any labor to make converts from Popery or profaneness, only so soon as gracious persons had drawn any Cities or Countries out of the kingdom of Antichrist, then they fell on and everywhere did much disturb the work of the new Reformation.

At the beginning, they dissembled the grossest of their errors and their intention to quarrel infant's baptism they did only press a greater measure of holiness and mortification then was ordinary, in this all good men went along with them: but when they began to teach that the Church behoved to consist of no other members but such as were not in profession and aim alone, but also visibly, and really holy and elect, and therefore that new Churches behoved to be gathered, and that all the old any where extant behoved to be separate from as mixed, and so corrupted societies. Then Luther and Zunglius did oppose themselves to this schismatic honor. **Page 29.**

When the found themselves disappointed of the assistance of Luther and Zuinglius, and all the rest of the orthodox Preachers, without more delay they fell upon their intended work themselves alone, first by private conventicles, then by preaching in the open streets they gathered and set up Churches after their own mind, consisting merely of Saints, who did forbear communion in religious exercises with al other Churches, whom they avowed to be for the most part but worldly, carnal, and profane Gospels, and their best Preachers, especially Luther and Zuinglius, to be but Scribes and Pharisees, false Prophets, large as evil as the Pope and his Antichristian Priests.

Antipedobaptism became at last their greatest darling

For the stricter engagements of the Saints and godly party their adherents, and for the clearer distinction of them from the profane multitude of all other Congregations, they thought meet to put upon them the mark and character of a new Baptism, making them renounce their old as null, because received in their infancy, and in a false Church. At the beginning this rebaptism was but a secondary and less principle doctrine among them, for Muncer himself was never rebaptized, neither in his own person did he rebaptize any, yet thereafter it became a more essential note of a member of their Church, and the crying down of infant's baptism came to be a most principal and distinctive Doctrine of all in their way.

Unto their new gathered Churches of rebaptized and dipped Saints, they did ascribe very ample privileges, for first they gave to every one of them a power of questioning in public before the whole Congregation any part of their Preacher's Doctrine. Secondly, to every one of their members they have a power of public preaching. **Page 30.**

Their Pastors must renounce all former Ordination, and take their full call of new, must come from the hands of their people.

Thirdly, to their particular Churches they gave power of electing and ordaining such of their own Prophets whom they thought fittest to be Pastors to the rest.. whoever was not elected and ordained, whoever had not their full calling from the people their full call alone, and did not renounce what ever ordination they had from any other, to them were no Pastors at all.

The Ordinance of Hearing

Upon this ground among others they refused to hear any of the Ministers of the reformed Churches, because they did not renounce their former ordination and calling to the Minister that they might take it again from the hands of their new gathered and separate Congregations.

The Congregation Has The Highest Power

Seventhly, unto their single Congregations they gave supreme and independent power to judge in all Ecclesiastical causes, not only judicially to pronounce all questions about their Pastor's Doctrine, but also to proceed to the highest censure of excommunication, as well against their Pastors as others when they found cause. **Page 31.**

Every Anabaptist is at Least a Rigid Separatists

For the first, the soberest Anabaptists do embrace the whole way of the rigid separation. The Brownists did borrow all their Tenets from the Anabaptists of old, it is but equal that the Anabaptists this day should seek back again their Father's debt from the Brownists. The chief singularities of Brownism are about the constitution and government of the Church, they say the Church is made up only of members who are really and convincingly holy, of such who do evidence the truth of their regeneration to the satisfaction of the whole or the greater part of the Church. **Page 49.**

Though the Independents offer to Conclude with the Anabaptists, yet they separate from the Independents no less then from the Brownists as Antichristian.

The first of these pleas the Independents hold fast with both their hands, and upon it are as rigid Separatists as any we know. But the Anabaptists take possession of both the grounds, that the walls of their separation may the more firmly be established. They will have all their members to be real Saints, and they separate from all other Churches who neglect to press the necessity of such a qualification, but to strengthen the right of their separation, they go on to pronounce all these Churches from whom they separate Antichristian. And, this their charity they extend to their other ways very dear friends the Independents and Brownists, for all even of them are such who by their doctrine and practice of Pedobaptism, deny that Christ is yet come in the flesh. The Brownists in their honest simplicity are loath to be long in the Anabaptist's debt. They quickly unchurch and excommunicate them also for denying baptism to infants, but the Independents will be wiser then their Fathers, Anabaptism to them is so small a peccadillo that is deserves no censure at all. They are most willing to retain the Anabaptists in their bosom, but here they pity, no caresses can keep the most of the Anabaptists in the Independent Congregations. So soon as they begin to weigh their own principles, they find their infant baptism a clear nullity, and so a necessity laid upon them to be rebaptized. The Independents denying to them this

Sacrament, they cannot choose but to go out to the avowed Anabaptists, who by this means embodies them in their Churches, where they alone can partake of baptism. **Page 50**

They avow all their Members to be Holy and Elect, and some of them are for their Perfection.

But for the more clear and distinct demonstration of these things, consider yet further first that in the qualification of members, the Anabaptists go as far as either the Independents or Brownists. The Confession of the Seven Churches do clearly bear this much, but others go further, avowing with their Fathers, the Dutch Perfectionists, that all of their society are so perfectly holy as they may not pray for the remission of any the least sin. **Page 51.**

After They Separate from all other Churches, they run next away from them their own selves.

As for the second, a natural result of the former, a separation from all other reformed Churches as impure, it is clear by their constant uniform practice which M. Kiffen, one of their prime Confessionists does justify at length against his opposite, Mr. Ricraft. In this separation, they run on so rashly that themselves know not where to stop it; for first with the Separatists they divide from all other Protestants, thereafter they shake off the Separatists. For the most intelligent and zealous among them refuse to remain in any congregation either of the Independents or Brownists. Lastly, the break among themselves in many pieces. **Page 51.**

They Separate from all who renounce not Pedobaptism

Fifthly, by their rejecting of infant baptism, they fall into the error of rigid Separation; they baptize none but actual believers, such as give them satisfaction of their actual faith and holiness. Thus far, they go along with the rigid Separatists. But hence they proceed to another ground, whereupon they leave the Separatists and all who follow them not to Anabaptism. They take baptism for a sacrament of initiation, for a door and means of entering into the Church. These who are not baptized, they count not as Church members. Infant baptism they pronounce a nullity, and such a disobedience to the Gospel as infers Antichristianism, and a real denial that Christ is yet come in the flesh. So the separatists who are all baptized in their infancy, and refuse to be rebaptized, to them are no better than unbaptized and Antichristian rebels, not capable of Church membership, or of any Church communion. Upon this ground (as their great Patron acknowledgeth) (Spilsbury REP) they are forced to declare the Independent and Brownists Congregations, how dear otherwise soever, to be but Antichristian Synagogues, and no true Churches. Pages 90, 91.

Mr. Tombs' New Way

Seventhly, of those who impugn Pedobaptism some go a new way of their own, wherein as yet they have very few followers, if any at all, for to this day I have heard of none. Mr. Tombs, a learned and very bold man, at this time when so many new ways are in hand, had thought meet to make a hotchpotch of many of them together: First, with all his strength and greater diligence then any before him, he impugns Pedobaptism. Secondly, though as yet I have marked nothing to fall from his pen, neither for any of the old Anabaptist for the rite of dipping, or against our custom of sprinkling, yet in spoiling of Christian infants not only of Baptism but of all interest in the Covenant of Grace, as much as the children of Turks, and Pagans, in making Circumcision a seal to the Jews only of earthly and temporal privileges; in denying to Jewish infants all right to the New Covenant, till their riper years when they become actual believers; in giving a power to persons unbaptized to baptize others; in making apologies for the work of the Anabaptists, even those of Munster, and invectives against the best that oppose them, the first reformers, the Assembly at Westminster, the Church of Scotland, M. Marshall, Mr. Goodwin, and others; he flies as high as any civil and discrete Anabaptist I have met

with: but in those things he goes far beyond all the Anabaptists I have heard of.

He makes Baptism a Rite Needless either to Young or Old

First, he esteems baptism so unnecessary a rite, that men who are meet to receive it, may very well be without it, as Constantine, Ambrose, and others, did delay to their old age that Sacrament; and as it seems, himself is careless to this day to be baptized; for his infant baptism according to his arguments must be null, and another Baptism, so as yet it seems he has not received; for he professed an unwillingness to join himself as a member to any of the Anabaptist Churches. I suppose they are unwilling to baptize any who will not join in communion with them.

He Allows of a Frequent Rebaptism

Secondly, when a man is baptized according to his own mind he allows him to be oft thereafter rebaptized; even so often as he repents for sin, which by the godly is done, at least ought to be done, every day oftener than once.

He admits unbaptized persons to the Lord's Table

Thirdly, he makes it lawful for persons before they are baptized to partake of the Lord's Supper.

He is a Gross Erastian.

Fourthly, to show how little inclinable he is to join with the Anabaptists, he declares himself a complete Erastian; avowing that no scandalous professor ought to be kept from the Lord's Table. Also, that there is no such thing as any censure of excommunication; further, that Christ in Scripture has not appointed nay particular government for His Church, but that the governing of the Church belongs to the Magistrate only, and to such whom he appoints to that service by virtue of a commission flowing from himself. **Pages 91, 92.**

This concludes Mr. Baillie's remarks.

When Did Mr. Tombes become a Baptist?

Thomas Crosby **gives the following account:**

After this (after being turned out of the Temple in London in 1646, REP), the people of Bewdley in Worcestershire, the town of his nativity, chose him for their minister. And now he began to preach and dispute publicly against infant-baptism, and to put his opinion into practice, being baptized by immersion, on a personal profession of faith. And seeing no prospect of any reformation in the established church in this point, he there gathered a separate church of those of his own persuasion, continuing at the same time minister of the parish.

His society of Baptists was not very large, but consisted of such who were of good esteem for their piety and solid judgment; and three eminent ministers of that persuasion were trained up in it, Mr. Richard Adams, Mr. John Eccles, and one Captian Boylston, and it continued till about the time of the king's restoration. Volume 1, pages 287, 288.

I, (REP), don't know much about Cap. Boylston, but the others I do know about. They were not open communion nor mixed membership Baptists. In fact, Mr. Richard Adams also later joined with William Kiffen. John Eccles preached John Spilsbury's funeral message.

In B. W. White's notes at the conclusion of his history of the Midlands Association, this is found:

37. Bewdley appears to date from 1649 (*T.B.H. S.*, VII.12) and the work of John Tombes. In 1653, a letter was sent to Hexham (E. B. Underhill, **Records of the churches of Christ**, Hanserd Knollys Society, London; 1854, 344f.) signed by Tho. Bolstone, Philip Mun and Robert Goodlad. The

hesitation over Bewdley's membership of the association is likely to have been due to its open-membership practice inherited from Tombes.

Daniel King

Now, we direct our attention towards Daniel King. Some time in the late 1640s and early 1650s, Daniel King was pastoring the Particular Baptist Church at Warwick, outside of London. We will take up from William Stokes' **History of the Midlands Association of Baptist Churches, from its Rise in the year 1655 to 1855**; London: 1855.

The Midlands Association was formed in the following manner:

On the 3rd of May, 1655, a preliminary meeting of Pastors and Messengers was held at Warwick, for the purpose of considering certain Articles of Faith to be submitted to their respective churches, as the doctrinal basis of the intended Association. These brethren represented Baptist churches at Warwick, Morton, Bouton-on-the-Water, Alcester, Tewkesbury, Hook-Norton, and Derby. By whom they were called together, or who organized and conducted the correspondence that must have preceded such a meeting is not distinctly stated. Yet, there is strong reason for believing that the excellent and devoted Mr. King, then pastor of the Baptist Church at Warwick, was the principal man in these arrangements That each of these churches had a much earlier origin is evident from the undoubted circumstances that in 1655 they were able to depute their pastors and to bear their charges when distance and time were important considerations to the successive meetings for deliberation which the intended union required. And when it is remembered that so early as 1643, the Rev. Benjamin Cox (son of Bishop Cox) had visited Coventry, at the express invitation of a number of Baptists there who wished to be formed into a church, and that for his success in spreading his "Anabaptist" sentiments he was committed to Coventry goal, it is not hazarding in the way of opinion more than then general circumstances warrant, to affirm, that these churches were formed at least as early as 1640. Pages 22-24.

Where did Daniel King come from and who were his ministering brothers? He came from London and was one of John Spilsbury's young ministering brothers.

Here are more of B. W. White's remarks from his **footnotes** at the conclusion to his Midlands Baptist Association.

5. Daniel King published, **A Way to Sion** in 1650 (Thomason: 23 March) describing himself as 'Preacher of the Word near Coventry'. Included was an 'Epistle Dedicatory' signed by 'Thomas Patient, John Spilsbury, William Kiffen, John Pearson' commending the tract and describing King as one 'whom we judge a faithful and painful Minister of Jesus Christ'. He later published *A discovery of some troublesome thoughts* dated from 'rile Lime-kiln at Pickle hexing in Southwark this 7th of the 11th Month mentioning that he was 'near related' to the following churches: 'the Churches of Christ in London meeting usually at the glass-house in Broad street, the Church in Coventry, the Church in Warwick, the Church at Hook Norton in Oxfordshire and the Church meeting near Morton-Hinmarsh in Gloucestershire. The title page describes the tract as published in 1651 but there is no Thomason copy and therefore no indication as to whether the date given by King relates to February 1650/51 or 1651/2. All that can be safely claimed is that these member churches of this association which he mentioned were in being by February 1652. In 1658 King was one of the Particular Baptist leaders made trustees of money bequeathed by Robert Bowes (*B.Q.*, VII.217). In 1672, he joined William Kiffen to produce material incorporated in **The Life of Henry Hills**; 1688: King's name does not appear among those attending the 1689 Assembly.

Daniel King , founder of the Midlands Baptist Association, was a ministering brother with Spilsbury, Kiffen and Thomas Patience, and others among the London Particular Baptists. Later, King published his **A Discovery of Some Troublesome Thoughts**, London; 1651. This little work of about 65 pages is one of the sweetest and most important from that time dealing with Christian Experience, Assurance and Hope. In this sweet little work, King says this on the last page of his Introduction:

So I commit it to the blessing of God, and the approbation of the Churches of Christ, and such in them, as are most experienced in the dealings of God with troubled souls; and desire to continue as by the grace of God I am. From the Lime-kiln at Pickle Hering in Southwark this 7th of the 11th month, A servant to Christ and the meanest of His Saints, Daniel King.

In his footnote, he lists those churches:

As namely, the churches of Christ, in London, meeting usually at the Glasshouse in Broad Street, The Church in Coventry, the Church in Warwick, the Church at Hook Norton in Oxfordshire, and the Church meeting near Martin-Hinmarsh in Gloucestershire, or any others whom I am near related.

Now, let us identify these others. Note the listing of the Churches at the Second Meeting of the Midlands Baptist Association. King was in a special way already, in 1651, related to those in Warwick, Hook Norton, Martin-Hinmarsh and the church at Coventry.

First, the **Glass House Church** is one of those issuing the **First London Confession**.

Of Warwick(5)· Daniel King(6) and Henry Vencent(7);

Of Morton(8)· John Mayo, John :Man;

Of Bourton-on-the-Water(9)· Henry Collins and John Mitchell, Anthony Colet;

Of Alchester(10)· Thomas Arme and Stephen Wade(11);

Of Teuxbury(12)· John Brian, Samuel Toney;

Of Hook Norton(13)· James Willmore and Mathew Tomlinson (16).

Of Derby(15)· Henry Davise and William Tomlinson(16).

Benjamin Cox, in about 1643, gathered the church at Coventry, one of the foundational churches in the association. Cox was from the London Particular Baptists and signed the 1646 Confession with Thomas Kilcop from the Petty France Church. At this point, we should also remember that Benjamin Cox issued his **Appendix to the Confession of Faith**, in 1646, for the benefit of those dear saints in Coventry.

Now, note B. W. White's remarks:

17. This agreement should be compared with the Abingdon or Berkshire Association agreement printed as Appendix I to E. A. Payne's, **The Baptists of Berkshire**, London 1951, 147ff. The share taken by the Berkshire Association and their representatives in the foundation of this association will be seen in the Abingdon MS.

At the organization of the Midlands Baptist Association, the older Abington Association sent representatives. I have already showed that the London Particular Baptists helped form the Abington Association.

The Midlands Baptist Association owed its origin to:

First, the ministry of Benjamin Cox from London, one of the ministering brethren from the Seven Churches in London;

Second, from Daniel King, one of the ministering brethren from the Seven Churches in London, and;

Third, from the older Abington Association that came from the Particular Baptists in London.

Why, then, is the Midland's Baptist Confession so different from the First London Confession? For several reasons:

First, it was never designed to be printed in a book form as was the First London Confession. It was copied and placed in a church record book.

Second, it was an abridged form of the First London Confession. Daniel King, doubtless, wrote the Midland's Confession.

Third, it is no more different from the **First London** than the **Somerset Baptist Confession** is. Yet, in their introduction, those who published the **Somerset Confession** affirmed their oneness with that older Confession and the churches and ministers in London who issued it. See my remarks on **The Somerset Baptist Association and its Confession of Faith**.

I have showed that the foundation arguments from Ivey's work are misleading, deceptive and false. The old Midlands Baptist Association came into being from the London Particular Baptists and may be considered one of their outreaches from London.

Now, let us move on further into the business about the differences between mixed membership and open communion, or the battle between John Tombes and Daniel King.

Daniel King verses John Tombs

Note B. W. White's remarks:

28. The Leominster Churchbook, p.21, reads: 'The 28th day of the 7th month 1656 was the Church of

Christ meeting at brother Joseph Patshall's house in Leominster constituted and the persons undernamed did, after a solemn seeking of God, give up themselves to the Lord and to one another to walk together in all the ordinances of Jesus according to his appointments. Which was done in the presence of, and with the assistance of our brother Daniel King and other brethren'. A long list of over 130 men and women followed but most of these presumably joined later. Question 4, raised by the Leominster messengers at the eighth General Meeting, more probably indicates the size of their congregation at this time. Edward Price represented Leominster as pastor, at the 1689 Assembly. A man named Patshall left Jessey's congregation for believer's baptism in 1643 (*T.B.H.S.*, I. 245) and a Joseph Patshall signed the new revision of the 1644 confession in 1651.

Please note the name of Joseph Patshall. See his development:

First, in Jessey's church and then leaving it in 1643 for gospel baptism;

Second, the constitution of the Particular Baptist Church at Leominster, in 1656. Many of these persons came from Tombs' church. In the Associational records, you will note their leaving and forming a new church. When they did this, Tomb's church complained and the association upheld the new church and ruled against Tombes and his church's objections.

Third, when the Particular Baptists reissued the **London Confession** in 1651, it was not simply a confession of the London Churches. Note these introductory remarks giving several reasons why they reissued their old Confession:

First, The invitations and earnest solicitations of several of our brethren, **from all parts of the nation**, whose hearts long to behold (in public) our stability and perseverance in the way and truth of our God, that by it they may have wherewith to put to silence those who have lately taken liberty to reproach and undervalue the truth professed by us.

Fourth, Joseph Patshall signed the 1651 edition of the First London Confession. He is with King and opposing John Tombes. They assisted in the gathering of the New Church at Leominster.

So, further, in the old Midlands Baptist Association you find active one of the signers of the First London Confession, Joseph Patshall, plus Daniel King and Benjamin Cox, all from the London Particular Baptist Churches.

B. W. White says further about John Tombs:

29. John Tombes (*C.R.*, 487f.) was probably the most learned defender of the Baptist position during

this period when he was active in, among other places, Bewdley, Ledbury and Leominster. He remains peripheral to the story of the Particular Baptist associations of the time because of his open-membership practice. No doubt, it was disagreement over these that led to the withdrawal of Patshall and his friends at Leominster in 1656.

30. Richard Harrison (*C.R.*, 250, two successive entries) also practiced open-membership almost certainly.

Establishing another link to the London Particular Baptists to the Midlands and also their rejection of open membership, is Benjamin Cox's letter against Richard Harrison over the matter of taking state pay for preaching the gospel.

31. Benjamin Coxe (*T.B.H.S.*, VI.50-59) acted here as the messenger of the Abington Association. His rather lengthy paper against Richard Harrison's willingness to accept state pay has been transcribed from the Leominster Churchbook and is to be found as an Appendix to these records. For further details see White, 'Organization' 216-20.

Now here are additional names that interest us. Thomas Shephard signed the **First London Confession** in 1644.

32. According to T. Thache, **The Gainsayer Convicted**, London 1649, (Thomason date: 6 August), 16 a Londoner called Harrison had drawn together a congregation in Cirencester whom he had not yet fully persuaded of the truth of believer's baptism. Among his disciples were 'M. Rudge' (mentioned in the epistle to the Reader), Thomas Chutterbuck, William Burge, Giles Handcox, Thomas Shephard, Caleb Setfe (p.29) and others referred to (p.61) as 'Roger the Shoemaker' and 'Samuel the Boddicemaker'. Of these the Cirencester Churchbook (deposited with the Gloucestershire Record office) mentions Caleb Setfe only although Richard Burge and James Clutterbucke were members by 1655---the year in which the first entries are to be found. A certain Giles Waticins (who went as minister to the 1689 Assembly) was also a leading member in 1655. On the '9th day of the 7th month 1659' it was agreed that 'our friends in the country' could 'sitt downe as a church of them selves', probably under the leadership of one William Moulder. It should be noted that the association record does *not* say that the church at Cirencester became a member of the association at this point.

Edward Harrison is the Londoner named Harrison here. He was another signer of the **First London Confession of Faith**.

How many signers of the **First London Confession** were active in the Midlands Baptist Association? Cox, Harrison, Patshall and Shephard. Then, there is that great leader who opposed John Tombes, **Daniel King**. The old Midlands Baptist Association was in reality the **Second London Particular Baptist Association**! It stood just as solidly against John Tombs and his **open communion and mixed church membership as the London Brethren did against Henry Jessey**.

Now, we are ready for the minutes of the Old Midlands Baptist Association.

Association Records of the Particular Baptists of the Midlands to 1658

Editorial Note.

Two attempts have made to tell the story of the churches associated together over the years in the Midlands and these have both included some material from the earliest period. They are William Stokes, **The History of the Midland Association** (London 1855) and J. M. Gwynne Owen, **Records of an old Association** (n.p. 1905). In addition, W. T. Whitley produced a useful survey which included some relevant material in **Baptist Association life in Worcestershire 1655-1926**, n. p. 1926).

Nevertheless, the great bulk of the material primed here from the Tewkesbury and Leominster Church books has not been made available before. Much of it, like that contained in the Welsh Records, concerns the answers of the messengers to queries proposed by the churches. However, unlike the Welsh records, no arrangements appear to have been made at association level for preaching plans. What seem characteristic of both sets of records are the churches' two major concerns: over and over again the queries raise questions concerned with internal church life and discipleship on the one hand and forms of ministry upon the other.

THE MIDLAND RECORDS

(The Original Midlands Baptist Confession-REP)

The first General Meeting, 2 May 1655

Articles unanimously agreed unto by all the messengers of the churches met at Warwick on the 2nd day of the 3rd month 1655.

1. We believe that there is one only true God which is one God who is eternal, almighty, unchangeable and incomprehensible, infinite; who is a spirit having (3) his being of himself and giveth being, to all creatures and doth what he will in heaven and in earth moving all things according to the counsel of His own will.
2. That this infinite being is set forth to be Father, the Word and the Holy Spirit and these three are one. I. J'n.5.7.
3. We profess and believe the Holy Scriptures, the Old and New Testament, to be the word and reveled mind of God which are able to make men wise unto salvation through faith which is in Christ Jesus and are given by inspiration of God serving to furnish the man of God to every good work and that by them we are in instructed to try all things whatsoever that are brought unto us under pretense of truth. Is. 8.20; 2 Tim. 3.15ff.
4. Though Adam was created righteous yet he fell through the temptation of Satan and in his fall overthrew not only himself but all posterity making them sinners by his disobedience so that we were by nature children of wrath and defiled from the womb being shapen in iniquity and conceived in sin. Ps. 51.5; Ro. 4.11.

5. That God elected and chose, in his eternal counsel, some persons to life and salvation even before the foundation of the world. Acts 13.48; Eph. 1.3f; 2 Thes.2.13; I. Pet. 1.2. Whom accordingly he doth and will effectually call and whom he doth so call he will certainty keep by his power through faith and unto salvation. 2 Tim. I. 9f; I. Cor. 1.9; I Thess. 5.24; I. Pet. 1.5 etc.
6. That election was free in God and of his good pleasure and not at all for or with reference to any foreseen works or faith in the creature as the motive thereunto. Eph.1.4f; Ro. 11.5f.
7. That Christ Jesus was in the fullness of time manifested in the flesh being borne of a woman and being perfectly righteous gave Himself for His elect to redeem them unto God by his blood. Jn. 10.15; Eph.2.25ff; Ro.5.9.
8. That all until they are quickened by Christ are dead in sin and trespasses, Eph2.1, and therefore have not power to believe. savingly of them selves, Jn.10.23; Is.26.12, but faith is the free gift of God and mighty work of God in the soul even like the raising of Christ from the dead, Eph. 1.9. Thus, we consent not with those that hold that God hath given power to all men to believe to salvation.
9. That Christ is the only true king, priest and prophet of the Church. Acts 3.22f; Heb. 4.14; 7.1.
10. That every man that is justified is justified by Christ, Ro. 8.33; I. Cor. 6.11 apprehended by faith. And that no man is justified in the sight of God partly by Christ, partly by works. Ro. 3.20, 28, 30; Gal. 5.4.
11. That Jesus of Nazareth of whom the Scriptures of the Old Testament prophesies (*sic*) is the true Messiah and Savior of man and that he dyed on the cross, was buried, rose again in the same body in the which he suffered and ascended to the right hand of the majesty on high and appeareth in the presence of God making intercession for us.
12. That all that have faith wrought in their harts by the power of God according to his good pleasure should be careful to maintain good works and to abound in them acting from principles of true faith and unfeigned love looking to God's glory as the main end. Tit. 3.8; Heb. 11.6; I. Cor. 13.1; 10.31.
13. That all those that profess faith in Christ and make the same appear by their fruits are the proper subjects of baptism. Acts 8.37.
14. That baptizing is not by sprinkling but dipping of the person in the water representing the death, burial and resurrection of Christ. Ro. 6. 3f; Col. 2.12.
15. That persons so baptized ought to walk together by free consent as God shall give opportunity in distinct churches or assemblies of Zion continuing in the apostle' doctrine and fellowship and breaking of bread and prayers as fellow members caring for one another according to the will of God. Acts 2.42,46.
16. That at the time appointed of the Lord the dead bodies of all men shall rise again that they may receive according to what they have done good or evil. I. Cor. 15.53; Mt. 24.31.

The Second General Meeting, 26 June 1655.

The agreement of certain churches at our meeting together at Morton hinmarsh the 26 day of the 4 month 1655.

The Lord our God having, according to his free and infinite mercy, given us to be in his son Jesus Christ and in himself, through him and to be baptized into his name and to walk in distinct churches and assemblies of Zion; according to the rule of Ns ward, according to the measure and knowledge of grace which he hath bestowed upon us and given unto us to agree in the same principles as appeareth by our unanimous consenting in the same truths and especially contained in sixteen articles of faith and order agreeable to the holy Scriptures hath effectually taught us to endeavor to walk answerably, we do therefore, according to He will! of God, clearly appearing in his word, with true thankfulness unto him for his grace, mutually acknowledge each other to be true churches of Christ, and that it is our duty to hold a close communion each to other as the Lord shall give opportunity and ability, endeavoring that we may all increase more and more in faith and knowledge and in all purity and holiness to the honor of our God, and it is our resolution, in the strength of Christ, to endeavor' thus to do. Subscribed in the

name of the churches above mentioned by us the messengers of the said churches respectively by them thereunto authorized and appointed.

Of Warwick(5)› Daniel King(6) and Henry Vencent(7);

Of Morton(8)› John Mayo, John :Man;

Of Bourton-on-the-Water(9)› Henry Collins and John Mitchell, Anthony Colet;

Of Alchester(10)› Thomas Arme and Stephen Wade(11);

Of Teuxbury(12)› John Brian, Samuel Toney;

Of Hook Norton(13)› James Willmore and Mathew Tomlinson (16).

Of Derby(15)› Henry Davise and William Tomlinson(16).

Forasmuch (17) as the churches of Warwick, Morton hinmarsh, Bourton-on-the-Water, Teuxbury, Hook Norton, Darby, Alcester do mutually acknowledge each other to be true churches of Christ and that it is their duty to hold a close communion each with other according to the rule of his word and so be helpful each to other as God shall give opportunity and ability and these churches are now desired to consider that they acknowledge each other and are faithfully to hold such communion each with other and to endeavor to be helpful each to other:

1. In giving of advice after serious consultation and deliberation in matters and controversies remaining doubtful to any particular church as plainly appear in the churches of Jerusalem and Antioch. Acts 15.
2. In giving and receiving all so in case of poverty and want of any particular churches as appeareth in the approved and due acting of the churches of the Gentiles towards the churches of Jerusalem. Rom. 15.26f.
3. In sending their gifted brethren to use their gifts for the edification of the churches that need the same: as they shall see it seasonable, as the church at Jerusalem sonic J2:mabas to Antioch. Acts 11.22.
4. In a joint caring (*sic*) on of any work of the Lord that is common to the churches as they shall! have opportunity to join therein to the glory of God as appears in 2 Cor. 8.19.
5. In watching over each other and considering each other for good in respect of purity of doctrine, exercise of love and good conversation: they being all members of the same body of Christ, I Cor. 12:12, who therefore ought to have care one of another, I Cor. 12:29, especially considering how the glory of God is concerned in their standing and their holy conservation.

The (18) churches now associated are desired to take these things into consideration and to signify by their messengers at the next meeting how far they close with the same and that they]judge expedient to be farther considered and done for the glory of God and the good of His people.

Touching marriage:

1. Whether it be not utterly and manifestly unlawful for a church member to marry one who cannot be duly looked **upon** to be a true believer in Christ considering' I. Cor. 7.39; 9.5; I. Peter 3.7.

2. Whether it be not at best a very inconvenient and uncomfortable and dangerous thing, for a church member to be married to one who, though pretending godliness, doth yet stand out against the ways of Christ refusing to yield obedience to his command touching baptism, and walking in church communion. Whether the fruit of such marriages have not ben lamentable and consequently whether all church members whom this may concern, ought not to be admonished and charged to take heed *of* such a snare, and that they be fart from following the example of those sinners in Gen. 6.2 and that they be not found to temp God by their exposing themselves to a continual temptation or clog from a bosom

companion and yoke-fellow.

Also the churches are desired to be careful of their duty in this respect so by their messengers to signify their judgment and resolution(22).

Resolution touching these things at the next meeting.

Touching the practice of any brother that doth or shall preach to the world and take maintenance from the world, whether tithes or augmentations or any other salary or pension, the churches are in-treated to consider:

1. Whether this be not a thing of evil report and that which opens the mouths of the world against the people and ways of God.
2. Whether it doth not savor of taking an enforced maintenance which was justly condemned in the Babylonish clergy, and whether such a one doth not act as one preaching for hire.
3. Whether that practice be any way agreeable to the New Testament rule touching preachers' maintenance, which we see in Gal. 6.6.
4. Whether it doth not commonly and principally (if not altogether) unavoidably dash him that practices upon other evils (viz.) as acting towards the world as it were the church, a countenancing of national worship and ministry and a hardening of the people in their idolizing of their temples.
5. Whether it doth not deprive the churches of the benefits of those gifts given for the churches' edification, as in Eph. 4. 12.
6. Whether it doth not manifest much covetousness or much mistrust in Christ's promises or provision or both.

The churches are humbly pressed, to seek the Lord for right information in the thing, there being preset need of the same and that they would signify their judgment touching it also at the next meeting.(19) As, likewise, whether they can see it either convenient or lawful for any church member to go forth to preach to the world without any approbation or sending from the church Also that they would consider whether they have not members fit in some measure for the offices that Christ hath ordained in his Church and, if they have, that then they would lay to heart their duty to endeavor that they may orderly be brought to serve Christ and his Church in these offices. And that for help to know and do the will of God in these, things there may be an earnest seeking of the face of God in prayer with fasting.

The next meeting appointed at Morton hinmarsh, October 24, 1655 at 9 of the clock in the morn.

The third General Meeting, 24 October 1655.

The conclusions of the messengers of the churches upon some of the queries at the last meeting that were sent to the churches:

In answer to the first question, what it is to be duty a true believer in Christ, that they explain themselves by, "duly" that is, to be rightly and warrantable in Christ in profession and conversion' that is to have a principle of grace through he or she be not baptized nor in church communion, but they that are baptized are more orderly. This question was put to clear the former (viz) whether a believer sinneth in marrying any other but a believer considering I Cor. 7:39.

It is affirmatively, they sin if they marry with any other. The second question, whether it be not a very inconvenient and dangerous and uncomfortable thing for 'a church member to be married to one who, professing godliness, yet standeth out against baptism and church communion, [they] answer affirmatively: it is very inconvenient.

To the first of the 6 questions about ministers' maintenance: whether it be not a thing unlawful and of evil report for preaching of the Gospel to take tithes, augmentations, or any other salary or pension from the world?'

Answer: as the case of the question standeth some are in the negative and some in affirmative provided the maintenance be freely given, except tithes.

Next, this following quest/on is put to see if it will answer the **former**: whether it be nor unlawful for a member of the Church of Christ to go forth to preach by the magistrate's authority and to be maintained by him accordingly.

Answer: it is unlawful:

1. Because our Lord Christ sends forth his ministers by his power alone, Mt. 28.19, and he is the head of the body the Church that in all things he might have the preeminence, Col. 1.18; Eph. 1.22.
2. Because Christ hath left all power in his Church both to call and send forth ministers, Matt. 28.20, saying, I am with you to the end of the world, and I. Tim.
- 3; Titus 1; Acts 14; Mt. 18 and 16.18f. 3. Because we find the Church only exercising that power both in choosing and sending forth ministers as appeareth by these Scriptures, Acts 1.23, 26; 8.14; 13.2f and 11.22. We think fit to add that we taking this question entire consider it to be fully answered.

The 6 questions about ministers' maintenance are supposed by the messengers generally to be fully answered in the former question and therefore have waved them.

In answer to the next question whether it be lawful for a church-member to go forth and preach to the world without the sending or approbation of the church: it is unanimously agreed upon that it is not except in extraordinary cases.

In answer to the last question, whether it be the duty of every church of Christ to call to forth those to officiate in the offices of Christ and His Church as they find in a good measure qualified for the same according to the Scriptures: it is agreed in the affirmative and that from these Scriptures: Matt. 24.45; Tit. 1.5; Eph. 4.11; I Cor. 12:28; Acts 20:28.12.28; Acts 20.28.

There are many congregation[s] that have gifted brethren that are approved of for the public preaching of the word that do not baptize nor administer the Supper. The churches are desired to consider whether these churches may not call forth those members to break bread and to baptize as need shall require.

Answer: in the affirmative, the churches may call forth such to baptize and administer the Supper provided they be very careful that their effectual endeavor after an official minister be not hereby neglected.

1. Because preaching the word is the greater work as appeareth, I Cor. 1.17, Paul was not sent to baptize but to preach the Gospel, which, we conceive, is he was not so much sent to baptize. If he was not sent to baptize at all he had done evil to assume that authority, but his main work was to

preach the gospel though he was sent to baptize as appears, Acts 26.16, where God appeared to Paul for this purpose' to make him a minister and a witness, both of those things which he had scene and would appear to him. In Acts 9 God promises to tell Paul what he must do and he acknowledged be was an apostle of Christ in quality, and proportion with the rest of the apostles, 2 Cor. 12.11, who had commission to preach and baptize, Mt. 28.19f., for that he had authority, comparing the Scriptures together. It proves his not being sent to baptize is not so much as preaching which was the greatest work.

2. Because, where there is ability to preach publicly, there is authority to baptize also, Mt. 28.19; the disciples were to preach and baptize together as appears in Phillip's baptizing the eunuch, Acts 8.38.

Signed by the messengers of the churches respectively:

Morton John Mano;
Warwick Daniel King, John Career;
Bourton: John Michill, John Fox;²⁰
Tewkesbury: John Fluck, Thomas Smith, William Haines;
Hook Norton: James Willmat, John Archer;²¹
Alcester: Thomas Arme, John Johnstones;
Derby: Godfrey Archer, Henry Davis.

The next meeting to be at Warwick on Monday in ester week by 12 a clock and to continue two days.

The Fourth General Meeting, 7/8 April 1656.

The joint agreement of the messengers of the several churches being met at Warwick the 7 and 8 day of the 2nd month 1656 after they had joined together in prayer to seek the Lord for their direction in answer to these quires following'

Question 1. How the church ought to send forth their public approved gifted brethren that so they may answer the Scripture role..

Answer: with fasting and praises and laying on of hands with care for their maintenance, Acts 13.3: I. Tim. 4.14; Mt. 10.9f; Mk. 6.8; 3 In. 7; I. Cor. 9.7.

Question 2. Whether in churches that are associated if they have one or two or more of able, gifted, approved brethren in one or two churches, whether they ought not rather to improve them for the good of the whole churches that are in want than to confine him or them to any particular church.

Answer: they ought to improve the gifts of God to the honor of God's majesty. Therefore, considering the end of members congregating and churches associating, we judge wherein particular churches ought not to suffer other churches to want but they ought to partake of their gifts as they appear to have need both in spiritualities and temporals, Acts 11.22; 8.14; 2 Cot. 8.13-18; Eph. 1.11f.

Question 3. Whether it be not a great part of a gospel minister's work to instruct his flock by catechizing of them as well as preaching for their more perfect education.

Answer: by catechizing only is meant questioning for the more perfect knowledge of the condition of members so that by the discovery. of weakness, suitable strength may be added. We judge it a duty of a minister of Christ in this as in all other particulars as occasion offers itself to show himself a man

approved in the work of God's house, 2 Tim. 3.15, which we conceive he cannot do except he inquire into the state of the flock that he may give everyone his portion of meat in due season and, we judge, there ought to be a readiness in every member to give an account of their state and condition to the elder or to any appointed thereunto, I. Thess 3.5ff; Prov. 27.23; I. Pet. 3.15.

The conclusions of these messengers of the things going before at their meeting at Warwick the 7th and 8th days of the second month 1656.

Warwick: Nathaniel Alsop, John Turner.
Morton hinmarsh: Daniel King, John Doll.
Alcester: Thomas Arme, Stephen Wade.
Hook Norton: James Willmatt, John Archer.
Bourton: John Michael, Anthony Collett.
Derby: Robert Hope,²², William Tomlison.

The next meeting is to be at Morton hinmarsh, June 4th by 8 of the clock in the morning and to continue three days of the 4th month 1656.

The Fifth General Meeting, 4/6 June 1656.

The conclusions of the messengers of the churches at their meeting at Morton Hinmarsh the 4th, 5th and 6th days of the 4th months 1656 to certain queries as they, follow:

Question 1. Whether baptized believers may join in any part of worship or public hearing the national ministers preach or others that are not baptized.

Answer: baptized believers ought not to hear the national ministers preach nor join with them in their public worship, their pretended ministry being Babylonish, Rev. 18.4. Neither may they so hear or join with unbaptized persons, though hoped to be godly, because they are disorderly in carrying on a public ministry and worship without baptism, Col. 2.5; 2 Thess. 3.6 no, nor with baptized persons neither if not sound in the faith which is the cause of those that are called free willers, Prov. 19.27.

Question 2. Whether it is the duty of church members always to call each other brother and sister?

Answer, it is the duty of church members 'always' to owe each other in their hearts as brethren and sisters and to manifest the same by calling each other so when it is expedient and convenient, I. Pet. 2.17. But, sometimes, we know it may lawfully be forbore as divers Scriptures' example do manifest, Col. 1.2; 1. Tim. 1.12; Titus 1.4.

Question 3. Whether an approved gospel minister, who hath gathered many churches, which churches have no administrator of the ordinances but himself, he may be chosen into office by any of the said churches without the full consent of the others?

Answer, such a gospel minister cannot be orderly chosen as an officer by any church unless he be orderly a member of the same, Acts 6.3; 14.23. And that church of which he is orderly a member ought in this cause to do that and only that which shall be most for the churches' good and for the glory of God, I. Cor. 10.31.

Question 4. What are the spiritual duties of believing parents and masters to their children and servants ?

Answer, for the first branch of it. In general to bring them up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord, Eph. 6.4, which takes in these particulars, to instruct them in the things of God according to our ability and their capacity, Prov. 22.6, to exhort and charge them' to walk closely with God, I. Thess. 2.11. 3rdly, to do it in such a way as not to provoke them to wrath lest they should be discouraged, Eph. 6.4; Col. 3.21. 4thly, to chastise them with severity if they be perverse or stubborn in sin, Deut. 21.18; Heb. 12.7; Prov. 23.13f. 5thly, to pray for them (so did Abraham for Ishmael, O that Ishmael may live in th3' sight; so did Job, Chap. 1, see also 2 Sam. 12.16; flit. 19.22).

To the second part, what are the spiritual duties of believing masters to their servants? 1. If they are believing servants, they are to perform duties to them as to brethren for this relation, I. Tim. 6.2, but, if they be unbelievers, thus, the master what in him lieth must not suffer them to live in sin.

2. He may and ought to hold forth the truth of God to them to prepare them for the Lord as it is probable Cornelius did.

3. He ought to endeavor to rule them well, I. Tim. 3.4; Eph. 6.9; compared with the former verses. 4tNy, so to walk as to show them a good example himself, Ps. 101.2.

Question 5. Whether there be a distinct (*sic*) difference between noting and casting out?

Answer, agreed unto by the messengers of the churches of Warwick, Alcester, Tuexbury, Morton hinmarsh, Borton-on-the-water and Hooke Norton as their present judgment that the withdrawing, noting and having no company with, spoken of in 2 Thess. 3 is all one with casting out.

Question 6. What ought to be the behavior of a church or each member to one noted or cast out?

Answer, agreed by the messengers of the churches aforementioned, we judge that our carriage to a *person* cast out of the church ought to be as towards a heathen or a publican, Mt. 18.17. Iii we find him hardened and persisting in sin then to leave him and take no more notice of him than of another wicked person. But if we find him willing to hear us and so likely to be gained then to use such means as the Scriptures affordeth for the regaining of him.

Question 7. Whether any part of church business may not be done before the world and what it is?

Answer: some parts may,

1. as preaching or prophesying in general, I. Cor. 14.24. But, if it be for trial of gifts or trial of a man before late be chosen into office, it is most convenient to be done before the church only: because the world is not concerned in such cases, I. Cor. 2.14.
2. Baptism may be administered before the world for we conceive John baptizing such multitudes as be did and in a river, did it before the world. Acts 2.38,41 [is] considerable to this purpose: those 3,000 we conceive professed faith and were baptized before the world being so great a work done in so short a time and the people being generally drawn together it is probable that it could not be done privately.
3. Prayer, we judge, may be made before the world, I. Cox., 14.15, I will pray with my understanding, saith Paul, that is, in a known tongue to others that stand by and this being a church meeting, as appears vv. 18, 19, and unbelievers being admitted to hear prophesying as v. 24 we judge they stood by at prayers also. But this we desire may be considered, that we mean prayers upon common occasions at ordinary church meetings. But for prayers upon special occasions, particularly to the church, we see not grounds then to admit them.
4. We judge breaking of bread may be done before the world because it is the Lord's death and is to show forth I Cor. 11.26, which is a weighty doctrine of the gospel and if the Lord's death may be showed forth in preaching and baptizing, as is clear, we conclude in this ordinance also.

5. We judge also the pronouncing of the sentence of excommunication may be done before the world that they may see the church doth not bear with sin and sinners. That it may mind them of the woeful condition of wicked man and that God will denounce that terrible sentence against them, Go, ye cursed.
6. But, for admonition generally before excommunication in hope the offender may be recovered, that may not be done before the world because sins of offending brethren are not to be told the church till former admonition be visited.
7. Debating of doubtful [matters] that concerns the church only may not be before the world, Acts 15 (the former part of the chapter).
8. Trial, election and ordination of officers we judge is not to be done before the world because the world is not concerned in such cases, neither are such chosen to officiate to the world as officers but to the church.

Question 8. Whether a competent number of baptized believers in a troop or regiment may there walk as a church?

Answer: we do not discern that a number of disciples in a troop or regiment can there walk as and act as a particular church of Christ as there is no Scripture to warrant it nor discerning them to be in a capacity to keep close to the rule of the word in receiving of members, dealing with them in all cases as the matter shall require, and that they are continually liable to be dissolved.

Question 9. What is a true gospel prophesying in the church and who may or ought to appear in that great duty?

Answer: to the first branch, we answer, we find in I Cor. 14.3 concerning gospel prophesying that he that prophesieth speaketh to edification and exhortation and comfort. Hereupon we humbly offer it to consideration, whether it may not now be called gospel prophesying when men thus speak. To the 2nd branch we answer that they and they only may and ought to appear in the work whom God hath endued with gifts thus to speak, I. Pet. 4.10.

Question 10. How far women may speak in the church and how far not?

Answer: we answer that women in some cases may speak in the churches and in some cases again may not. That in some cases they may not speak manifestly appears in I. Cor. 14.34f. and I Tim. 2.11f. They may not so speak as that their speaking shall not show a not acknowledging of the inferiority of their sex and so is an usurping of authority over the man and more particularly thus-

1. A woman may not publicly teach in the church. This appears to have been much in the apostle's eye, I. Cor. 14.
2. She may not speak in the church by way of passing sentence upon doctrines or cases in the church.
3. She may not stand up as a ruler in the church and so speak upon that account.
4. She may not speak in prayer as the mouth of the church, that is very clear in I. Tim. 2;
5. yet, in the cases that follow and, possibly, in some other cases a woman may speak in the church and not be found to offend against the rule of the apostle, she desire to make a profession of her faith to the church to express her desire to baptism and communion with the church.
6. if she be a witness concerning the church admonition of one that the church is to deal with or must herself tell the matter to the church according to the rule in Mt. 18.17.
7. If she be sent from another church as a messenger, she may deliver her message.
8. If she have need of the church's assistance in any things she may impart her just desire and lay open her case to them.
9. if a woman have sinned and [ben] cast out of the church and God hath given her repentance, undoubtedly she may manifest it in the church.

Some queries presented to the several churches.

First, if a gospel minister be mistaken in something he delivered publicly, or some member of the church conceive so, he may be questioned before the world or whether that is to be done before the brethren only.

1. Whether it be not the duty of every gospel minister to join himself as member to some particular church of Christ who may encourage him in well doing and deal with him in case he sin or fall?
2. What are the duties of believing servants towards their masters and governors?
3. Whether it be regular for a church to call in help of those that are not properly members there, to deal with offenders before the church themselves or [if] herself and her own members have tried **what they can do of themselves.**
4. Whether persons in case of offence or trespass against brethren may regularly have their matters brought to the church before they have been twice admonished according to Mt. 18.17?

The next meeting of the messengers is appointed at Allcester the 15th day of the 8th month 1656 by 10 of the clock in the morning where those queries before laid down are answered by the messengers.

The sixth General Meeting, 15 October 1656.

Answers to some queries going before:

Question 1. Whether, if a gospel minister be mistaken in some thing delivered publicly or some member of a church conceive so he may questioned and, opposed before the world or whether that may be done only among brethren.

Answer: if a gospel minister is mistaken or conceived by some member of a church to be mistaken in some thing he delivered publicly yet not holding forth any scandalous or dangerous doctrines we judge he is to be dealt with in this_case as Aquilla and Priscilla dealt with Apollos in Acts 18.26.

Question 2. What is the duty of believing servants towards their master and governors.

Answer: they must readily endeavor to obey all their lawful and just commands and this with reverence and singleness of heart and with good will herein acting as the servants of Christ doing the will of God from the heart, Eph. 6.6f; Col. 3.22f; I Pet. 2.18. They must not only avoid all false and unjust dealing with them but also all provoking and unsavory language towards them and so far as they may, without omitting any duty that the Lord requires of them, nor use such behavior and acting as would any may displease them, Titus 3.2,9f., But, if they command anything against the Lord they must remember that God is to be obeyed rather than men, Acts 5.29. If their master or governors be believers they are not in that respect to take liberty to themselves to neglect any part of their duty towards them but fully to perform the same with care and reverence and willingly and cheerfully, 1. Tim, 6.2. And, if they be unbelievers, yet they must acknowledge them worthy of all honor that duly belongs to them as masters and governors. And must act towards them accordingly that the name of God and his doctrine be not blasphemed, I. Tim. 6.1; I. Pet. 2.18. They are also to perform towards their believing masters and governors all the duties which one believer ought to perform towards another but in such a way and manner as is not disagreeable nor unsuitable to their relation as servants [which] ought not to make them forget their relation in Christ [']s] temple. Gal. 3.28; Col. 3.11; I Tim. 6.2.

Questions propounded by the church at Tuexbury.

Question 1. What is the duty of believers at this day toward the present powers, whether in civil things to submit unto them and to live with in them lye peaceable under them?

Answer: the messengers offer to the serious consideration of the churches this ensuing answer: as the rule which the church hath received from Christ and his apostles for the baptizing of believers and for the leading of a sober, righteous and godly, life in the world at this day to be obeyed of the same, so also is the rule which we have received in the New Testament concerning the obeying of magistrates in civil things, viz. in Ro. 13.1; I Pet. 2.13f; Titus 3.1, to which may be added I Tim. 2.2, which implies that we must desire and endeavor to lead a peaceable life under the civil power and these things among others in like manner commanded are still to [be] taught and learned and obeyed as may soundly be inferred from 2 Tim. 2.2. And if the magistrate shall now give forth unto us unlawful commands we ought rather to suffer patiently for our just refusing to yield any active obedience to them than to rise up in rebellion against the magistrate. If, doing well, we suffer for it and take it patiently this is acceptable with God, I: Pet. 2.20.

Even at this day we must take heed that we do not suffer as evil doers nor as busybodies in other mens' matters, I. Pet. 4.15, and that we be not found men taking the word: 'contrary to the mind of our blessed Savior. If any think otherwise let them show where the foresaid rule did cease to bind and by what word of God it is abrogated and recalled and what other rule God hath given his people to walk by in these days.

When the Lord shall make his people a smiting people will he not first clearly put a just and lawful power and authority into their hands or cause such in power to be [at] their sides and to command them as that in the exercise thereof or in yielding obedience thereunto their actions shall be clearly just and good, not at all crossing his own rule which he hath given unto them to walk by, shall not kings see and arise and princes worship, Is. 49.7. Shall not kings then be the churches nursing fathers and their queens their nursing mothers, Is. 49.23? We offer it to the serious consideration whether it be not implied in Ro. 11.12.15 that the Gentile churches shall be in a low condition till the calling of the Jews and whether it may not be gathered from Mic. 4.8, that the Jewish Church shall have the kingdom and the first dominion, Japheth being to dwell in the tents of Shem, Gen. 9.27. If so, then whether it doth not behove us with patience and quietness to wait for the time.

Question 2. What course may be taken with a sister, walking contrary to those several conclusions made by the churches according to the word and read publicly, and by silence assented to, as touching the inconvenience, if not utter unlawfulness, for any that are in the fellowship of the Gospel. to join themselves in marriage with any that are not in the same fellowship? Nevertheless, contrary to this and to all possible means used by us to prevent it, hath joined herself to one that is not only out of fellowship, but out of faith: an open and profane person, and an enemy to the ways of God.

Answer to the query: that the sister who had acted as is there expressed hath, as we judge, greatly sinned; the act which she hath done being a sin which ought earnestly to be repented of, and her sin being increased by her not hearing the church endeavoring to keep her from it, we therefore judge that her sin and the greatest (*sic*) of it being showed unto her by the church, manifesting the same by the light of the Word, and she being earnestly admonished to repent unfeignedly of the same, if she shall continue in the justifying of her evil, or refuse to manifest repentance for the same, she is then to be put away as an impenitent person.

Question 3. How we may walk towards those brethren who contrary to our faith, and the result [resolution] of most of the churches in England that none should take wages and live upon the hire that

is commonly given by the State for preaching the Gospel, yet nevertheless do. not only so do but stand openly to contend for it countenancing others in it and blame[ng] those that speak against it?

Answer: the messengers, to the greatest part of them, do answer that the brethren which do act as in the query signified are to have their sin laid before [them] and to be admonished to repent of the same and to break it off. And if, being thus seriously dealt with, and this more then once, they still continue in their evil, then they are to be withdrawn from.

The next meeting is to be at Morton Hinmarsh on the first day of the second month being Wednesday in Ester week and to continue 3 days, 1657.

The Seventh General Meeting, 2/4 Apr. 1657.

Debated and resolved by the messengers of the several churches at their meeting at Morton Hinmarsh the 2nd and 3rd and 4th days of the 2nd month 1657.

Question 1. Whether it be lawful for a Christian to join or make a show of joining with a visible unbeliever when he makes a show of speaking in prayer, either in saying of grace, as they call it, or otherwise.

Answer: we judge it not lawful considering that the sacrifices of the wicked are abomination to the Lord, Prov. 15.8, therefore his prayers also, Prov. 28.9. And that we are not to be unequally yoked with unbelievers, 2 Cor. 6.14, nor to be partakers of other mens' sins, I. Tim. 5.22. But we judge it a Christian's duty in a discreet, sober, way to bear witness against such a practice.

Question 2. Whether a brother, having no other church member nor visible godly person with him, being desired to speak in prayer either as craving a blessing on God's creature to be received or praying for a sister presence [present], may lawfully so do and, if he may, what rule he is to observe or must then observe in the action.

Answer: we offer it to the serious consideration of the churches a brother may lawfully pray as is in this question mentioned so taking heed to his manner of expressing himself that he doth not make a show of taking in the unbelievers company and joining with him in prayer, Acts 27.35; 28.8.

The next meeting is to be at Alcester the 15th day of the 7th month 1657 by two of the clock afternoon and to continue 3 days if need require.

A letter from Daniel King

I do entreat the churches to hasten the view of their copies by this and send it with as much speed as may be to each other, and that the church at Teuksbury (to whom I suppose it will come last) [is] to hasten the return of it to Matron hinmarsh to Brother Rowland Freman for me because I would send it to the church at Lemster who will send messengers to our next meeting, that they may also consider of the particulars, and certify us by. their messengers how far they are on with us in these things or wherein they differ. are on with us in these things or wherein they differ. Your poor unprofitable brother in the faith and fellow in the gospel: **Daniel King**

The eighth General Meeting, 15/17 September 1657

The conclusions of the messengers of the respective associations and churches meeting at Alcester the 15th, 16th and 17th days of the 7th month 1657.

After their solemn seeking of God by fasting and prayer, these things were taken into consideration:

Question from Warwick: when a member may be said to be under dealing by a church.

Answer: We understand by the word 'dealing' to signify rebuke or reproof; we conceive a member cannot be said to be under dealing by a church except it can be proved by good testimony unto the church that he hath committed sin and so the church by reason of sin doth rebuke or reprove him, Mt. 18.15f; I. Thess. 5.14; I. Tim. 5.20; Tit. 1.13.

Question 2, from Teuxbury: concerning the sabbath. Whether the last day of the week commonly called Saturday be to be observed as a sabbath now under the gospel of Christ.

Answer: the messengers answer in the negative, only one brother declaring himself to be enquiring and not yet fully satisfied. The grounds for the negative are these among others:

ground 1, the sabbath given to the children of Israeli was to be a sign between the Lord and them in their generation. Ex. 31.13; Ezek. 20.12; 40.4.

ground 2, from that clear place, Col. 2.16f., proves that the sabbath[s] that the law had required to be observed to be shadows and for the nonobservant when in gospel times the saints are not to regard the censure of any man, the same appears also in Heb. the 4th, if rightly understood.

ground 3, from Gal.4.10f. The apostle certainly speaks of the observing of days that had ben appointed by Moses' law: compare it with v. 21 to be weekly or sabbath days.

Question 3. Concerning the queries from Lemster. the two first-were at present concerning the lawfulness of being with those we judge gracious in their prayer or in giving thanks (if providentially or accidentally being present) although they are not in order with us.

Answer. It is judged it is better [to] encourage then discourage gracious souls in a good work.

Question 4. Whether disciples may sit down as a church under the number of 12 or 13.

Answer: it is judged necessary they should amount .to the number of 12 or 13.

Question 5. How to answer an opposer demanding assent for the partaking of our own supper after the Lord's Supper was waved till next meeting.

It was debated whether the church at Leominster and Hereford that walks distinct from Mr. Tombs' were rightly constituted. It was proved and judged they were a true constituted church. It was likewise considered whether the said church might have association with these respective churches. It was generally judged they might only [they] left the completing of it till the messengers had acquainted the several churches.

The people walking with Mr. Tombs put in a letter to the messengers referring to their consideration to consider whether the withdrawing of members were not a great evil. It was found, upon debate, to be their liberty and their duty and an answer was sent of the letters to justify and approve of it.

A paper was sent likewise from Brother Harrison (30) with 3 Queries. The paper is agreed upon by the messengers to be answered by Brother Coxe. (31)

The questions in substance were this:

1. In what cases a member may lawfully depart the church.
2. If lawful, whether all means should not be used to call in the assistance of other churches.
4. If not lawful to depart, how to proceed toward those that shall.

Agreed upon by the messengers of 7 congregations and likewise by messengers of 2 associations that next meeting to be at Alchester in Easter week, 2nd, 3rd and fourth days if need require.

Daniel King, Richard Creed, John Tomlinson, Benjamin Cox.

The ninth General Meeting, 13/14 October 1657³².

The substance of the conclusions of the messengers of the churches when met at Gloster the 13th and 14th days of the 8th month 1657 in answer to some queries at that time propounded.

Question 1. Whether that those that have received the work of regeneration may be said to be baptized with the spirit baptism according to the Scriptures.

Answer: the messengers answer in the negative; first, because we do not find that the work of regeneration is anywhere in Scripture called the baptism of the Spirit. Secondly, because wheresoever we find the Scripture speaking of the baptism of the Spirit, we do understand it to be meant of gifts and miracles and tongues, Acts 2. 3f 19.& Thirdly, because the disciples had the work of regeneration wrought within them yet had not the *Spirit's* baptism till after Christ['s] Ascension, Jn. 7.38f; Acts 1.4f., compared with Acts 2. 2ff, 33 yet we do believe that that work is wrought by the Spirit.

Question 2. Whether a private brother may open[ly] reprove member for some evil or disorder before the church when met together at the churchmeeting or whether the elder or elders in the church.

Answer: We judge it the proper work of the elders, yet we judge that a ministering brother may speak a word or move to the confirmation of what the elder or elders had before spoken provided he have a special eye to his own heart that he doth it not to be seen but to God's glory.

Question 3. Whether a gifted brother so judged by the church may go out to preach at his own will at the time_of the church meeting or is to be alone at the disposing of the church.

Answer: we answer that such a brother so adjudged of by the church ought wholly to be at its disposing. First, because that all those gifted are the church's, I. Cor. 3.22; 12.28; Eph. 4.11f.

Secondly, because if one brother go forth at his own will, then another and so a third, and by that means the church may be wholly neglected.

Thirdly, because, if such a brother miscarry in his ministry, it would be charged upon the church, and so it would prove very dishonorable to the church and truth of Christ.

Fourthly, because, in such a disorderly going out, he cannot expect the prayers of the church for the Spirit of God to accompany h/m, Col. 4.3; Eph. 6.18f. and we judge if any brother shall persist in such disorderly practice after admonition that it is the church's duty to deal with him as an offender.

Question 4. Whether it is lawful for any particular member to withdraw communion from the church in breaking of bread or any other ordinance for the scandal of one member whom he judges an offender but the church as it ['?is' for 'as it'] unsatisfied in the thing.

Answer: we judge it altogether unlawful for a brother so to do. First, because by so doing he maketh the authority of Christ out of the hands of the church to do that which is the church's work. Second, because in such a practice that brother doth not only withdraw from that brother but the church also and, in so doing, disowns the church.

Question 5. Whether a member or members may neglect breaking of bread with the church and go at the same time to another meeting though in the same faith and order though nearer to their dwellings and they judge that there may be more eminent brethren to minister.

Answer: we answer they ought not.

First, because one greater end of church fellowship is not answered in so doing, Acts 2.42. *Second*, because the solemn engagements of the church as to the performance of their duty is broken. Thirdly, because by such a practice they weaken the hands of the church's ministry and grieve the hearts of their brethren, I. Thess. 5. 12f.

The next meeting is to be at Cirencester or Ciceter upon that day usually called Whitson Tuesday being the first clay of the fourth **month 1658.**

Letter from the messengers of the associated churches.

To the several churches of Jesus Christ the messengers of the several congregations met together at Gloucester the 13th day of the 8th month *1657* sendeth (s/c) greeting:

Dearly beloved brethren-in our Lord Jesus Christ whom we love in the Lord and unto whom our bowels yearn in all tenderness of affection: with our hart breathing and sighing with longing desire at the throne of grace: both for you and for all that love our dear Lord Jesus Christ. That you may grow and increase in all the gifts and graces of the Spirit and may be kept steadfast and unmovable in these staggering ['?staggering] times and that you may shine forth in your conversation as lights in the world. That you may adorn the precious gospel of our Lord Jesus with a holy and humble conversation and that you may press forward towards the mark that is set before you and that you may be kept unblamable until the coming of our lord Jesus Christ.

Dear brethren, we have been by the precious hand of God our Father brought together from several parts according to our appointment to seek the face of our God together by fasting and prayers. And we can say that our Lord hath not altogether been wanting unto us but hath in some sweet measure kept us humble in him. And we have, through his grace, been enabled to pour out our sorties before him and for more of that blessed Spirit of Christ to be poured out upon Zion in general, and upon ourselves in particular that we might be thereby the more enabled to glorify him in our generation and perform the duties of our relation each to other as becometh a people redeemed by Christ. And we humbly and earnestly beg of you that you may be more in consideration of those blessed cautions that our Lord hath left upon record for to warn us that so a sluggish and drowsy frame of spirit sease [?'seize] not on us which is very apt do both on the wise as well as the foolish virgins towards the time of the bridegroom's appearance. Brethren, we have agreed, the Lord assisting [and] willing, to keep our next general meeting at Siseter upon the day usually called Whitson Tuesday.

At which time and place we desire you to send your messengers with your epistle wherein you may let

us understand the state and condition of your churches with a resolution to stay with us till our meeting be ended which will continue two days at the least. So, committing you to the Lord on whom you believe, and to the word of his grace, we rest, Your weak and unworthy brethren in the faith and fellowship of the gospel of our Lord Christ.

Signed by us in the name and by the appointment of the whole, John Noob, John Michell

The eleventh General Meeting, 1 June 1658.

This meeting at Cirencester (33) on Whitsun Tuesday being the first day of the fourth month 1658 there was but little done by the messengers. The next meeting of the churches is to be at Alcester the 13th and 14th days of the second month 1658. (34)

The tenth General Meeting, 13-14 April 1658.

The substance of the conclusions of the messengers of the churches when met together at Alcester the 13th and 14th days of the second month 1658.

The first question at this meeting:

question 1. In what cases it may be lawful for a member to depart the church and rented from them?

Answer: we judge it unlawful for a church member, to wit, a member of a true church, to rent from the church, for there ought to be no schism in the body of Christ, I. Cor. 12.25. Yet, in some cases, we judge it is lawful for a saint to depart the congregation of which he has been a member.

And, first, when the same shall in deed appear and be found and proved not to be a true church of Christ, 2 Cor. 6.17 compare with Rev. 18.4.

Secondly, when the church or congregation shall sinfully act and cause her members so to join with her in her sinful acting as that a saint cannot hold communion with her without fellowship with sin, Eph. 5.11; I. Tim. 5.22.

Thirdly, when the congregation goes on in a manifest and scandalous sin or evil and continues in the same with stiffness and forwardness after her sin hath clearly been held forth to her by the light of the word and all good means[s] appointed and afforded of the Lord to be used for her repentance and reformation have been used according to the will of Lord with love and patience and meekness and yet she continued forward and obstinate in her evil' then, we judge, that a saint may and ought with mourning to depart from her, Ps. 104.4; 2 Tim. 3.5; I. Tim. 6.3ff. For communion with forwardness and obstinacy in any evil is as well to be shunned in a congregation where it is offensive as in a particular person.

Question 2. Whether, if a member leave the church for sin be ought not first to use all means to bring her to a sight and sense of her sin by calling for the assistance of other churches.

The answer to this query is implied in the answer to the **former**. If an offending member may not be cut of nor rejected till he have been orderly dealt with all, much less may a church be departed from without an orderly dealing with the same. But, as touching the calling for assistance from other churches, though it be many times expedient yet we cannot prove it always necessary.

Question 3. if it be not lawful so to depart what is church towards such members as shall disorderly leave the church?

Answer: when a true and orderly walking church is disorderly left by any of her members if she have given occasion if by any offensive acting she is first, in the fear of the Lord and in the tenderness of love to remove the occasion. But she is also bound to show such disorderly acting members the greatness of their sin and so call upon them to amend and, this being done, if yet they will not learn [from] the church she is, further, according to role, to proceed against them and at last, they persisting in their evil and there being no other. remedy, to reject them, Ro. 16.17.

Question 4. a member solemnly joined to a church of Christ from them and join himself to another church without the consent of the church-of which he was a member.

Answer: for a member solemnly joined to a church rightly constituted to depart not declaring unto them grounds why or wherefore, neither desiring their approbation for his so doing we judge it contrary to rule, I. Cor. 12.25; 14.40.

Question 5. it be warrantable for a church of the same faith and order to receive such without a testimony from the aforesaid church?

Answer: we judge it ought to be the care of every church of Christ, walking in gospel order, to look to the rule for receiving of any **member** of another church which is by testimony from that church of which he is a member, Ro. 16.1.

The (35) church of Christ at Gloucester (36) propounded for association. The messengers judged it meet to receive them, only left the completing of it till next general meeting.

The church at Bewdley (37) likewise propounded for association but it was judged meet that they should consider of and peruse our articles of faith and order with the conclusion of the messengers, and, if they can close with us and we with them, it is to be concluded the next general meeting of messengers.

The next meeting of messengers to be at the sign of the King's Arms at Morton hinmarsh the 2nd day of the 7th month by 12 of the clock and to continue till the sixth day at night if need require. And likewise it is desired by the messengers, that the respective churches do observe the 5th day of the week, being commonly called Thursday, to be kept solemnly by fasting and prayer the week before the next general meeting of the messengers and, in particular, for the presence of God with them next meeting with any things else God shall lay before them. And that the church do peruse the conclusions of the messengers and [send to] the next meeting with their consent or their grounds of dissent that so our work might not be useless.

Benjamin Coxe, John Mayo, Nathaniel Alsop, Matthew Weston, William Bouky.

The twelfth General Meeting, 22 September 1658.³⁸

The substance of the conclusions of the messengers of the church when met at Morton hinmarsh the 22 day of the 7th month 1658 for the work of the Lord.

The first question. Whether it be lawful for a church member at any time to hear a person preach which hath been excommunicated by true church?

Answer: it is not lawful at any time to hear an excommunicated person preach unless some necessity shall be found to require some able brethren to hear in order to a present discovery and refutation of his errors, Lev. 19.17.

Secondly, we should by our hearing of him, both harden him in his sin and embolden others to follow him in it, I. Jn. 3.15.

Thirdly, such a one must be unto us as a heathen and a publican, Mt. 18.17.

Fourthly, in our hearing of him we should not according to the apostle's rule, 2 Thess. 3.14.

Fifthly, we should by our hearing and so owning of him [do] what in us lies to make void the church and null the act of the church by which he is excommunicated.

The second question. Whereas there are some touching whom we cannot but hope they are truly conscientious yet nevertheless do, under pretence of higher [light], do break communion with the church unto whom they have stood or been related, yet acknowledge them to be true in faith and order. What may be done to such persons: whether to have no communion with them yet count them not as enemies or to cast them out to Satan.

Answer: the church, having orderly admonished them and they neglecting the admonition, the church is to avoid them and to have no more communion with them until they repent, Ro. 16.17; Mt. 18.17.

The thirteenth General Meeting, 5/6 October 1658.

The conclusions of the messengers of several churches when met at Gloucester the 5th and 6th days of the eighth month commonly called October, 1658 in answer to several things brought before them.

Question: What may be done by the church to such a person who, being for evil under admonition, neglects his duty in seeking reconciliation yet goeth after an excommunicated person to have hands laid upon him as an ordinance of Christ.

Answer: we judge it his greater evil under a twofold consideration. First, not seeking reconciliation to the offended brethren, Mt. 5. 23f., and, next, in that he goeth after an excommunicated person for to have hands laid upon him who should have been to him as an heathen or a publican for which evil the church is to deal with [-him] as a great offender.(39)

Further abbreviations used in the footnotes

1. *B. Q. Baptist Quarterly*, 1922-
2. G.R.,- A. G. Matthews, *Calamy Revised*, Oxford 1934.
3. Ivimey,- J. Ivimey, *A History of the English Baptists* (4 vols), London 1811-1830.
4. O.R.,- G. L. Turner, *Original Records of early Nonconformity under persecution and indulgence* (3 vols), London 1911.
5. T. B. H.S., - *Transactions of the Baptist Historical Society* (7 vols) 1908-21.

FOOTNOTES

1. All the records printed in this section are transcribed from the Tewkesbury Churchbook unless specifically noted to have been from the Leominster book. The extent of the extracts from the Leominster source is indicated by a line down the left-hand margin of the page.
2. This 'Midland Confession' is printed from the Tewkesbury Churchbook. There are numerous unimportant variations from this in the Leominster version but the only significant difference is an addition to be found at the close of the Leominster version of article 15. It is possible that this was added later since Tewkesbury was an original member of the association and Leominster did not join until later. It reads as follows: 'All these Ordinances of Christ are enjoined to his Church being to be observed till his second coming which we all ought diligently to wait for'. The whole Confession was printed by W. L. Lumpkin in **Baptist Confessions of Faith**, Chicago 1959, 198-200, as 'edited in 1905. from the Tewkesbury and Bourton Churchbooks' (*ibid.*, 198 note 36).
3. The Tewkesbury scribe frequently repeated the last word in each line of his MS as the first in the next. These repetitions have been omitted.
4. This section is taken from the Leominster Churchbook.
5. The Warwick church was in being by 1652 (see note 6) but has no records from this period. Paul Fruin who, in 1653, was elder at Dymock, Gloucestershire, was pastor at Warwick in 1689 (*B.Q.*, 11. P.364).
6. Daniel King published, **A Way to Sion** in 1650 (Thomason: 23 March) describing himself as 'Preacher of the Word near Coventry'. Included was an 'Epistle Dedicatory' signed by 'Thomas Patient, John Spilsbury, William Kiffen, John Pearson' commending the tract and describing King as one 'whom we judge a faithful and painful Minister of Jesus Christ'. He later published *A discovery of some troublesome thoughts* dated from 'rile Lime-kiln at Pickle hexing in Southwark this 7th of the 11th Month' mentioning that he was 'near related' to the following churches: 'the Churches of Christ in London meeting usually at the glass-house in Broad street, the Church in Coventry, the Church in Warwick, the Church at Hook Norton in Oxfordshire and the Church meeting near Morton-Hinmarsh in Gloucestershire. The title page describes the tract as published in 1651 but there is no Thomason copy and therefore no indication as to whether the date given by King relates to February 1650/51 or 1651/2. All that can be safely claimed is that these member churches of this association which he mentioned were in being by February 1652. In 1658 King was one of the Particular Baptist leaders made trustees of money bequeathed by Robert Bowes (*B.Q.*, VII.217). In 1672, he joined William Kiffen to produce material incorporated in **The Life of Henry Hills; 1688:** King's name does not appear among those attending the 1689 Assembly.
7. Henry Vencent. Nothing is known about this man: like others mentioned in the association records for whom there will be no note this means that no plausible identification of him seems possible with any bearing a similar name in the works listed above under new abbreviations.
8. The Morton in the Marsh church was in being by February 1652 (see note 6) but no records exist for it from this period. At the 1689 Assembly, it was represented by John Goring as pastor and Anthony Freeman. F. E. Blackaby, **Past and Present: History of the Baptist Church, Stom on the Wold**, Stow 1892, 6-13 cited evidence suggesting that the congregation originally meeting 'near Moreton' (note 6) had moved four miles south to Stow in the 1690's when their first meetinghouse was built.
9. There is no evidence of the existence of the Bourton church before this meeting in 1655 and no records of the church remain for this period. When Anthony Palmer was in Bourton 1646-1660 (*C.R.*, 380) his congregation, if Baptist at all, was of the 'open membership' type and so was separate from that linked with the association. Apparently, no one attended the 1689 Assembly from Bourton.
10. This is the first known mention of the church at Alcester and no contemporary records otherwise remain concerning it. It was represented at the 1689 Assembly by John Willis and John Higgins.
11. In 1663, S. Wade, minister at Chard, was in prison. This could have been the man who represented Alcester in 1655 (*B.Q.*, IV.30).
12. Tewkesbury, in spite of the detailed association records preserved its Churchbook, has no other evidence from this period. Eleazar Herringe represented the church at the 1689 Assembly as

- pastor and Edward Canter. Herringe died 27 April 1694 (*Ivimey*, II.168).
13. Hook Norton possesses a MS copy of its history by Joshua Thomas with a dedication dated 31 March 1786. (Used in *Ivimey*, II.517-21). The church was in being by February 1652 (see note 6). Thomas had used Crosby's *History*, III. 124f, other printed materials, oral traditions, and a marble monument which is still to be seen in the present meeting house commemorating William Harwood, a member and benefactor, who had suffered during the Persecution after 1660. According to Crosby, James Willmot, presumably the messenger in 1655 et seq., and Charles Archer, were joint pastors. During the Persecution, they were both imprisoned in Oxford and Witney gaols: unfortunately, no records of these in the period remain. Charles Archer represented Hook Norton at the 1689 Assembly. Members of the Willmot family remained linked with the church throughout the 18th Century.
 14. Matthew Teyton. His surname has been Variously transcribed as Taylor, Tyton and Wyton.
 15. The church at Derby joined with those at Hexham and 'Wharton near Bradford' on 'the first day of the first month 1654' in a letter of loyalty to Cromwell. The letter was signed on behalf of 'the church of Christ at Derby and Burton upon Trent' by Robert Holpe (Hope?) and William Tomblinson. (E. B. Underhill, **Confessions of Faith**, Hanserd Knollys Society, London 1854, 331-4). Derbyshire was not represented at the 1689 Assembly.
 16. William Tomlison's house was licensed for the worship of a Baptist group at Burton on Trent in 1672 (*O.R.*, II.713).
 17. This agreement should be compared with the Abingdon or Berkshire Association agreement printed as Appendix I to E. A. Payne's, **The Baptists of Berkshire**, London 1951, 147ff. The share taken by the Berkshire Association and their representatives in the foundation of this association will be seen in the Abingdon MS.
 18. This section is taken from the Leominster Churchbook.
 19. It is clear from the Tewkesbury Churchbook that their response to the queries about marriage with those not looked upon as 'true' believers, about the acceptance of any kind of salary from the 'world' and about preaching publicly without the church's permission, were firmly negative.
 20. John Fox may have been the owner of the barn in Nailsworth, Glos., registered for worship in 1672 (*O.R.*, 11.816) but this was some 25 miles from Bourton and was, rightly or wrongly, considered a Presbyterian meeting.
 21. John Archer from Hook Norton may have been related to the better remembered Charles Archer (see note 13).
 22. See note 15.
 23. Cf. *Reliquiae Baxterianae* (1696), 1.51 for the following more widely known example of a similar suggestion: when Cromwell lay at Cambridge long before with that famous Troop which he began his Army with, his Officers purposed to make their Troop a gathered Church, and they all subscribed an invitation to me to be their Pastor, and sent it me to *Coventry*. I sent them a Denial, reproving their Attempt, and told wherein my Judgment was against the Lawfulness and Convenience of their way, and so I heard no more from them'. It would be interesting to have Baxter's reasons but all we know is that he after regretted his refusal--apparently upon the grounds that the men in that 'Troop' included many of those who later exercised wide influence.
 24. The Leominster Churchbook reads 'sword' for 'worde' here and it probably to be preferred--as the slightly harder reading which makes good sense.
 25. This section is taken from the Leominster Churchbook.
 26. This letter is only to be found in the Leominster Churchbook.
 27. This section is taken from the Leominster Churchbook.
 28. The Leominster Churchbook, p.21, reads: 'The 28th day of the 7th month 1656 was the Church of Christ meeting at brother Joseph Patshalls house in Leominster constituted and the persons undernamed did, after a solemn seeking of God, give up themselves to the Lord and to one another to walk together in all the ordinances of Jesus according to his appointments. Which was done in the presence of, and with the assistance of our brother Daniel King and other brethren'. A long list of ~ of over 130 men and women followed but most of these presumably joined later. Question 4, raised by the

Leominster messengers at the eighth General Meeting, more probably indicates the size of their congregation at this time. Edward Price represented Leominster as pastor, at the 1689 Assembly. A man named Patshall left Jessey's congregation for believer's baptism in 1643 (*T.B.H.S.*, I. 245) and a Joseph Patshall signed the new revision of the 1644 confession in 1651.

29. John Tombes (*C.R.*, 487f.) was probably the most learned defender of the Baptist position during this period when he was active in, among other places, Bewdley, Ledbury and Leominster. He remains peripheral to the story of the Particular Baptist associations of the time because of his open-membership practice. No doubt, it was disagreement over these that led to the withdrawal of Patshall and his friends at Leominster in 1656.

30. Richard Harrison (*C.R.*, 250, two successive entries) also practiced open-membership almost certainly.

31. Benjamin Coxe (*T.B.H.S.*, VI.50-59) acted here as the messenger of the Abington Association. His rather lengthy paper against Richard Harrison's willingness to accept state pay has been transcribed from the Leominster Churchbook and is to be found as an Appendix to these records. For further details see White, 'Organization' 216-20.

32. This meeting at Gloucester only a month after the last one is unexpected in both venue and timing. Perhaps it was summoned because of the foundation of the congregation that applied for membership of the association at the tenth General Meeting in April 1658.

33. According to T. Thache, **The Gainsayer Convicted**, London 1649, (Thomason date: 6 August), 16 a Londoner called Harrison had drawn together a congregation in Cirencester whom he had not yet fully persuaded of the truth of believer's baptism. Among his disciples were 'M. Rudge' (mentioned in the epistle to the Reader), Thomas Chutterbuck, William Burge, Giles Handcox, Thomas Shephard, Caleb Setfe (p.29) and others referred to (p.61) as 'Roger the Shoornker' and 'Samuel the Boddicemaker'. Of these the Cirencester Churchbook (deposited with the Gloucestershire Record office) mentions Caleb Setfe only although Richard Burge and James Clutterbucke were members by 1655---the year in which the first entries are to be found. A certain Giles Waticins (who went as minister to the 1689 Assembly) was also a leading member in 1655. On the '9th day of the 7th month 1659' it was agreed that 'our friends in the country' could 'sitt downe as a church of them selves', probably under the leadership of one William Moulder. It should be noted that, the association record does *not* say that the church at Cirencester became a member of the association at this point.

34. The apparent confusion in entering this meeting, *before the tenth* must be due to a scribal mistake: the Cirencester meeting, though ineffectual, was intended whereas the meeting at Alcester which took place before it was not.

35. This section is taken from the Leominster Church Records.

36. Nothing else is known of the church at Gloucester at this time. It was not represented at the 1689 Assembly.

37. Bewdley appears to date from 1649 (*T.B.H. S.*, VII.12) and the work of John Tombes. In 1653, a letter was sent to Hexham (E. B. Underhill, **Records of the churches of Christ**, Hanserd Knollys Society, London; 1854, 344f.) signed by Tho. Bolstonne, Philip Mun and Robert Goodlad. The hesitation over Bewdley's membership of the association is likely to have been due to its open-membership practice inherited from Tombes.

38. Note the conflict of this date with that said to have been proposed in the last paragraph above.

39. The first Churchbook now known at Sansome Walk, Worcester opens in 1796 with an historical survey by the then pastor, William Belsher. He reports, (p.1) that 'There is before me an old book belonging to the Baptists of Worcester' with an entry by Thomas Fecknam (O.R., 11.786, S02, two entries concerning him as active in 1669) of January. 1658/9 with the names of 17 men in addition to himself and 21 women in membership. Belsher also noted that the Worcester church had proposed two queries for discussion at the meeting of the association at Alcester 12/13 days of the 2nd month 1659. This reference contains the only information extant about this meeting: unfortunately, Belsher did not trouble to transcribe any details. Cf. W. T. Whitley, 'Persecutions of Worcestershire Dissenters under the Stuarts', (*B.Q.*, L373-83). The church was not represented at the 1689 Assembly.

Dr. John Clark's Personal Testimony and Confession

The Testimony of John Clark a prisoner of Jesus Christ at Boston, in the behalf of my Lord, and of His people, is as followeth:

.1.

I testify that Jesus of Nazareth, whom God hath raised from the dead, is made both Lord and Christ. This Jesus I say is the Christ in English, the Anointed One, hath a name above every name. He is the Anointed Priest, none to, or with him in point of atonement. The Anointed Prophet, none to him in point of instruction. The Anointed King, Who is gone unto His Father for His glorious Kingdom, and shall ere long return again. And that this Jesus Christ is also The Lord, none to, with Him by Way on commanding and ordering (with respect to the worship of God) the household of Faith, which being purchased with His Blood as Priest, instructed, and nourished by His Spirit as Prophet, do wait in His appointment as He is the Lord, in hope of that glorious Kingdom which shall long appear.

.2.

I testify that Baptism, or dipping in Water, is one of the Commandments of this Lord Jesus Christ. A visible believer, or Disciple of Christ Jesus (that is, one that manifests repentance towards God, and Faith in Jesus Christ) is the only person that is to be baptized, or dipped with that visible baptism, or dipping of Jesus Christ in water. That visible person is to walk in that visible order of His House, and so to wait for His coming the Second time in the form of a Lord, and King, with His glorious Kingdom according to promise; and for His sending down (in the time of His absence) the Holy Ghost, or Holy Spirit of Promise. All this is according to the last Will and Testament of that living Lord, whose will is not to be added to, or taken from.

.3.

I testify or witness that every such believer in Christ Jesus, that waits for His appearing, way in point of liberty, yea ought in point of duty to improve that Talent His Lord has given unto him. Moreover, in the Congregation may either ask for information to himself, or if he can, may speak by way of Prophecy for the edification, exhortation, and comfort of the whole. And out of the Congregation at all times, upon all occasions, and in all places, as far as the jurisdiction of his Lord extends, may, yet to walk as a Child of light, justifying wisdom with his ways, and reproving folly with the unfruitful works thereof, provided all this be shown out of a good conversation, as James speaks with meekness of wisdom.

.4.

I testify that no such believer, or Servant of Christ Jesus has any liberty, much less Authority, from his Lord, to smite his fellow servant, nor yet with outward force, or arm of flesh, to constrain, or restrain his conscience, no, nor yet his outward man for conscience sake, or worship of his God, wherein injury is not offered to the person, name or estate of others. Every man being

such as shall appear before the judgment seat of Christ, and must give an account of himself to God. Therefore, he ought to be fully persuaded in his own mind, for what he undertakes, because he that doubts is damned if he eat, and so also if he act, because he does not eat or act in Faith, and what is not of Faith is sin.

These Conclusions being seen at least by one of the Magistrates, notwithstanding the Message to the prison, answer to my self in the Chamber, promise by him that came for the conclusions, common report aboard that a disputation was granted, the Court broke up, and did nothing; and the next second day following, a Messenger was sent to the prison from the Magistrate, with a release to the keeper, which having received, he speedily put me forth. The words of the release follow:

The Keeper of the prison.

By virtue hereof you are to release and set at Liberia the Body of Mr. John Clarke, and this shall be your discharge for so doing. Given under my hand the 11th of the 6th month, 1651. William Hibbins.

The Testimony of John Clarke, Obediah Holmes and John Crandall

The Testimony of John Clarke, Obediah Holmes and John Crandall, Prisoners at Boston in New England, concerning the faith and order of the Gospel of Christ Jesus the Lord, as the same was laid down in four conclusions, and professed to be openly and publicly defended against all gain-sayers; when none would come forth thus to oppose it now against by the aforesaid John Clarke reviewed, particularly, and strictly examined by the Word of God, and Testimony of Jesus, and thereby, (as is here at large to be seen) confirmed and justified.

The First Conclusion - About Jesus Christ

I testify that Jesus of Nazareth, Whom God has raised from the dead, is made both Lord and Christ) you may see this testimony clearly, and plentifully witnessed and confirmed by the Scriptures of Truth.

First, that God raised Him from the dead, appears by the testimony of 12 chosen witnesses, Acts 2:24, 32. This Jesus, say they, has God raised up, whereof we are Witnesses, so also chapter 3:15. And being alive again He was seen of above 500 Brethren at once, being faithful witnesses, Children who will not lie, see I Cor. 15:6. Last of all He was seen of Paul, whom He sent to the Gentiles, see I Cor. 15:8, Acts 22:18, 21. Moreover, Paul lays this as the foundation of the hope of the Israel of God, that they shall be raised, and shall share in that glory that shall then be revealed. Yea it is that word of truth (as Peter witnessed) by which the Father of mercies does again beget such as had fallen of the glory of God, & were without hope, unto a lively hope of the glory of God, in an inheritance, incorruptible and undefiled, that fadeth not away, and is reserved in heaven for them, see I Peter 1:3, 4. And in the second place, that God hath made this Jesus whom he hath raised from the dead, both Lord and Christ, see it also confirmed in Acts 2:36; 10:36 and 2 Cor. 4:5; also Acts 18:5.

Jesus the Preeminent Christ

(This Jesus I say is the Christ, in English, the Anointed One, hath a name above every name). That he is not only said to be a Christ and an Anointed One, which, although it be a name of eminency among men, yet may there be found many both before the time of Reformation, and since, upon whom this worthy name of Christ, or Anointed one may be worthily called, as were those names of eminency among the Israel of old, as King, Priest, and Prophet, and such is being washed in the blood of the Lamb are also Anointed, and made Kings and Priest unto God, and Prophets to men compare 2 Cor 1.21, I John 2. 27, with Rev. 5:10,19.10. I say he is not onely a Christ but that he might appear in this eminence to have the preeminence, He is called the Christ, see Mark 8.29, John 11.27, 6. 69, 20: 31, which in English is the Anointed One as will appear, John 1:41, we have found, saith Andrew to Simon, the Messiah, being the Hebrew word, being the Hebrew word, which being interpreted into the Greek Language, is Christos, or the Christ, but rendered in English as in the margin is the Anointed, and hence lie is called in the 9 of Luke 20, the Christ of God, or in more plain English, the Anointed of God, suitable to this are such expressions of the Spirit of God, in the Scriptures of truth, as these; Him hath God anointed, and that with the oil of gladness above his fellows, see Acts 4.27. 10. 38. Heb. 1:9. And that he hath a name above every name doth evidently appear, for it pleased the Father that in Him should all fullness dwell, yea, all the fullness of the Godhead bodily, that in all things, or as it is in the Margent, among all, he might have the preeminence, see Col. 1:18, 19; 2.9; so Phil. 2.9. Wherefore (saith the Apostle) God hath also highly exalted him, and given him a name above every name, he hath a name above the Anointed, Kings, Priests, and Prophets of old, they being but types and shadows of Him, and yet were the highest names in Israel which was a Family that had a name above all the Families of the Earth; and so a name above all the names on the earth: and yet this is not all, for he hath a name above all Principality, and power, and might, and dominion, and every name that is named, not in this world only, but also in that which is to come, Eph. 1.20,21, 22; Phil. 2. 10,11.

Jesus, The Anointed Priest of God

(He is the Anointed Priest; none to or with Him in point of atonement.) That He is the Anointed Priest, compare Heb. 3:1 with 1:9. There shall we see the Spirit of God, calling Him an High-Priest, Who was of God anointed with the oil of gladness above his fellows, which cannot but be understood of His fellow priests, either such as were ordained of old, before the time of Reformation and so were types, or shadows of him, or else of such, as were since by Him made Priests unto God and so received of the fullness of that His ointment. Now that there is none to Him in point of atonement, will easily be made manifest if these three things be considered;

1. The nature of the atonement itself;
2. The weakness or insufficiency of all other Priests, whether ordained, or made to perform such a work.
3. Lastly, the sufficiency of this High Priest to make a perfect atonement for all those who come to God through him.

Touching the nature of the atonement, it is not amiss to consider, what this word atonement expressed under the first Testament, while that Priesthood stood, and hath been since under the administration of the last Testament that is established upon better promises than the first, and been expressed more frequently by the word Reconciliation. Moreover, therefore, the word that in the 5 Romans 11 is rendered atonement is in 2 Cor. 5:18, 19, and in all other places translated by the word Reconciliation. Now Reconciliation does pre-suppose an estrangedness, or enmity rather, between two parties, and if the parties were men, peradventure there might be found a man to mediate; but the enmity lies not so much between man and man; or between men and Angels, good Or bad, but between God and man, the Creator and the creature, and who is he in Heaven, or in Earth, that dare interpose, or step in to make a reconciliation between these two? Yea, who can effect it? Especially if we consider that the enmity on the creatures part is rooted in his mind, and cannot be eradicated (I had almost said, and yet I think I shall not need to retract it) by the powerful hand of God Him stretch forth in His wrath, his mind still remaining, as indeed doth notably appear out of the mouth of Himself by His Prophet, Isa. 57:16, 17. For the iniquity of his covetousness, was I wroth, and smote him; I hid me, and was wroth, and he went on frowardly in the way of his heart. So see it confirmed also in Rev. 16: 11:21, when the wrath of God breaks forth with an exceeding great plague; then shall you find men blaspheming the name of God, who has power over those Plagues, because of their pains and their sores, and repented not of their evil deeds, to give Him glory, and if the wrath of God does it not, how unlike is the wrath of man to effect it?

But, further to show the greatness of the work of Reconciliation as it lies on man's part; for as he has not an alienation only, but an enmity in his mind, so is he apt upon all occasions to the utmost of his power to manifest the same, by wicked provoking works against the God of heaven, so that let but God himself be manifested in the flesh, or any bright beams of his glory break forth, and shine through mortal flesh, presently all the Jews and Gentiles, though otherwise full of enmity one against other, concur; yea Herod and Pilate shall be made friends, and shall agree to Crucify the Lord of Life and Glory; to pour forth the precious blood of God, and trod under foot the Son of God, and to count the blood of the Covenant as an unholy thing. So that from hence we may conclude that as He that hated his Brother in his heart may be said to murder a man, So he that God in his heart may be said in a sense to murder God. Now as on man's part there appears such enmity in his mind, such an aptness to vent it, and such backwardness (as I might show) in him to accept of but especially the Gospel terms of Reconciliation, whereby the work appears to be great. So if we consider it on God's part, that the wrath of God is revealed from Heaven against all ungodliness, and against all unrighteousness of the sons of Men, and that his word is gone forth and cannot be recalled. In the day that thou eatest thereof, thou shalt surely die; and the soul that sinneth, it shall die; and cursed is every one that continueth not in all things that were written in the Law to do them. So that His Wrath, justice, and Truth are all engaged in this main controversy that He has with His creature, and by reason thereof, he will not be pleased with thousands of Rams, nor yet with ten thousand Rivers of Oil, ect. And therefore, if the question be asked who is worthy, or who is able to stand between God and Man, to make the atonement, to slay the enmity, and so to make peace, the answer will be the same, That no man (that is merely so, no nor Angel)) in heaven, nor in Earth, nor under the Earth, is either worthy, or able to undertake this great work, no nor in that sense to look thereon; and therefore in the second place all other Priests will be found insufficient; for as for the Priests of old, and all that belonged to them, as Vestures, Vessels, Altars, Temple, and all that was officiated by them, as their Sacrifices, Atonements, Oblations, blessings, they were too weak to accomplish this work, for they were not able to make him perfect that did the service, as appertaining to the conscience, but brought their sins to remembrance, instead of blotting them out, so as to remember them no more, and were indeed but mere shadows of good things to come, which they that believed had in their eye, and law a far off, see Hebrews 7:18, 19; 9:9; 10:1-4,11; and as for others that are made Priests unto God, they do but receive of His fullness, and will readily acknowledge with Paul, that through the Law they are dead to the Law, so as by their own works of righteousness (which now appears to be but glistening wickedness, and no other than fruits of that enmity that was in their minds, by them I say) not to expect to make their own peace with God; and although it is true they have liberty to enter into the holiest, yet it is by the blood of Jesus, and by a new and living way which He has consecrated from them; and although they may draw near unto the Holy God with a true heart and full assurance of faith, yet they must have their hearts sprinkled with His blood from an evil conscience, and their bodies washed with pure water; and although being in the holy presence of God, they may, as the Priests of old, offer up prayers with strong cries for themselves, and others, yet much they be offered upon the golden Altar that is before the Throne, and must be mingled, and perfumed with much sweet incense out of the golden censer that is in the Angel of the Covenant's hand, and the smoke of the incense must ascent with their prayers before God out of the Angel's hand: Rev. 8:3,4. So that in this point they are nothing, yea less, and worse than nothing; but Christ is the very power of God in this point, the substance of all those shadows, and what he did in reference to the work of atonement, and

reconciliation, he does it substantially and effectually, both on God's part and man's. For he has both natures in Himself, and by reason thereof is an apt Mediator fit to interpose between both to make reconciliation; for He is declared to be the Son of God, wholly without sin, consecrated with an oath of God to be a Priest for that purpose for ever, Hebrews 7:21, compared with 27:28, why by the eternal spirit of God offered up himself with out fault to God His Father, the just for the unjust, so that by one offering, He hath consecrated for ever them that are sanctified, so that there is no more need of offering for sin, (see Heb. 9:4, compared with 10:14, 18, and is now entered, not into the Holy places made with hands, but into Heaven, to appear in the sight of God for those who believe through Him, and not with the blood of others, but with His own blood, thereby their consciences are purged from dead works to serve the true and the living God, see Hebrews 9:26, 14. Yes, and there remaineth, and is set down at the right hand of the throne of the Majesty in the highest, being the mediator of that better covenant, even that which is established upon the best and absolute free promises, Hebrews 1:3; 8:1; which are to pardon their enmity, and iniquity, and to be to them a God, and to undertake that they shall be to him a people; so that as God was in Christ, Heb. 8:6; 10:11, 12; reconciling the world to Himself, not imputing their trespasses unto them; so in the ministry of reconciliation Christ is by His Spirit in man shedding abroad the love of God in his heart, and thereby slaying his enmity, by which means he is reconciled to God; so that whom He blesseth, being the High Priest and Captain of our salvation, shall be blessed indeed; see Acts 3:26. By all which it does appear to be a truth, that there is none to Him in point of atonement to make reconciliation between God and Man. And now that there is none with Him in that great work, either person, nor service, is also as evident. God the Father had designed Him alone in that businesses, that no Flesh might glory in His presence, see Acts 4:11,12; I Tim. 2:5; Colo. 1:20; I Cor. 1:29. And Paul tells the Galatians who were about to join circumcision, and so works together with Christ in this point of acceptance with God, that then Christ would not profit them, and that they were fallen from grace, see Gal. 5:23.

Christ is the Anointed Prophet

(He is the Anointed Prophet, none to Him in point of instruction.) That he is the Anointed Prophet, or a Prophet Anointed with the Spirit of Prophecy above his fellows prophets, and a Teacher immediately sent from God from Heaven, see John 9:17; Luke 24:19; Hebrews 1:9; John 3:2; 13; 6:36; 16:28.

And that there is no Prophet to Him, will evidently appear; for all the other prophets of God were such as did bear witness to him, or were types of Him, Acts 10:43; John 1:45; yes, Moses and Elias, those who great Prophets, say themselves how that He may be exalted; wherefore, Deut. 18:15; I (said the Lord by the hand of Moses) will raise them a Prophet from among their Brethren like unto thee, and will put my words in His mouth, and He shall speak unto them all that I shall command him, Acts 3:21; 7:37; that whosoever will not hearken unto my words which He shall speak in my name, I will require it of Him. And John 3:30,31, He must increase (said John the Baptist, who came in the spirit of Elias, and was, saith Christ, more than a Prophet, Matt. 17:12, 13; Matthew 11:11-14) so that among those who were born of Women before him there was not a greater) and I must decrease; he that cometh from above (saith he) is above all, he that is of the Earth, is Earthly and speaketh of the Earth, he that cometh from Heaven is above all, and what he hath seen and heard, that he testifieth, and no man receiveth his Testimony ; he that hath received his testimony hath set to his seal that God is true, for he whom God hath sent speaketh the words of God, for God giveth not the Spirit by measure unto him ; and as these great Prophets thus witness to Christ so the voice that is heard from Heaven by James, Cepas, and John, do confirm their testimony, that there is no Prophet to him) for when upon the Mount, Moses and Elias appeared talking with Christ , and Peter would have three Tents or Tabernacles, for Christ, one for Moses; and another for Elias, that so no doubt at times, and in some cases , he might be hearkening to them immediately upon the motion, and as an evident manifestation of a dislike thereof, they both vanished, and a cloud overshadowed them all, and Christ being the Prophet only remaining, there comes a voice out of the cloud which said, this is my well beloved Son in whom I am well pleased, hear ye him ; Acts 17:5, 6,7. Now that there is none to him in point of instruction, will also appear with respect both to the matter and efficacy.

I. For the matter of instruction, he that cometh from above being also in the bosom of the Father, must needs be above all in his matter of instruction, for what he hath heard and seen in the Fathers bosom, that he Testifies, and speaketh the very words of God, yea declareth and maketh known God Himself, being the bright breaking forth of the Father's glory, which was that which Moses, that great Prophet did so much desire to behold, and could not obtain it; and hence it is, that it is said his hearers were astonished at his doctrine, conceded no man ever spoke like this man, and the best of them knew not whether to go to better themselves, for as much as he had the words of eternal life, yea, that Holy Spirit of promise which the Saints were and still are to receive was but to glorify Him, to take of him and his words, and to show unto them the treasures of light and life, and refreshment that is contained therein, see the proof of all this, John 17:18; John 3:31; 32, 34; He. 1:3; Ex. 33:18, 27; Matt. 7:28; John 7:7:46; John 6:68; John 14:26; and 16:12, 13, 14. Moreover, as for excellency of matter, so for efficacy and powerful instructing, there is none to Him in point of instruction.

The Kiffen Manuscript

As we continue looking to the historical links connecting the English Particular Baptists to the old Waldenses and Anabaptists, we must not overlook the Kiffen Manuscript. However, there are many difficult problems dealing with it. Let me show some of these.

The Major Extremes

First, there are two extreme views regarding it. The first arose when George Gould of Norwich, England and his personal secretary recopied it and somewhat changed or enlarged it. This adding of a statement in a place or two is what has given rise to Whitsittism. The Whitsittites take the Gould altered edition and use it to try to prove no one in England dipped until 1641 when Richard Blount returned from the Waldenses or Anabaptists with their baptism and commission to baptize and constitute churches.

The second major extreme is found in John T. Christian's writings. Reacting against Whitsittism, Christian seemed to throw out the baby with the dirty bath water. That is, he denied altogether that there was a real and true Kiffen Manuscript. This is why Christian, for all his well-documented history and studies, could never quite figure out the truth about the English Particular Baptists and their origins.

The History and Backgrounds of the Kiffen Manuscripts

In English Baptist History, what is known as the Kiffen Manuscript explains how the first and second great gatherings of the Seven Particular Baptist Churches had their rise. The KM (Kiffen Manuscript) is interwoven with what is **called The Jessey Church Records**. These Records trace the history of Jacob's Pedobaptist Church, which Henry Jessey pastored, from its origin in the late 1500s, up to the time when several of the London Particular Baptists came out as they became aware of the Biblical teachings about the subjects of baptism, 1633-1641.

Note this statement from W. T. Whitely in his **Baptist Bibliography**, London, 1916, Volume 1, page 18: *Manuscript account of the rise of Particular Baptists in London, 1633-1644. Printed from a third-hand copy in the Transactions of the Baptist Historical Society, Vol. 1, page 230.*

Here is a brief history of the Kiffen Manuscript in distinction from the entire Jessey Church Records:

1. William Kiffen preserved it as a part of the Devonshire Square Records (This the church Mr. Kiffen gathered in 1638);
2. Upon Mr. Kiffen's death his co pastor, Mr. Richard Adams, passed it to Mr. Benjamin Stennett;
3. Mr. Stennett gave it to his brother in law, Mr. Thomas Crosby, who presented it to Mr. Daniel Neal, the author of **The History of the Puritans**;
4. Mr. Crosby retrieved it back from Mr. Neal in disgust at Neal's ignoring the facts therein, and later Mr. Crosby wrote his **The History of the English Baptists** and based much of his volume 1 on the KM.
5. The KM surfaced again in unfriendly hands in the 1850s, when George Gould and his personal secretary again copied it and made another addition. It was from this Gould edition that Whitsittism has arisen. The Gould edition contains a statement that they added claiming that no one in England practiced adult baptism by dipping in 1641.

In this history, there are two notable epics that account for the confusion surrounding the Kiffen Manuscript. They are:

1. Mr. Stennet's treatment of these old records. Stennet was Benjamin Keach's son in law, and had no real interest in showing the clear separation between the Particular and General Baptists. Even the Baptist Union historians note Stennet's unscientific treatment of these two separate groups by trying to merge them into one in his writings. This followed over when Stennet's brother in law, Thomas Crosby took them over and wrote his **History of the English Baptists**. But, even more, the Baptist Union historians show that Stennet was very careless and indifferent about many different things in his writings. They affirm that Stennet recopied these old records and then presented Crosby with a copy of a copy. Of course, with Stennet's careless ways, no telling what has been altered and what had not been. What we are dealing with here is the era between 1633-1644.
2. Mr. Gould of Norwich and his private secretary made yet another copy of these old records. This made matters even worse. John T. Christian gives us two copies of the Kiffen Manuscript. By comparing them we find that many of the difficult statements are not in the first copy, but are found in the second copy.

Since Gould's times, those who follow him try to show that Mr. Spilsbury wasn't a rigid Baptist and that the Particular Baptists simply evolved into being Baptist Churches from about 1638-1644. The final stages of evolution were supposed to come about 1643 when Kiffen finally reached the Baptist position, became dissatisfied with Spilsbury and broke away and gathered a new church. This is all untrue.

In 1738 Mr. John Lewis wrote his **A Brief History of the Rise and Progress of Anabaptism in England**. In the same year Mr. Thomas Crosby followed with his **A Brief Reply**. I do not have Crosby's work and will start making plans now to secure it. It seems to be separate from his larger History of the Baptists. I never noted that before.

The Battle over the Kiffen Manuscript and Results

In the early part of the 1700s Richard Adams, co-pastor with William Kiffen, passed the Kiffen Manuscript to Benjamin Stennet shortly following Mr. Kiffen's death. Mr. Stennet was supposed to be preparing a history of the English Baptists. For some reason, Mr. Stennet did not proceed with this project, but passed them over to his brother in law, Mr. Thomas Crosby. Mr. Stennet and Mr. Crosby held much the same attitude, that is, that the division between the Particular and the General Baptists was unnecessary. Because of this, they had a very lax attitude in their historical treatment of different subjects. Crosby's work is greatly hampered because of this failure. He failed to identify the true causes of separation between the two Baptist groups and their separate origins. This is why he did not understand fully the intent of the Kiffen Manuscript.

In the mid 1800s, George Gould pastored the old Particular Baptist Church in Norwich, England. His son later became Principal Gould of Bristol Baptist College. Principal Gould also was a very influential leader in the Baptist Union of Great Britain and Ireland and its historical publications during the late 1800s and early 1900s. With these considerations in mind let us note these following facts and see how they have colored Baptist history with some various interpretations that have come from the early Particular Baptists.

1. Gould was an open communionist. In fact, he may not have even believed that baptism was necessary for membership in a gospel church. When he became pastor of the old church at Norwich, it was still closed communion.
2. In time Gould's open communion influence soon corrupted the Norwich church. It became an open communion church.
3. As a result of this, the closed communion Baptists, led by Joseph Ivey, started legal actions against Gould and the church there. The title deeds to the meeting house and church property were such that if the church left its original position, it would lose its privileges to the meeting house and property.
4. A long lawsuit developed, and in the end the judge ruled against Gould and the open communion church.
5. In the course of the lawsuit, Gould prepared many notes about the origin and rise of the Particular Baptists in London. He did this in order to try to prove his open communion position in his case in court. He was very successful. Since then, the established views about the Particular Baptists and their origins in general and John Spilsbury in particular have followed the concepts Gould presented in this court case.

6. Gould published his court notes and arguments under the title of **Open Communion and the Baptists of Norwich**, 1860.
7. Shortly following its publication, Gould sent copies of this work into America, into the hands of Thomas Armitage in the North and Norman Fox, of William Jewell College, in Missouri. One of Fox's prize pupils, William Whitsitt, joined this document with the researches of Henry Dexter, Congregationalist historian of the post Civil War era, and developed his thesis which has spread forth under the title of Whitsittism.
8. Whitsitt's thesis is that before 1641 the English Baptists did not immerse. Most of the Anabaptists in Europe forsook immersion also in the late 1500s and early 1600s. Therefore, there has not been an unbroken succession of true baptism and true churches since the days of Christ and His apostles. It then followed that Baptist Churches are not of divine origin nor have they had an unbroken succession since Christ's time. They are only one of the many Protestant groups, merely another part of the universal, invisible church.
9. Gould's thesis was that John Spilsbury was an open communion Baptist and pastored a mixed communion church. William Kiffen joined that mixed communion Baptist church. Spilsbury and his church is supposed to have received dipping sometime in the mid 1640s. Later, because Spilsbury wanted to continue his fellowship with unbaptized persons, Kiffen and Spilsbury spilt and formed separate churches. This is supposed to have happened about 1651. John Spilsbury is regarded as living and dying as a mixed communion Baptist minister. In addition to this, Gould maintained that Kiffen was the only closed communion Baptist living in the 1600s, with the possible exception of Benjamin Cox. He was forced to include Cox because Cox's rejection from a living in the Anglican Church was too well known in church history. Cox became a close communion Anglican even before he became a Baptist. He opposed offering communion to the ungodly. His Bishop, Martian Blake, published **The Great Question Answered**, London, about 1644. In this, Blake included Cox's work on the Lord's Supper. Because Cox would not leave Closed Communion views, Black excommunicated him. Later Cox became a Particular Baptist and signed the 1646 Confession of Faith. He was also involved in several public debates defending Baptist principles and writing several works. We have most of these in modern print now.
10. Both Gould and the Closed Communion defender, Ivimey, the Baptist historian, made the same basic mistakes in arguing their case. Neither of them came close to stating the truth about John Spilsbury and his doctrinal position. Both blundered greatly about even who the Particular Baptists were in the 1640s. Both included General Baptist leaders, Thomas Lamb and Edward Barber as Particular Baptists. This is why volume 2 in Ivimey is such a mess. Volumes 1, 3 and 4 are fairly reliable, but Volume 2 is full of such false conclusions and improper facts that it would almost take a work as large to sort all the mistakes out. The sad result is, both Gould and Ivimey did have access to the original works, but neither resorted to them. The signers of the First London Confession are clear and easily read on each of the editions of 1644, 1646, 1651 and 1652. Neither man took the trouble to go to and find out the originals and the men who made up those churches and signed their confessions. This is only one example of their terrible mistakes.
11. By making Spilsbury and all the other Particular Baptists into open communion and mixed membership Baptists, Gould sought to isolate William Kiffen from the main line of Baptist thought and practice. Ivimey was so determined to fight Gould that he did not research into the original works and make a factual case before the court. Since the Norwich Court Case, and Gould's victory, all the established Baptist writers have taken the conclusions of Gould and his work. After all, this is what stood up in court. The established Baptist writers are those of the Baptist Union and the Northern and Southern Baptist Conventions. Even some of the Strict and Particular Baptist historians like, S. F. Paul, in his **Historical Sketch of the Gospel Standard Baptists**, London; 1954, 1961, adopted their conclusions. In America, later such men as William L. Lumpkin in his **Baptist Confessions of Faith**, The Judson Press; Philadelphia: 1959, followed this thesis completely. So did H. C. Vedder, Albert Henry Newman and all their followers, the infamous host of modern Baptists historians in America and England today.
12. The First Key is understanding John Spilsbury and his writings and his stand. He was never a mixed communionist one day in his life. The 1646 confession makes this plain. So does his second edition of **A Treatise of a Lawful Subject of Baptism**, London; 1652. Next is understanding that for a time John Spilsbury and some of the brethren felt it was alright to listen to a preacher before his baptism, if he were being tried and tested in lieu of becoming a Baptist minister. This was a part of his examination. This concept was often debated in the association meetings and the majority determined it was wrong to do

this. Kiffen stood with the majority and Spilsbury with the minority on this issue. But, remember this was only a trial hearing of a man who was soon to become a Baptist minister. It was not pulpit affiliation with the Pedobaptists. John Spilsbury still suffered severe persecution in London as late as 1651. This is why he left London and took up a new pastorate in the country near Broomsgrove. In Jane Turner's **Choice Experiences**, with a large introduction by John Spilsbury, the concept of hearing the Pedobaptists is discussed. All the Particular Baptists, except the mixed communion men, walked under the same rule, no hearing the Pedobaptists. This is called **The Ordinance of Hearing**. To offend on this matter brought church exclusion. Here are some of Jane Turner's remarks about this subject:

First, I thought though the Saints of old did practice these things, yet as they were now practiced it was some kind of bondage, and below the privilege of the Gospel to be tied to a particular people, especially in relation to hearing; for I thought I should not forbear hearing some particular men, [who were not in the order of the Gospel] that formerly I used to hear.

That as faith comes by hearing; so there may be a hearing that tends to the prejudice of faith. And such I conclude is all hearing out of the way of God, though some more, some less; I mean public hearing out of the Church of God; and though some do judge it their liberty and privilege so to do, I must needs confess I cannot so judge: For though possibly glorious things may be spoken, yet what privilege can it be for Saints to hear glorious things, where there is no promise of a blessing from God and therefore I may say as the Apostle, of speaking in an unknown tongue, I had rather hear five words from a true Ministry, or in a Church of Christ, where he hath promised his blessing and presence, than five thousand elsewhere, though I desire in a personal way to own and embrace all or any appearance of God where ever I find it, and can upon that account truly say, I do much respect, love, and delight in some who are not yet come up to the true worship of Christ in his Church, but I must be true to my principles, I cannot see how we that are, according to the Gospel, joined to the Lord, and his Church, by which we hold out to the world a visible profession of his name, and a separation from all false ways of worship which in our principles we judge them who are not rightly constituted with us according to the appointment and practice of Christ and his Apostles to be on other, I say I cannot see how we can meet with them in their public worship, to hear their Ministers, or in any other spiritual duty, but it is a crossing our own principles: As thus, they own themselves true Churches, and Ministers of Christ, the ignorant world knoweth not but they are so, we by our presence being silent do say the same, though in our Judgment we cannot so own them, which is a plain contradiction in our principles; we say they are not Churches and Ministers of Christ, by our practice we say they are, as hath been minded.

Secondly, As it is a contradiction of our own principles so it hath had such effects, which are too visible, and remains unto this day. I must confess, in my most serious thoughts I have wondered what should be the reason that any in the house of God should desire to be elsewhere: I am sure there is no reason to be given for it, neither from Scripture, nor experience; therefore I conclude, its either from ignorance, and so persons in their practice cross their own principles and not, know it; or else its from corrupt principles; or else they are overcome by some violent temptations. As to the first of these, I trust there are not many in the house of God so ignorant. As to the second it is the desire of my soul, that God would reprove and shew them the evil of such principles, and recover them out of such snares. As to the third, let them take heed lest having put their hand to the plow, and looking back, they become unfit for the Kingdom of God, Luke 9.62. and let them likewise take heed of pleasing men, or halting between two opinions, but if God be God follow him, if Baal follow him, IKings 28.21. This may seem harsh language to some but I am satisfied that what I have written hath not been from a censorious spirit, to Judge of the final state of any, or to question the grace of God in any, where it doth appear in the least measure, and therefore let none say that because I cannot own any to be true Churches or Ministers of Christ, but such as are in the same order with us, that therefore I say there is nothing of God or Truth in them, or that none shall be saved but ourselves, or that we love none but those of our own judgment, which if any do so think, or speak of us, it is a very great mistake; for if I may speak for others, as I have already said, I do upon a godly account love, and delight in some who are not in our Churches, and do wait for the accomplishment of those glorious promises when they and we shall have a pure language, and shall call upon the Lord, and serve him with one consent, and when we shall have one heart and one way, and there shall be one Lord, and his name one, Zep.3.9. Jer.32.39. Zach.14.9. In the meantime Let none under a pretense of waiting for the accomplishment of such promises as these, grow cold, and indifferent in the great things of God: For none can truly wait for the accomplishment of Promises, but such as do wait in a close walking with God, according to that measure of light received and so those that have but a little of the knowledge of God, let them follow on to know the Lord, Hosea 6.3. and let those that are in the faith, earnestly contend for it, Jude 3. and such as are in Gospel Churches, let them stand fast in one Spirit, with one mind, striving together for the faith of the Gospel, Phil.1.27. and let every one that names the name of Christ depart from iniquity, IITim. 2.19. and those that love the Lord, hate evil, Ps. 97.10. And as I desire the none may slight grow cold, or indifferent in the great things of God, under a pretense of waiting for high enjoyments of discoveries, which shall be in the later days; so I desire likewise that Truth under a pretense of Love, as many do in these days, laboring to confound light with darkness, truth with error, and to make an agreement, where God hath made none. Let such know, that true spiritual love, as it is wrought in the heart by the Spirit of God, so it is bounded within the limits of Truth. Love and Truth go hand in hand; it is so fixed upon God, that it Loves all in and for him; spiritual Love must have a spiritual object, and as the object is more or less visible, so is that Love, it cannot love everything alike, nay it works as well by hatred of evil as approving that which is good, Ps.101. Ps.97.10. Rev.2.6. Ps.119.122,128. It loves that which God loves and hates that which he hates; it loves the Word of God, the Ordinances of God, and the people of God, and hates all that is in opposition to these, it

rejoiceth not in iniquity, but refoiceth in the truth, ICor.13.6. This is true spiritual love, in which we are to receive every truth, and which faith worketh, IIThes.2.10. Gal.5.6. and I dare affirm, whatever persons may pretend of spiritual love that is not of this nature, it is a mere delusion, and that all that fear the Lord ought to take heed of it

**The fourth Note of Experience, how I was convinced and brought to submit to Baptism
and
Church-fellowship commanded by Christ.**

Being through mercy now well satisfied in point of Justification, Redemption, and Salvation, though I had nothing to do to be saved, yet I had much to do to glorify God in relation to Sanctification and Obedience; but notwithstanding all my former experience in point of Faith, I was very ignorant of Baptism, and all other duties and Ordinances relating to the visible practice of Believers, only I had some dark apprehensions of separation, and a Church way, by reason of which I had thoughts to join with some who were called INDEPENDENTS; but considering how I had formerly been mistaken about things of that nature, I was not hasty to practice it, until I was better satisfied, being somewhat at a loss about it; then after some time I heard of Baptism, though I had no acquaintance with any that practiced it, yet knowing there were such, did occasion me to search the Scriptures about it, and by several places in the Acts, with that in Matt.28.19. I was in a great measure convinced that Baptism of Believers was an Ordinance of Christ, and that there could be no true Church without it, and that Baptizing of Infants is that for which I could find no ground in Scripture, and by degrees I was so fully satisfied in it, and I thought the Scriptures were so plain and clear for it, that I did much wonder at my own ignorance, that I should be a professor so long, and so frequent in reading Scripture, and yet ignorant of that which was so plainly therein express, then coming to London to that end, namely to be instructed in the ways of God more perfectly, not knowing the like means elsewhere, I went many times to hear in the Churches of Christ, by which, through the great blessing of God, I was more and more satisfied about it; yet notwithstanding all this, by hearkening to the delusions of my own heart, and Satan's instruments, I met with many interruptions, and temptations that kept me from my duty, at least one whole year after; some of those temptations were these.

First, I thought though the Saints of old did practice these things, yet as they were now practiced it was some kind of bondage, and below the privilege of the Gospel to be tied to a particular people, especially in relation to hearing; for I thought I should not forbear hearing some particular men, [who were not in the order of the Gospel] that formerly I used to hear.

A second thing that hindered me was the failings and miscarriages of some particular persons then in the Churches.

A third hindrance was, I thought it my liberty to do or not do it.

A fourth hindrance was in relation to Persecution, I judged I should not be fit to suffer for it [though a truth of Christ] until all those scruples were removed.

These, with others of the like nature, were the groundless thoughts that kept me from my duty; but though kept back by these for a time, yet I had such strong convictions that I could not leave it so, but was much endeavoring after satisfaction, and in the use of means God was pleased to satisfy me; but by reason of persecution there was no Church I knew of, but only in London, and therefore I could not immediately do it; but being to be married soon after, I was to live in London, and then I resolved to submit to this Ordinance of Christ; but when I came to London, I heard all kind of preachers, one of which preached a strange kind of doctrine much notional, which bred such a confusion in my heart that I knew not what to do, by which I was again hindered from my duty, being willing to try that doctrine, I not having heard the like before, it being full of enticing words of mans wisdom, which I did with as much diligence try for some time, examining the Scriptures about it, as ever I did any doctrine, but could find nothing in it but confusion, a mere sound of words, some of those big swelling words of vanity spoken of Jude16. II Pet.2.18. so, through mercy, I left it, and escaped that snare, which I desire to remember to the praise of God. Then I resolved to prosecute my former purpose in relation to those duties before mentioned, yet still lingering in Babylon till the Lord was pleased by a stretched-out arm, and clear voice, to bring to my remembrance those words in the 22. chapter of the Acts. verse 6. Arise and be baptized, why tarryest thou? and [as I remember] for some days together, whatever I was doing, those words were much in my thoughts, then I began to take particular notice of it, applying it to my own condition, whether I was able to give a reason why I tarried, the Lord having removed all my scruples, and answered all my objections and speaking of it to my Husband, who was then much in the same condition, I remember we some discourse about it, and the result was that the next first day we would go to the Church [where we had often heard] and declare what God had done for us in the great work of conversion, desiring also to obey him in all his commands, which accordingly we did, and gave them full satisfaction, and the week following were baptized and added to the Church, being sweetly satisfied and comforted therein; and as for my former scruples I was troubled no more with them, and in particular as to hearing out of the Church, I never desired it since but God was pleased, and still is, to satisfy me with the fatness of his house, feeding me with green pastures there; and fitting under the shadow of Christ, his Fruit is sweet to my taste; which the L O R D grant I may be found so doing, as he hath commanded, until his second coming. . **Choice Experiences**, London, 1653, pps. 22-30.

13. Both Jane Turner and her husband, John Turner, walked with John Spilsbury in the church he pastored. If a person will take the time to study really Spilsbury's last writings in 1651, in his second edition of a

Treatise of the Lawful Subjects of Baptism, he will see that Mr. Spilsbury makes himself very clear. He understood well that many of his statements had been misunderstood in his first edition against Praise God Barebones in about 1643. In his second edition he states plainly that there is no church gathering and constitution except by faith and baptism. He says this many times in the second edition. Here are two direct quotes from this old work:

Secondly, the ordinance of baptism instituted by Christ is so essential to the constitution of the Church under the New Testament that no one can be true in her constitution without it. Neither can THAT BE A FALSE CHURCH WHERE BAPTISM IS TRUELY THE Lord's Ordinance in the administration thereof, as I Cor. 12:13 with Gal. 3:27. So to approve of Antichrist's baptism to be God's ordinance, is to approve of his Church to be also the Church of God. Page 52.

And, lastly, I dare not go from that rule and order which Christ left in His last Testament, for the constituting of his Church, and taking of members into the same, which is by faith and baptism. Page 53.

John Spilsbury and those brethren then believed in the General Church made up of all the Particular Gospel Churches. This is a part of the John Bunyan- Spilsbury, Kiffen and Paul debates. Here is one of Spilsbury's statements that many incorrectly concluded that he meant a mixed membership church:

Again, adding to Churches after baptism is in respect of particular Churches; unto which persons may be recommended, but not of the Universal Church and Body of Christ, into which they are baptized, I Cor. 12:12, 13, Romans 6:3, 4, 2. Now that into which are baptized, must be before baptism: but persons are baptized into that one body the Church, therefore the church is before baptism. Page 69. **A Treatise Concerning the Lawful Subjects of Baptism**; London: 1652.

John Bunyan had no trouble understanding Spilsbury and the others. He knew well what they meant, and said so. Note the following:

So then by "universal, orderly, visible church," this brother must mean those of the saints only that have been, or are baptized as we; this is clear, because baptism, saith he, makes a believer a member of this church: his meaning then is, that there is an universal, orderly, visible church, and they alone are the Baptists; and that every one that is baptized, is by that made a member of the universal, orderly, visible church of Baptists, and that the whole number of the rest of saints are utterly excluded. **The Works of John Bunyan**, vol. 1, page 467, (of three volumes).

In the Seeker-Quaker-Baptist debates, the Particular Baptists made their position clear on baptism in water being a constitutional ordinance of a gospel church. They did this also in the Baptist-Bunyan Debates as well.

14. Now this question arises, if the Seekers and Quakers understood the meaning of John Spilsbury, and the others about water baptism and I Cor. 12:13, as also later did John Bunyan, then it follows, why didn't Gould, Armitage, Fox, Whitsitt and all the other post-downgrader Baptist historians? Is it that they have a position to prove and will go to any slander and falsehood to justify their position that Baptists are not of divine origin nor have they had an unbroken succession since Christ's time, but they are merely one part of the Universal, Invisible Church, another group of Protestants?

15. Even more telling is the Baptist Union's treatment of William Kiffen and his closed communion views.

In their **Transactions of the Baptist Historical Society**, Kiffen's closed communion views, and his becoming a closed membership Baptist are presented. Of course, they try to make it appear that Kiffen became such in the early 1641 or 1642 era. I quote:

The date of Kiffen's baptism is interesting. In 1670 he said that he was arrested in 1640 but was released because Justice Mallae the prosecutor was himself imprisoned by Parliament. But the date here is wrong, the state papers show that it was in August 1642 that Mallett was arrested. This rectification makes his autobiography fall into line with his statement in 1681 that he had practiced Strict Communion "for these forty years," the context implying that he had never wavered on this point. Hence we get the true sequence: - 1638 joined a congregation which on one occasion was mobbed at Tower Hill, i.e. 21 April 1640. Discussed baptism, and was immersed about 1641. Volume 1, page 227.

What is wrong with this date? We must remember that Kiffen was an aged man when he said these things. Dates and times often become confused. A younger Kiffen, as we shall shown, in 1645 places the gathering of the Particular Baptist Churches in the time of Laud, in the 1630s, not the 1640s. Also remember that Kiffen affirmed that they were gathered under Laud as they existed then, in 1645, when he wrote his **Brief Remonstrance**. This Baptist Union historian corrects Kiffen's memory problems, but then totally ignores what Kiffen wrote in **1645 placing the constituted origin of the Particular Baptist churches as occurring during the days of Laud's greatest glory and power**. Why?

16. William Allen is treated even more unfortunate. I quote the following from **Transactions of the Baptist Historical Society**, Volume 1, 1910; page 117:

WILLIAM ALLEN, Tradesman, of London. He was of the Tombs type, open communion. Under Baxter's influence he dissolved the church he was pastor of, tried to convince other Baptist ministers, then abandoned separationism, and wound up by conforming and writing bitterly against separatism. His biography was written by Bishop Williams in 1707. . . .

1653 Some Baptismal Abuses briefly discovered; or a cordial endeavor to reduce the administration and use of Baptism to its primitive purity. pps. 119.

Please note this, the classifying of Allen with John Tombs is clearly wrong. What ever we may say of his forsaking Baptist views, he clearly was not an open communionist. The reason I know this, note well the title of his work published in 1653. The Baptist Historical Society writer only gave part of the title. Here is the full title:

Some Baptismal Abuses Briefly Discovered or A Cordial Endeavor to Reduce the Administration and Use of Baptism to its Primitive Purity; in two parts.

The First Part,

Tending to disprove the Lawfulness of Infant Baptism.

The Second Part,

Tending to prove it necessary for persons to be Baptized after they believe, their Infant Baptism, or any preprofession of the Gospel notwithstanding.

And also,

Discovering the disorder and irregularity that is in mixt Communion of persons baptized, with such as are unbaptized, in Church-Fellowship.

By

William Allen

LONDON

MDCLIII

Please note the last part, it covers from pages 98-119. It is one of the finest defenses of **Closed Communion** and the right gathering and constitution of Baptized saints into gospel order separate and apart from unbaptized persons, as I have ever read. I Corinthians 12:13 is often cited as showing that all the members of the first churches were baptized in water.

Now, note again the Baptist Union Historians remarks about William Allen: WILLIAM ALLEN, Tradesman, of London. He was of the Tombs type, open communion.

If misrepresentation makes a thing so, then I suppose it is so. But, William Allen's own works show us that this classification and summation is false. Such historical falsehoods abound in the writings of the historians of **The Baptist Historical Society of Great Britain and Ireland**. However, in all fairness, these mistakes abound in multiplied instances also in writings on the other side. If mistakes discredit an author and his works, then the historical studies of the **Baptist Historical Society of Great Britain and Ireland**, are discredited. But, they do not. I greatly appreciate these old studies, and am thankful that I have the old works in question and can correct these and many other mistakes. As I said before, both sides have made an abundance of mistakes.

Why So Many Mistakes

These mistakes have come about in two ways:

1. The miss-copying Stennet began and Gould and his personal secretary completed ;
2. The historians failed to consult the original works in question.

What this amounts to is, these historians who have been writing, and then rewriting and still then revising Baptist history have used hearsay, altered and gossip laden sources. These should never have a place in neither scientific investigation nor presentation.

What the Kiffen Manuscript Teaches

In the past I had several copies of The Kiffen Manuscript. The fullest presentation of this old history appeared in **The Transactions of the Baptist Historical Society of Great Britain and Ireland**, volume 1, under W. B. Whitley's editorship. In addition, the second best appears in John T. Christian's **Baptist History Vindicated**. **Lumpkins' Baptist Confessions of Faith** presents the Gould revisionist viewpoint of the Kiffen Manuscript.

The First Gathering of the Lasting Particular Baptists

The Kiffen Manuscript teaches us that in about 1633 several members of the old Pedobaptist dissenter church called Jacob's church, left because they became convinced that believer's baptism is the only true baptism. These persons started walking with John Spilsbury. In addition, it is stated they many of them received a **further baptism**. To me this means that some wanted to form a Particular Baptist Church with John Spilsbury and received baptism from him, or from one walking with him. However, all that went over to Mr. Spilsbury apparently did not join with him nor did they receive new baptism. In due time some of these returned back to the Jessey Church. One of these appears to have been Mr. Richard Blount. Why, Spilsbury later talks about persons wanting succession in addition to gospel truth and order. This does not mean that Spilsbury denied succession, but that he did not feel that succession was that which made a church a church, but rather gospel faith and order did. John Spilsbury held that if the minister were rightly baptized and given orders, commissioned, then he was duly qualified to preach, baptize and gather churches. Those who went back and were involved in the Blount mission wanted these things and a formal succession in their baptism. There is no proof that either group required a church to give them a vote or authority to become a church.

Mr. Spilsbury's history, ministry and baptism are not accounted for in The Kiffen Manuscript. He is just there as a Particular Baptist minister in 1633. The history of the old Church at Wapping entitled **London's Oldest Baptist Church**, claims its origin in 1633.

Under the leadership of Laud and his Reign of Terror, the Anglicans severely persecuted Mr. Spilsbury and the others in the next few years after 1633. Mr. Sam Eaton, one of the ministering brethren now with John Spilsbury is imprisoned and later murdered while in prison.

Please note John Taylor's remarks from his **A Swarme of Sectaries, and Schismaticqves**, London, 1641 pages 6, 7:

A Precious Youth

Also one Spilsbury rose up of late, (Who doth, or did dwell over Aldersgate) His office was to weigh Hay by the Trusse, (Fit for the pallet of Bucephalus) He in short time left his Hay-weighing trade, and afterwards he Irish Stockings made: He rebaptized in Anabaptist fashion one Eaton (of the new found separation) A zealous Button maker, grave and wise; and gave him order, others to baptize; who was so apt to learn that in one day, hee'd do't as well as Spilsbury weighed Hay. This pure Hay-lay man to the Bankside came, A Basket-maker's wife, known wonderous well, in Moses his Alley he and she doth dwell.

Baptized in Anabaptist Fashion

Mr. Spilsbury did rebaptism Mr. Eaton in "**Anabaptist fashion**". According to Daniel Featly, that is **by dipping head and all**. In 1645, Mr. Featly informs his readers that the Anabaptists had been baptizing in this fashion for over 20 years near his home place. In addition, Mr. Featly traces this terrible Anabaptist sect and their baptism by Anabaptist fashion clear back to the time of Queen Elizabeth. **So much for Whitsittism**.

Featly stated:

They preach, and print, and practice their heretical impieties openly; they hold their conventicles weekly in our chief cities, and Suburbs thereof, and there prophesy by turns; and (that I may use the phrase of Tertullian) adificantur in ruinam, they build one another in the faith of their Sect, to the ruin of their souls; they flock in great multitudes to their Jordans, and both Sexes enter into the River, and are dipt after their manner with a kind of spell containing the heads of their erroneous tenants, and their engaging themselves in their schismaticall Covenants, and, (if I may so speak) combinations of separation. And as they defile our Rivers with their impure washings, and our Pulpits with their false prophecies and phanaticall enthusiasms, so the presses sweat and groan under the load of their blasphemies. For they print not only Anabaptism, from which they take their name; but many other most damnable doctrines. . . . Page 3 and 4 of The Epistle Dedicatory. **The Dippers Dipt. Or, The Anabaptists Ducked and Plunged over Head and Ears, at a Disputation in Southwark.** London, 1645.

The Anglicans defined baptism according to Anabaptist fashion as being dipt and dunked over head and ears. Both John Taylor, speaking of John Spilsbury's baptizing of Sam Eaton, used this terminology, as did Daniel Featley. Featley was good enough to define the act for us. Was this a new act for baptism? No, Featley stated again:

This venomous Serpent (vere solifuga) flying from, and shinning the light of God's Word, is the Anabaptist, who in these later times first showed his shinning head, and speckled skin, and thrust out his sting near the place of my residence, for more than twenty years. Ibid., last page of The Epistle to the Reader.

Complaining further about the antiquity of the Anabaptists, and the reasons why they are no longer held down, Featley stated:

So we may say, the name of the father of the Anabaptists signifieth in English a senseless piece of wood, or block, and a very blockhead was he: yet out of this block were cut those chips that kindled such a fire in Germany, Hosfatia, and Suenia, that could not be fully quenched, no not with the blood of 150,000 of them killed in war, or put to death in several places by the Magistrates.

This fire in the reigns of Queen Elizabeth, and King James, and our gracious Sovereign, till now, was covered in England under the ashes; or if it brake out at any time, by the care of the Ecclesiastical and Civil Magistrates it was soon put out. But of late, since the unhappy distractions which our sins have brought upon us, the Temporal sword being other ways employed, and the spiritual locked up fast in the scabbard, this sect, among others, has so far presumed upon the patience of the State, that it has held weekly Conventicles, rebaptized hundred of men and women together in the twilight in Riverlets and some arms of the Thames, and elsewhere, dipping them over head and ears. Ibid., last page of To the Reader. (Remember, there is an Epistle to The Reader and then a To the Reader).

In addition, Mr. Eaton being a preaching brother, Mr. Spilsbury also did "give him orders others to baptize." That is how the Anglicans made fun of Baptist. The reason I have given this note is due to the Gould's position that John Spilsbury and his church were still unbaptized as late as 1644.

In **Turloe's State Papers** for the year 1638 under item 64. Note the following about Sam Eaton:

Petition of Francis Tucker, B. D., prisoner in Newgate for debt, to the same. Samuel Eaton, prisoner in Newgate, committed by you for a schismatical and dangerous fellow, had held conventicles in the goal, some to the number of 70 persons, and is permitted by the keeper openly to preach. Eaton has oftentimes affirmed in his sermons that baptism was the doctrine of devils and its original an institution from the devil, and has railed against the archbishop, affirming that all bishops are heretics, blasphemers and anti-Christians. The keeper, having notice hereof by petitioner, who desired that these great resorts might be prevented, and Eaton be reprov'd, and removed to some other place in the prison, replied to petitioner disdainfully, threatening to remove him to some worse place. The Keeper has been present in a conventicle of 60 persons when Eaton was preaching. He said there was a very fair and goodly company, and stayed there some season. Contrary to the charge of the High Commission, he permits Eaton to go abroad to preach to conventicles. The keeper also caused petitioner's sister to be removed out of the prison, contrary to the opinion of a doctor, and she died the very next day, her chamber being presently after her removal assigned to Eaton, it being the most convenient place in the prison for keeping his conventicles. Prays the Archbishop to refer the examination of this matter to Isaac Pennington and John Wollaston, sheriffs of London, and in the meantime to take such course with the keeper as shall be thought fitting.

Francis Tucker didn't tell all the truth about Eaton's remarks on baptism. Eaton was, with all the Anabaptists, denouncing infant baptism.

Please observe that in the late 1630s, the Anabaptists did preach and baptize in Anabaptist fashion and were imprisoned for it. While in prison, Sam Eaton was able to hold more services and went forth out of the prison and preached and held church services.

Now back to the Kiffen Manuscript. Following this first departure and joining with Mr. Spilsbury, later, in 1638, Mr. Kiffen and some others came over to Mr. Spilsbury and were received and then constituted a separate church. In 1639 Mr. Paul Hobson and some others did the same. There is no record that either Mr. Kiffen or his friends or Mr. Hobson and his friends had been connected with the Jessey church of Pedobaptists.

What do we have in 1639?

By 1639 there existed three Particular Baptist churches in London, Spilsbury's, Kiffen's and Hobson's. These churches were constituted by true gospel faith and believer's dipping. Whitsittism, following Gould's incorrect conclusions, would have us to believe that these churches were not Baptists before the 1641-1644 era because Baptists had not evolved into dipping yet. Is this true? **No!** Here are some additional testimonies from those old Baptists themselves.

William Kiffen wrote in 1645 his **A Brief Remonstrance of the Reasons and Grounds of Those People Commonly Called Anabaptists, for their Separation**; London, July 26th. 1645; pages 5-7. One of the main points in this work is the affirmation about the origin and nature of the Particular Baptist churches that issued the 1644 Confession of faith:

1. The Seven London Churches of the 1644 Confession were made up of baptized members;
2. The Lord's Supper was restricted to the Baptized church members.

Both of these points were stated in the 1644 Confession under article 33. It taught that the church, thus gathered is to partake of the ordinances of Christ. In the 1646 edition, the articles make it even plainer.

Kiffen's Origin of the Particular Baptist Churches

Kiffen places the origin of the Particular Baptist Churches during the 1633-39 era, or when the Anglican glory and rule was at its highest point under Laud. According to Kiffen the churches were gathered and framed at their first beginning as they were then, in 1645. Note that well. This proves the distortions of Gould to be false and misleading.

In addition, in his work on Communion, Kiffen shows us that the faith and order in his closed communion way was over 40 years old. That work, **A Sober Discourse of Right to Church Communion**, was published in London, in 1681. Remember that his closed communion practices were over 40 years old in 1681. Joseph Ivey, in his biography of William Kiffen places the origin of Kiffen's Church in 1639. The Kiffen Manuscript places it in 1638. The differences may be between the old calendar and dates and the new calendar which changed in the 1600s.

This concludes the pre-1641 Particular Baptists. To summarize these facts me note again:

1. John Spilsbury, in 1633, was already a baptized Particular Baptist minister, who baptized and ordained others;
2. Certain Pedobaptists left the Jessey church and went over to Mr. Spilsbury, and received a further baptism;
3. William Kiffen and Paul Hobson's churches were gathered, from Spilsbury's work, in 1638 and 1639.

The Second Particular Baptist Gathering

The Kiffen Manuscript informs us that in about 1641 there continued to be many debates about the subject of baptism. This led again to several members withdrawing and wanting to constitute a separate church of Particular Baptists. The main hindrance in this was a lack of a proper administrator. Why was this since Kiffen, Hobson and Spilsbury were already there in gathered churches? It had to do with proper baptismal succession, or a direct link to another church, and a new church being constituted by a direct and formal link to another church.

When Mr. Spilsbury returned to England, he was the only Particular Baptist in the London area. He had no church connection since there were no Particular Baptist Churches thereabouts. He, as a baptized and ordained man, as did Sam Eaton, simply started preaching and baptized his converts. They formed themselves into a gospel church. However, the Blount group of Particular Baptist churches wanted more than this in their baptism, they wanted a traceable succession. Spilsbury and the first group looked upon this as unnecessary.

The next group rallied around Richard Blount, who had earlier left and went to Mr. Spilsbury, but returned due to some unknown reason. Mr. Blount was sent over to Holland to make contact with the old Waldensian-Anabaptists, as he understood their language. He made contact with them and they baptized him received and commissioned him to return to England with baptismal authority. In addition, they sent one of their own ministering brethren back into England with Mr. Blount. Upon his return, with the old Waldensian-Anabaptist minister from that old church where Blount went to link up with the old Waldenses, Mr. Blount baptized a Mr. Blaylock and they in turn both baptized a large number of adults, about 51, both men and women.

From the Blount mission came Thomas Kilcop, Thomas Shephard or Skippard as he is sometimes spelled, and John Mabbitt. These three men eventually formed more Particular Baptist Churches. We have no knowledge of what happened to Richard Blount after this, but he did not seem to be a regular minister, only temporarily appointed to do this work because he understood well the old language of those unto whom he went.

Much of this is discussed in Volume 1 of Ivimey's **History of the English Baptists**. Crosby wonders about the entire happenings, and does however, show us that Spilsbury and the others didn't feel it was necessary. Later, Edward Hutchinson, one of the Particular Baptist ministers with Thomas Patient in Ireland, returned home and settled in order an Independent Particular Baptist Church much like John Gosnold's church. They were not involved in the Associational work of the original Seven London Particular Baptist Churches. In the mid 1670s, Hutchinson was very busy writing and defending Baptist history and polity. He defended Henry D'Anvers and his great and large Baptist History. In 1676, Hutchinson issued his **A Treatise Concerning the Covenant and Baptism**, London. In this great work he explains and vindicates the separation of the rigid Anabaptists from all others (the old Landmarkers of those days). This is done in the Postscript and on pages 104-105. Hutchinson deals with the supposed disorderly origin of the Particular Baptists on the top of page 4 of the Epistle Dedicatory and fully supports the Kiffen Manuscript.

A few years earlier Mr. John Gosnold, Independent Particular Baptist in London, issued his **A Discourse of the Baptism of Water and the Spirit**, London 1657. This is a great old work against the Seekers and Quakers and shows the succession of water baptism and the other ordinances of Christ in His church to the end of the world, pages 2-5. On page 5, Gosnold takes up the subject of the supposed disorderly origin of the Baptists, coming from an unlawful administrator. On page 7 Gosnold points out that an unbaptized person did not baptize first among the English Baptists, so no unlawful administrator.

In 1691, Mr. Hercules Collins pastored the old Spilsbury Church gathered in 1633. In 1691, Collins published his **Believer's Baptism from Heaven and of Divine Institution**. On page 114, he disputes the Pedobaptist claim that the Baptists came from John Smyth. On page 115, he justified the Kiffen Manuscript and its early history of the rise of the London Particular Baptists. This is a rich Old Landmark Baptist work. On pages, 62-63 he deals with fit administrators and this section is excellent. On pages 82-94 he deals with closed or in church communion. On pages 93 and 94, he deals with the succession of the church, administrators and the ordinances. He shows what the origin of the Anabaptist Muster wars were all about, pages 95-98. He correctly shows that the Reformers brought the riots to Muster, pages 100, 101, and Luther's great evil therein, 101. On pages 105, and 106, he shows that it is from Muster and following Muster that the Mennonites refused to bear arms. Remember that this is the third pastor of the old Spilsbury's church defending these old Baptist points. John Spilsbury was still alive then, though not living in London because of persecution; (Spilsbury left in the early 1650s). Collins followed John Norcott who followed John Spilsbury.

Next, let me cite Thomas Kilcop, one of those Richard Blount baptized. Mr. Kilcop gathered the Petty France Particular Baptist Church about 1641 or 42. In this work, **The Unlimited Authority of Christ's Disciples Cleared, or the Present Church and Ministry Vindicated**, London, 1651, Kilcop makes many interesting points. This burden of this work is to show that the ministers who gathered and formed the Particular Baptist Churches in

London, were true and valid ministers in gospel order walking in the apostolic manner in opposition to the Seeker claims expressed in a Seeker work called “**A Sober Word to A Serious People.**” Kilcop shows that the Particular Baptist churches were gathered rightly by persons being converted, then baptized, and then they formed congregations, pages 14, 17. Some did not do it this way, but not the Particular Baptists. Thomas Kilcop calls those the **self-seekers** on page 17. But the churches Kilcop walked with, the Particular Baptist Churches in London, received baptism first and then after baptism, they, **by consent**, became a church, page 17. The gathering ministers of these churches were of the right faith and order, professed faith and then received baptism, as were also these churches, pages 20-22.

In this work Kilcop disowns the concept of the Seekers and Rogers Williams that a group of believers may form a church, while unbaptized and appoint one to baptism them, or start baptism de facto, on pages 14, 17. He points out that the problems about baptism and starting it de facto are among those not in the true churches, not those in the Particular Baptist churches, page 45. He points out that these churches had not changed from 1641 to 1651, they were the same as when first gathered, pages 17, 18. Mr. Kilcop, on pages 14-15, shows that there were no churches gathered without proper ministers and baptism preceding. Mr. Kilcop and Mr. Hansard Knollys say the same things. So, now let me take up with Mr. Hansard Knollys and show nearly the same statements as Mr. Kilcop made.

In 1645 Mr. Knollys issued his **A Moderate Answer unto Dr. Bastwick**, London; 1645. On pages 18-23 Mr. Knollys discusses the origin of the Particular Baptist Churches in London, and rescues them from the false charges of a disorderly or Seeker type of origin. Knollys shows that the churches were founded by ministers who were driven into London by the persecutions of the Prelates, page 19 (the Anglicans under Laud in the 1630s REP). Knollys shows from quoting Dr. Featly that the Baptized churches were gathered according to the way that Featly and others said they should be gathered:

1. commission was given to the apostles to teach and baptize;
2. condition and terms of admission into churches were a. faith; b. repentance; c. baptism; pages 19-20.
3. The Particular Baptist ministers who were driven into hiding in London gathered churches by preaching faith, repentance and then baptism all before church membership.
4. Those who submitted unto these points were baptized and constituted into gospel churches. Those who did not were not admitted unto the churches, pages 19, 20.

Now I shall take up quoting from Mr. Knollys:

This being the sum and result of that method and practice, which the Dr. conceives should be done in gathering Churches and admitting members, which the Scriptures will warrant, and Christ Jesus approve of as his Father’s will, I shall now take liberty to declare, what I know by mine own experience to be the practice of some Churches of God in this City. That so both the Dr. and the Reader may judge how near the Saints, who walk together in the Fellowship of the Gospel do come in their practice, to these Apostolic rules and practices propounded by the Dr. as God’s method of ingathering Churches, and admitting Members. I say, that I know by mine own experience (having walked with them) that they were thus gathered; viz., Some godly and learned men of approved gifts and abilities for the Ministry, being driven out of the Countries, where they lived by the persecution of the Prelates, came to sojourn in this great City, and preached the Word of God both publicly, and from house to house, and fairly in the Temples and in every house, they ceased not to teach and preach Jesus Christ: and some of them have dwelt in their own hired houses, and received all that came in unto them, preaching the Kingdom of God, and teaching those things, which concern the Lord Jesus Christ. And when many sinners were converted by their preaching of the Gospel, some of them believed, consorted with them, and of professors a great many, and of the chief women, not a few. And the condition which those Preachers both publicly and privately propounded to the people, unto whom they Preached, upon which they were to be admitted into the Church was Faith, Repentance and Baptism, and none other. And whosoever (poor as well as rich, bond as well as free, servants as well as Masters) did make a profession of their Faith in Christ Jesus, and would be baptized with water into the Name of the Father, Son and Holy Spirit, were admitted Members of the Church; but such as did not believe, and would not be baptized they would not admit into Church-communion. This has been the practices of some Churches of God in this City, without urging or making any particular covenant with Members upon admittance, which I desire may be examined by the Scriptures cited in the Margent, and then compared with the Doctors three conclusions from the same Scriptures, whereby it may appear to the judicious Reader, how near the Churches some of them come to the practice of the Apostles rule, and practice of the primitive Churches, both in gathering and admitting members. And by humble request to the Doctor is; That he will use all means, that the method of God and practice of the Apostles in gathering of Churches, and admitting Members, may be conscionable practiced by his Brethren of both sides according to the revealed Word and Will of the Father. Hansard Knollys, **A Moderate Answer Unto Dr. Baswick’s Book Called Independency not God’s Ordinance**, London; 1645, pages 19, 20.

Please remember that this is Hansard Knollys' writing, a minister of one of the Seven Particular Baptist Churches in London. He should know more about them Gould, Whitsitt, Fox and the other downgraders in the mid and late 1800s.

Seekers and Others

Both Kilcop and Knollys **showed that SOME did form churches out of unbaptized persons, then did start up baptism, de facto**, but not of the Particular Baptist Churches. Remember that Richard Blount baptized Thomas Kilcop in 1641. Mr. William Kiffen baptized Mr. Knollys about 1645.

Running from Baptism to Baptism

During the early 1640s, many were running after new baptisms. Of course, they who were doing this type of thing were always called Anabaptists, whether they were or not. One such poor troubled soul was named Richard Barrow. He had a brief paper debate with Pedobaptist Praisegod Barebones. In his **A reply to the Frivolous and Impenitent Answer of R. B. to P. B.**, London; April 14th, 1643, Mr. Barebones makes fun of this sort of thing and ridicules Mr. Barrow and others for casting aside their second and third baptisms and taking up a fourth baptism. This is on pages 3 and 4 of *To the Reader*. Of course, the Pedobaptists always branded these persons as Anabaptists.

John Spilsbury deals with this briefly in his **God's Ordinances**, 1644. He explains that those persons were looking for something extraordinary to happen in water baptism. They wanted the great apostolic baptism, the miraculous gifts of the Holy Spirit, and when nothing happened, they would go elsewhere.

Summation So Far The First Lasting Particular Baptist Churches in London

1. There is a distinction between the two methods used to gather these First Seven Particular Baptist Churches;
2. First, is the Spilsbury work, which resulted in three of the first Churches and other preaching brothers such as Sam Eaton;
3. Then the Second method centers around Richard Blount and his results, out of which three others came into being;
4. The Seventh came into being through the efforts of Mr. Knollys, from Mr. Kiffen.
5. Their baptismal succession is as follows;
 - a. Mr. Spilsbury and Mr. Norcott, from Holland and the old Waldenses-Anabaptists;
 - b. Mr. Blount and those coming from his efforts, from Holland and the old Waldenses-Anabaptists;
 - c. Mr. Knollys from William Kiffen, who came from Spilsbury's church.
 - d. The only church I have not been able to find out anything about is the French Congregation which signed the 1646 Confession of Faith.

The Differences between the Two Methods

1. If John Spilsbury went over into Holland to receive baptism, there is no real evidence. John Lewis maintains this. Lewis maintains Spilsbury received baptism from John Smith. The ground of this is what Lewis heard. However, this would only be possible if Smith had become a Particular Baptist, for according to Spilsbury's own confession of faith, he had nothing to do with the General Baptists, for he considered them as the ministers of Satan.
 - a. Spilsbury was an active Particular Baptist minister in 1633. I have shown that there were 11 active Baptist churches in the London area in the early 1630s until Laud and his hounds scattered them. It is better to realize that John Spilsbury was already a part of one of the older London Particular Baptist Churches that Laud scattered. It cannot be admitted that Spilsbury would baptize and ordain a preaching brother, as he did with Sam Eaton, if he, himself, were unordained and unbaptized;

- b. However, there is no account given of Spilsbury's baptism or ordination.
 - c. John Lewis, Anglican is the only historian who mentions Spilsbury by name as going over to Holland. Lewis grounds this upon what he had heard. He had no documented evidence to support his claim. Thomas Crosby denies this.
2. In the case of Richard Blount and his friends, those who wanted a further baptism sent him over into Holland to make contact with the old Waldensian-Anabaptists. He did this, was baptized and sent back for bringing baptism back into London. One of the ministering brothers from Holland came over with him. This is different from Spilsbury's work. I am not saying that Spilsbury had not a form link, but what I am saying is there is not now the required documentation to show this. Here is a direct and formal link by link to the old Church of the Waldensian-Anabaptists.
- a. The brethren who were involved in this restoration of believer's baptism into London wanted a more sure and certain succession than those involved with John Spilsbury.
 - b. The Blount co-workers wanted a traceable and formal succession, while those around Spilsbury did not feel this was necessary.
3. However, this should be remembered, when all was said and done, these churches all walked together in one common fellowship. This issue did not split them once the actions had been done. The issue seems to have only been over Spilsbury's information action whereas Blount had a formal action and a messenger with him from the old Waldensian-Anabaptist church.

What is Present

- 1) There is a clear and documented link with the old Waldensian-Anabaptists through Richard Blount;
- 2) There is rebaptism and ordination, and from this, others received new baptism and by consent, formed themselves into gospel churches;
- 3) From these efforts most of the Particular Baptists Churches in the English speaking United Kingdom and many in America have come.
- 4) If this is not valid and scriptural, then most of the Baptists today in the English speaking world aren't scriptural churches.
- 5) The succession is in baptism. Believers, following baptism, **by mutual consent**, form themselves into gospel churches. Therefore, from baptismal succession there is also church succession. Baptismal succession comes from a qualified administrator. The qualified administrator is one who has been tried and tested by a gospel church, and then by vote of that church, he is commissioned to preach and baptize, gather churches and administer all ordinances. See Knolly's **The Shinning of a Flaming Fire in Sion**, London, 1646; and Daniel King's **Way to Sion**, part Two, London 1650 and Edinburg, 1656.

What is not Present

- 1) Modern Missionism and Modern Landmark Baptist Concepts are not present;
- 2) The succession is in baptism, not in a church voting on baptisms, but in qualified administrators sent out by a church;
- 3) The succession is in churches being formed following baptism by mutual consent, not by being taken back to a mother church and then being voted out or given authority to form into another church;
- 4) There are no starting of missions, no voting to give people the authority to form a new church;
- 5) There is no de facto starting up of baptism, but following baptism, by a properly baptized and ordained minister, believers, by mutual consent, form themselves into gospel churches. The Seekers, not the Baptists started up baptism de facto.

Dr. John Clark, Elders Mark Luker and Obediah Holmns and the First Baptist Church in Newport R. I.

When Episcopacy was at its ugly high under Laud, the Anabaptists and other dissenters made their way either into Holland or over into New England. Some of Mr. Spilsbury's company left England and gathered around Dr. John Clark and Elder Mark Luker. In this way, the First Baptist Church in Newport, Rhode Island came into being. At least two of these, Mr. Mark Luker and his wife, were former members of Spilsbury's church. The Kiffen

Manuscript records them with John Spilsbury in his church in 1633. In 1651 Mr. John Clark, Mr. Obediah Holmns and Mr. John Crandell were arrested near Boston, at Lynn, for conducting Anabaptist services in the home of Mr. William Ritter. An account of this is contained in John Clark's **III News from New England or a Narrative of New England's Persecution**; London, 1652. On pages, 17-23 of this old work is Elder Obediah Holmne's Epistle:

Unto the Well Beloved Brethren John Spilsbury, William Kiffen and the rest that in London stand fast in that Faith, and continue to walk steadfastly in that order of the Gospel which was once delivered unto the Saints by Jesus Christ. Obediah Holms an unworthy witness, that Jesus is the Lord, and of late Prisoner for Jesus sake at Boston scented greeting. Page 17.

Some members from John Spilsbury's church at Wapping went into the early constitution of Clark's church at its gathering. Later, in 1651, after their prison experience, these old brethren addressed the London brethren, John Spilsbury and William Kiffen. This epistle and these members show the link and the close continued fellowship between these three churches, Spilsbury's at Wapping, Kiffen's at Devonshire Square, and Clark's, Luker's and Holmns' in Newport, R. I., in America. This fact also disproves the downgrader's theory that Spilsbury and Kiffen parted company in about 1651 over pulpit affiliation with unbaptized ministers.

Elder Mark Luker

I will take extra time and space to develop more about Elder Mark Luker. He was first with Spilsbury in 1633. Again he shows up in the Kiffen Manuscript in 1641 in the Blount affair, but this is doubtful because he was already in America exercising as an Elder in the Newport Church with Dr. John Clark. So, here is another of the unexplained contradictions in the Kiffen Manuscript. The Baptist Union historians have much to say about Mark Luker because he came from a well-established family of great importance.

I want to quote from J. R. Graves' and S. Adlam's work **The First Baptist Church in America, not founded by Roger Williams**, Southern Baptist Book House, 1890. While the main concept in this book is true, there are some false conclusions and misstated facts:

That was not the custom of the day, (total separation from the Pedobaptists by Baptists' forming separate churches, REP) until the Particular Baptists instituted it. Even the members of the first church of Particular Baptists in Mr. Spilsbury's—remained in their membership in the Pedobaptist Churches till 1633. In 1639 a minister of Mr. Spilsbury's church, Hansard Knollys (Knowles), was in New England preaching. Dr. Clark was also probably from Mr. Spilsbury's church. Pages 64, 65.

(Note this: The reason these persons remained in Jessey's Pedobaptist church until 1633 is because that is when Spilsbury gathered the church. They were not members of both churches. Furthermore, Adlam's recordings, as well as some of Graves' remarks, are very ungrounded. For example, Graves later quotes from a General Redemptionist Confession and claims it for the original confession. That is not true, we have John Clark's Confession of Faith and Obediah Holmns Confession of Faith as well. There were no general redemptionists among them. In addition, Mr. Knollys was not among those in Mr. Spilsbury's church. Mr. Kiffen baptized Mr. Knollys in the early 1640s. Mr. Knollys has left us his autobiography, enlarged by Mr. Kiffen and published following his death. He does not enter much into his becoming a Baptist, but informs us that he received true ordination from a gospel church of Jesus Christ and gathered his church during the 1644-45 years. REP)

Again, Adlam quotes from Roger Williams' remarks in 1649:

At Seeknock a great many have lately concurred with Mr. John Clarke and our Providence men, about the point of a new baptism, and the manner by dipping. Mr. John Clark hath been there lately and Mr. Lucar (an Elder in Mr. Clark's church), and hath dipped them. Pages 69, 70.

The Well Formed and Gathered Particular Baptist Churches in London

The following contains a brief presentation of what I have found out about these seven Churches. It is mostly from W. T. Whitley's **Baptist Biography** and B. R. White's **Particular Baptists Records**. So far as I have been able to find, the origin of these churches may be summarized in these ways:

John Spilsbury gathered the Church at Wapping, in 1633. Due to the severity of those times under Archbishop Laud's Reign of Terror, there seemed to be no further lasting outreach from Wapping till the

late 1630s. Sam Eaton, one of their ministers, was imprisoned in London in the mid 1630s and therein died. While in prison, he still preached and sought to spread the cause of Jesus Christ. He came to a sudden and mysterious end. Thousands attended his remains to their gravesite. This church's earlier ministers and signers of the 1644 Confession were John Spilsbury, George Tipping, and Samuel Richardson. Samuel Richardson did not sign the 1652 edition but Joseph Sansom or Joseph Simpson did.

William Kiffen gathered the Church at Devonshire Squire, in 1638. Thomas Patience was with Kiffen in the early 1640s and signed the 1644 and 1646 Confessions. During the later 1640s he was with the soldier churches in Dublin, Ireland and was a military officer. By 1652, Thomas Pault or Paul signed with Kiffen.

Paul Hobson and Thomas Goare or Gower gathered **The Church at Crutched Fryars** in 1639. They signed the 1644 and 1646 Confessions. Captain Paul Hobson and Thomas Goare were anti-Cromwell and paid dearly for their convictions. By the early 1650s both of these men were at the baptized church of Jesus Christ at Newcastle where Hobson issued some more works defending the Particular Baptist position.

Thomas Skippard and Thomas Munday gathered the Church at Southwark, between 1640 and 1642. This church is one of the London churches that came under the succession of the old Waldenses by the Richard Blount mission in 1640. In 1646, George Tipping was at this church. I cannot identify this church in 1652 nor who signed the confession for it.

Thomas Kilcop and John Webb gathered the Church at Petty France, between 1640 and 1642. It too, came under the succession of the old Waldenses. Thomas Kilcop issued his work on **Baptism** near 1641. He replied to reply to Praisegod Barebones and justified the separation and succession of the Baptists and their baptism. Perhaps this is the earliest work on that era by any of these brethren. In 1652, Edward Harrison signed the Confession on behalf of Petty France.

Thomas Gunne and John Mabbatt also gathered the Church at the Glasshouse, because of the Blount mission between 1640-1642. John Mabbatt published his **Reply to Mr. Knutton** in 1645. It also is one of the earlier works issued by these ministers. In 1652, William Conset and Richard Graves served this church. Edward Drapes returned home from Ireland in the late 1640s but was dead by 1651 and did not sign any of the Confessions. John Vernon also ministered here. This church sponsored the Thomas Proud-John Myles efforts in Wales.

The last of the seven churches issuing the 1644 Confession was gathered between 1640 and 1642 by Joseph Phelps and Edward Heath. I have been unable to find out anything about its history or its succeeding ministers. I cannot find out anything about these two ministers.

By 1646, Hansard Knollys had gathered the church at Great St. Heleans. Later Thomas Holmns assisted him. It came into being in 1645. By 1652, John Watson was serving this church with Hansard Knollys and it was known as the church meeting at Coleman Street.

Another mystery of 1646 is the "French Congregation of the same judgment," served by Denis Le Barbier and Christophle Duret. I have found out nothing as to the origin and following history of this church.

By 1652, several more churches were gathered. The 1652 edition of the First London Confession was no longer issued by the Seven Churches of London, but by several churches in or about London. Hugh

Gosnell, Joseph Patshall, Thomas Waters, Henry Forty were some of the additional ministers. Thomas Young ministered at a church meeting at Stokesley.

Succession from the Old Waldensian-Anabaptists

Able Morgan informs about baptism from the old Waldenses.

Our author will not allow the Waldenses to put in for the subjects of our Lord's Promise, in that dark Time, and good reason why, lest he should countenance any thing against infant-baptism; but by his leave, that the Waldenses and others I mentioned before, being opposers of infant-baptism, and in the Practice of Adult-baptism, is not such a Figment, as our Author in Page 11th would have it to be; as appears by the Testimonies produced by Mr. Stennet against Russen, page 81-84, which I should have transcribed, but my Bounds will not permit. AND THAT THE FIRST THAT REVIVED THE ANCIENT PRACTICE OF ADULT BAPTISM IN ENGLAND HAD IT FROM THEM, IS NO MORE UNLIKELY, THAN FOR THE PRESBYTERIANS TO HAVE THEIR DISCIPLINE FROM GENEVA; FOR THE ENGLISH HAD POSSESSION OF THOSE PARTS OF FRANCE WHERE THE WALDENSES WERE MOSTLY CONTENANCED, FROM THE YEAR 1152 TO THE YEAR 1452, WHICH WAS LONG ENOUGH FOR MANY PERSONS TO BECOME ACQUANITED WITH THE PRINCIPLES AND PRACITICES OF THOSE GOLDY PEOPLE, BY SUCH INTREROURSE, AND FROM THEIR EXAMPLE, TO ENDEAVOUR A REFORMATION IN ENGLAND, though with no great success for a while: Our author will find it difficult to fix on any subject of that promise, in the Western Parts of the world; lest (if the Waldenses were not) during a good part of that period; nor can he prove the united practice of Infant-Baptism during the said Period, while the said Waldenses and others have opposed it, and practiced otherwise, within the said Term; and if he could, it would be but a Scriptureless practice still. Able Morgan, **Anti-Paedo-Baptism**; Philadelphia; 1757: pages 172-173.

However it was, Spilsbury or Blount, it was generally understood that he was the first to introduce adult baptism by dipping back into England.

More about the Blount Mission

When Mr. Richard Blount returned from his mission, John Batten accompanied him back to London and helped in the great gathering of the churches there. From the **Transactions of the Baptist Historical Society of Great Britain and Ireland**, I have gleaned the following statements:

John Batten taught a congregation of Collegiants at Leyden, according to Barclay, who cites no evidence. Dr. Lofton quotes Professor Rauschenbusch finding Jan Batte mentioned in the *Geschiedennis der Rhynsburgische Vergadering*, as one of the early and prominent teachers. Dr. Christian gives the title of this book as "Historie Der Binsburgsche Vergadering . . . MDCCCLXXV, and confirms Barclay by translating from it a reference to Jan Battern from Leiden as a usual speaker at the meetings before 1618 which resulted in the organization of the Collegiants, who restricted themselves to immersion.

The conferences, the journey of Blunt, his own baptism and his return took several months, and the next date is 1641, even towards the end of the year. Taken from the **Transactions of the Baptist Historical Society**, London, 1910; Volume One page 233.