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HANSERD KNOLLYS SOCIETY,

FOR THE PUBLICATION OF THE WORKS OF EARLY ENGLISH
AND OTHER BAPTIST AUTHORS.

INSTITUTED 1844.

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THE
RECORDS
OF A
CHURCH OF CHRIST,
ETC.



AUG
7
1984

אֲתָ-בְרַךְ בְּרַךְ הַבְּרַכָּי לְאֵלֶיָּהּ וְהַרְבֵּית אֶת-
 נְבוּלֵי וְהִתְהַלַּךְ יְדָךְ עַמִּי וְעִשִׂית מַרְעֵרָה
 לְאֵתְרֵי תֵי .

Chron: 4:10
 part from. ok,
 10 y word, evil.
 with y last word
 here LEACHURIFI
 added signifying
 TENO, Finis

'Εγὼ παῖ ἀνθρώ εἰρωτῶ· ὃ παῖ τῶ κόσμῳ εἰρωτῶ, ἀλλὰ παῖ ὧν
 δέδωκάς μοι, ὅτι σοί εἰσι. Ἁγίασον αὐτοὺ ἐν τῇ αληθείᾳ σου·
 ὁ λόγος ἀπόσος, ἀλήθειά σου. (Κεφ 17 ΙΩΑΝ 9. 17.)

Κατεχωμεν τ' ὁμολογίαν τ' ἐπιπόθος ἀκλινη (πισὸς ὁ ἐπαγγελίαιενθ)
 ἰδὲ, εἰρω μὴ ὑμῶς ἔμι πίσσας τὰς ἡμέρας ἕως τ' σωτηλείας τῶ αἰῶνθ Ἀμὲν

Hebr: 10:23
 part of
 mathew 28:20
 from, And lo. -

Sicut 14547 accipimus Christum Jesum (Dominum) ita in eo un-

guare: qui dilexit nos, et lavit nos a peccatis nostris

Per sanguinem suum: Et qui fecit nos Reges et,

Sacerdotes Deo & Patri sui: ei sit gloria

et robur in secula seculorum.

Amen

Oh who at sundry times and divers manners, spake
in time past unto the fathers By the Prophets hath in
these last dayes spoken unto us: by his Spirit by his Word
and Providences even by his Son whom he hath appointed
Lord of all things: By whom also he made the World, This
God we say) who worketh all things after the Councell of
his owne will: Having according to his determination
purpose sufford his Church to be carryed into y^e wilderness

of Antichristian darkness; as to signification and portents
by his servant & Apostle John, Rev. 12: 6 and that he
should be there and Prophecy in Sack cloth 12 60 years
Towards

THE

RECORDS

OF A

CHURCH OF CHRIST, //

MEETING IN

BROADMEAD, BRISTOL.

1640—1687.

EDITED FOR

The Hanserd Knollys Society,

WITH AN HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION,

BY

EDWARD BEAN UNDERHILL.

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CONTENTS.

	PAGE
I. AN HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION, Part II.—	
1. Elizabeth	ix.
2. The Puritans	xxii.
3. The Brownists	xxxiv.
4. The Baptists.....	xliv.
5. The Independents	lxxvii.
II. THE RECORDS, &c.....	1
III. ADDENDA.....	503
IV. INDEX	523



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AN

HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION.

PART II.—SECTION I.

ELIZABETH.

THE reign of Elizabeth was an era of conflict. Light struggled with darkness, and by the hands of its professed friends was shut up in the dark lanthorn of a state-establishment. The world became enthroned in the church, and political considerations were of more importance than the laws of the King of kings. "Every moral principle was set at nought, and every crooked path of state-expediency was trodden."¹ The law of the Lord, that perfect law, might be obeyed only so far as it was transcribed into the statute-book of the realm.

Immediately upon her accession (Nov. 17th, 1558), the queen gave an earnest of the course she intended to pursue. Cecil's advice for reformation was accepted. Protestants were introduced into the council, and catholics excluded from it. On Sunday, the 20th, she listened to the gospel from the lips of Dr. Bill; but imprisoned Christopherson, "the

¹ Huber's English Universities, i. 294.

brawling bishop of Chichester," who, on the following Sunday, with great vehemence and freedom, refuted the reformer's doctrine as the "invention of new men and heretics!"² She at once assumed the controverted authority of the state in religious matters, by issuing a proclamation forbidding all preaching and exposition of holy scripture, till the decision of parliament should be known. The people might, however, read—only read—the epistles, the gospels, and the commandments, in English; and were besides allowed to pray in the language of the Lord's prayer, the litany, and the creed. For a while, masses, and all the abominations of popery, were sanctioned, the rubric of the missals and breviaries followed, and the zeal of the reformers repressed. But their private meetings were connived at, while the parish churches were closed against them.³

With great gladness the exiles returned from their places of sojourn abroad, full of hope and expectation. "The most merciful God," says one of them, "has visited our affliction, and wrought out the redemption of his people."⁴ Halcyon days were come; *the winter was past, the rain was over and gone*. Martyr-blood had fertilized the soil, and now flowers bright with the beauty of holiness would appear. A new star had arisen to lead the Lord's people, and to shed beams of grace upon the church of the living God.⁵ Visions of happiness too early destroyed by the stern realities of the strife awaiting the wearied pilgrims! Within two months of the queen's accession, Jewel wrote the ominous words, "I

² Macintosh, Hist. of Eng. Eliz. ch. xvi. Zurich Letters, i. 4, 6. Parker Society.

³ Documentary Annals, i. 176. Collier, vi. 200. Zurich Lett. ii. 29.

⁴ Sir Ant. Cook to Bullinger. Zurich Lett. ii. 1.

⁵ "God, whose property is to show his mercies, then greatest when they are nearest to be utterly despaired of, caused in the depth of discomfort and darkness a most glorious star to arise, and on her head settled the crown."—Hooker, book iv. sect. 14. Hanbury's edit. vol. i. p. 327.

only wish that our party may not act with too much worldly prudence and policy in the cause of God.”⁶

“Worldly prudence and policy,” did, however, from this time, control the ecclesiastical movements of the hierarchy and the state; religion was made to worship at their shrine. The queen became wonderfully afraid of innovations. “She is, however, prudently, and firmly, and piously, following up her purpose, though somewhat more slowly than we could wish.”⁷ The purer-minded reformers were shocked to see the crucifix still erect in the queen’s chapel, and much more, when, habited in the golden vestments of the papacy, with candles lighted before the image, three of the new bishops ministered at the table of the Lord, as priest, deacon, and subdeacon, “without any sermon.” “What hope,” exclaims the pious Sampson, “is there of any good, when our party are disposed to look for religion in these dumb remnants of idolatry, and not from the preaching of the lively word of God.”⁸ Many longed impatiently for further and more active progress in the establishment of the gospel. They chided the wariness, the deliberation, the prudence of the royal counsels, “as if,” says Jewel, “God himself could scarce retain his authority without our ordinances and precautions; so that it is idly and scurrilously said, that as heretofore Christ was cast out by his enemies, so he is now kept out by his friends.”⁹ The people were disgusted with the insolence and cruelty of the papists; many called them butchers to their face. They thirsted for the gospel exceedingly; the consuming fire of the martyr-pile had well nigh burnt up every green herb, and by its scorching power rendered arid many a spot once fertilized by

⁶ Jewel to Martyr, Zurich Lett. i. 8, 10.

⁷ Jewel to Martyr, Mar. 20, 1559. Zurich Lett. i. 11.

⁸ Sampson to Martyr. Zurich Lett. i. 63.

⁹ Jewel to Martyr, Apr. 14, 1559. Zurich Lett. i. 17.

evangelic truth; but the waters of life were not yet to irrigate the parched ground. The sanction of law was necessary to let loose the pent-up floods of the everlasting springs.¹

But will the law, or the lawgivers, grant liberty to the free utterance of God's truth? Are the sighings of the people to be heard? Will the breeze now rustling in the forest tops bring the refreshing rain, the fertilizing shower of heavenly doctrine, flooding the land with life and peace? Let us see. Ten days after the queen's coronation, the Lords and Commons, her first parliament, assembled. She appeared amongst them. By the mouth of the lord keeper, Sir Nicholas Bacon, she intimated her desire to unite her people in one uniform order of religion. The history of all ages, he said, instructed them to submit to exemplary punishment all undue worship and superstition, especially atheism and immorality. Good king Hezekiah, and noble queen Esther, were eminent examples of zeal to discharge error, and to reform what was amiss. These her majesty would emulate, and strive thus to recommend herself to the approbation of almighty God.²

By the first act of the session, all jurisdiction over the state ecclesiastical was restored to the crown. With the title of Supreme Governor, the queen was invested with supreme power over the church. The whole compass of church discipline was transferred to her. At her bidding, the court of high commission, in part clerical and in part lay, might proceed to reform every abuse, to judge error, to pronounce the doom of heresy, and to punish all schisms, contempts, and offences, as they might think fit. Heresy was defined to be any departure from the canonical scriptures, or from the faith established by the first four

¹ *Ib.* i. 31, 18.

² Collier, vi. 204.

general councils; also, any dogma, which, at any future time, should be adjudged heresy by the parliament of the realm, with the assent of the clergy in convocation. This profane assumption of dominion over conscience was further enlarged by a provision, that none should dare to adjudge the order or determination of any religious matter, made by authority of parliament, to be an error, heresy, schism, or schismatical opinion.³

On this broad foundation of infallibility, the Houses laid their second act, to provide for the uniformity of common prayer and service in the church, and administration of the sacraments. They adopted the second service book of Edward the Sixth, with some changes to make it more palatable to the catholics. "This holy little book," was now restored to the church of England. "We embraced that book," continues the zealous bishop of Ely, "with open arms, and not without thanks to God, who had preserved to us such a treasure, and restored it to us in safety."⁴ Like the first statute, this, with its prescribed liturgy, was guarded by penalties. After the ensuing feast of John the Baptist, all the inhabitants of the realm were diligently and faithfully, on Sundays and feast days, to appear at their parish church, there to join in common prayer: twelve pence was the fine for absence. But if any should be so wicked as to defame "this holy little book," or use in public any other prayers to the God of heaven, or refuse to use any rite, ceremony, matins, evensong, or administration of the sacraments, ordained therein: then shall such person be imprisoned for half a year, and deprived of all his emoluments.

The passing of these acts was strenuously resisted by the catholics in the upper house; but in vain. Nor were the

³ Statutes at Large, 1 Eliz. c. i. vol. vi. p. 107.

⁴ Cox to Gualter. Feb. 12, 1571. Zurich Lett. i. 235. It was this very

bishop that stirred up "the troubles at Frankfort" about the prayer-book.—Phenix, ii. 72.

milder and more pious of the reformers pleased with many of the rites and forms imposed by the act of uniformity, and in the book of Common Prayer. Both parties objected on the ground of their religious opinions; but no one saw how unholy and unscriptural were these legislative measures, nor how much they set at nought the rights of conscience. And when at midsummer (1559), the liturgy was introduced, and the oath of supremacy administered, only eighty rectors, with one hundred and seven dignitaries of the church, in all one hundred and eighty-seven, from among more than nine thousand clergymen, were found to refuse compliance. A memorable exhibition of the power of self-interest, and of the little truthfulness and religion then existing among the religious guides of the people.⁵

The source of these errors in legislation, may be discovered in the views of the reformers on the nature of the church. In their conference with the catholics, while the measures were under the consideration of parliament, the protestants laid down the following proposition for debate. "Every particular church hath authority to institute, change, and abrogate ceremonies and rites in the church, so that it be to edify;" and they thus define the term, "every particular church:"—"We understand every particular kingdom, province, or region, which by order make one Christian society, or body, according to the distinction of countries, and orders of the same."⁶ The church of Christ is thus made co-extensive with the provinces, nations, and kingdoms of the world. From its fold none are excluded, however profane. Because girt about by the same natural boundaries, the godly and the ungodly

⁵ Cardwell's Hist. of Conferences on Book of Common Prayer, p. 35. Statutes at Large, 1 Elizabeth, c. 2.

⁶ Cardwell's Hist. of Conferences, &c. p. 72. "For if the commonwealth be

Christian, if the people which are of it do publicly embrace the true religion, this very thing doth make it the church, as hath been shewed." Hooker's Works, iii. 324, Hanbury's edit.

are united into one ecclesiastical community, and the natural laws which govern every social state, must, of necessity, become the rule and standard of the supernatural. The church ceases to be the fellowship of the saints; the saying of our Lord, *My kingdom is not of this world*, is reversed. Necessarily different laws than those he has instituted, must be made to govern such a mixed assemblage, since his divine legislation has respect to a community, constituted by *repentance towards God, and faith in the Lord Jesus Christ*. The terms of communion must be altered, and *birth of blood, of the will of the flesh, and the will of man*, may suffice to make a son of God.⁷

With great consistency the protestant divines proceed to say, that the ceremonies and rites of the church, “may by God’s word, by general councils, and by particular provinces, regions, and societies of Christians, according to the state of the times, be instituted and ordained, changed and removed, upon such just grounds, causes, and considerations, as the state of the times, places, people, and other circumstances shall require; so that it be done to edify God’s people.”⁸ In other words, a political state, a general council, and God’s word, are of equal and co-ordinate authority in the church of God, that is, in a province or national society of Christians; and in questions of ecclesiastical polity, the superiority of dominion is with the magistrate, or political chief of the nation, who is also the “supreme governor” of the church. Thus, “things of their own nature indifferent,” may be lawfully imposed on the consciences of men, and the godly be compelled to submit to an authority in the church, unrecognised in the oracles of truth. The rule laid down with so much apparent explicitness, that such things only may be enjoined as are edifying to God’s people, it is self-evident, is worthless. The queen, the

⁷ See the Order of Infant Baptism, in the Book of Common Prayer.

⁸ Cardwell, Hist. of Conf. p. 72.

depository of the nation's power, the exponent of the nation's will, which be it remembered is the church, is edified when on bended knee she offers prayer at a gilded shrine, with her eye glancing upon a cross, the emblem of man's redemption. But her bishops are scandalized at the sight. This "scenic apparatus of divine worship" offends them. "As if," says Jewel, "the Christian religion could not exist without something tawdry."⁹ But who then shall decide? The word of God? The bishops, its professed expounders? Whose edification shall be the rule of judgment? It is the queen, and the parliament of the nation, and not the statute-book of Christ, which shall decide. And further, it shall be sedition, treason to the magistrate, to venture to disobey, or even to call in question their decisions. "For the queen, a most discreet and excellent woman, most manfully and courageously declared, that she would not allow any of her subjects to dissent from this religion with impunity."¹

It is obvious that on such principles the church would be sacrificed to the world; that a reformation thus established would be adverse to the claims of Jesus, as King in Zion; and that a foundation would be laid for perpetual strife and division; for, minds, in which the supremacy of God's word is acknowledged, must, sooner or later, rise in rebellion against the supremacy of the throne, the imposing power, and endeavour to break through the "braided trammels," woven to keep them in bondage to the elements of the world. Such was the case: and to that strife we have now to direct our attention.

⁹ To Martyr in 1599. Zurich Lett. i. 23.

¹ Jewel to Martyr, May 20, 1560. Zurich Lett. i. 79. Saith Archbishop Sandys a few years later, as the beams of royal favour fell upon him, "Our Deborah hath mightily repressed the rebel Jabin; our Judith hath beheaded

Holophernes, the sworn enemy of Christianity; our Hester hath hanged up that Haman which sought to bring us and our children into miserable servitude."—Sermons, &c., by Sandys, Archbishop of York, p. 81. Parker Society.

Stringent as were the above laws, and of imperative obligation on the subjects of the queen, a considerable latitude of practice was enjoyed during the first five years of her reign. Catholics saw no such great change in external ordinances, as to feel their absence from the parish churches a matter of religious necessity. The preachers of the gospel were comparatively few; hardly one in a hundred of the clergy was able or willing to preach. Many parishes were without a clergyman, and some dioceses without a bishop. Much freedom was thus enjoyed by those who had at heart the dissemination of divine truth; and by commendatory letters from the queen or one of the bishops, some few eminent men were permitted to preach throughout the country.² Great diversities likewise existed among the officiating clergy; some more than others adhering to the rubric, some altogether passing it by. So, according to secretary Cecil, some said the service and prayers in the chancel, others in the body of the church; some officiated in a seat, others in a pulpit; some in a surplice, others without; some baptized in a font, others in a bason; some signed with a cross, by others it was omitted; some of the clergy wore square caps, some round ones, and some hats.³ Some, like bishop Jewel, thought the habits theatrical, employed because of the ignorance of the priests, who being found no better than logs of wood, without talent, learning, or morality, were commended to the people "by that comical dress."⁴ Others, with the pious Sampson, called them "the relics of the Amorites," a popish invention, to be abominated by all godly people.⁵

Such disorders were intolerable. They broke the uniformity

² Lever to Bullinger, July 10, 1660.
Zur. Lett. i. 85.

³ Collier, vi. 394.

⁴ Jewel to Martyr, Nov. 5, 1559.
Zur. Lett. i. 52.

⁵ Sampson to Martyr, Jan. 6, 1560.
Ibid. i. 64, 158.

so earnestly desired. This variety in practice, this disagreement in religion—as if religion consisted in these ceremonial observances and vestures,—and this disregard of the establishment, disturbed the public harmony, and disserved the government. So the queen thought, and thus she wrote to the archbishop of Canterbury, chiding him and his fellow-bishops for their remissness, and commanding them to exercise their authority with more vigilance and vigour. She was resolved, she said, to bring her subjects to conformity; peevishness and clamour she would not suffer to be indulged; nor should any man's obstinacy shelter him from punishment.⁶ The bishops were roused to exertion. They soon (1564) issued certain disciplinary laws, to which the clergy were to be compelled to subscribe. The shapes and fashions of ecclesiastical dress were their chief subject. Side-gowns with sleeves, straight at the hand, without any cuffs or falling capes, tippets of white sarcenet, silk hoods, caps, copes, comely surplices with sleeves, were among the weightier matters that engaged the earnest attention and solemn consultations of the reverend bench, for the “avauncement of God's glory, and to the establishmente of Christe's pure religion.” That none might avoid the imposition, all licenses to preach were withdrawn from the ensuing March, and not renewed until the clergy should append their signatures to all things therein prescribed.⁷

A strong and early disinclination to wear the habits had been shown by Dr. Thomas Sampson, dean of Christchurch, and Dr. Lawrence Humphreys, Regius Professor of Divinity, and President of Magdalen College, Oxford. The unseemliness of these superstitious dresses was from the first a matter of complaint with the pious Sampson. From Strasburg, on his way home, he expressed to Peter Martyr his dislike. “I think it,” says he, “scarcely endurable, even if we are to act

⁶ Collier, vi. 395.

⁷ Doc. Annals i. 237. Collier, vi. 400.

in all things according to the law of expediency.”⁸ The other exiles sympathized in his objections, and fruitlessly endeavoured to set the obnoxious garments aside.⁹ The popish attachments of the queen to crucifixes and images, to silk hoods and surplices, even led Jewel to contemplate the necessity of abandoning his bishopric.¹ Nevertheless, after the publication of the queen’s injunctions (1559), by which “some ornaments, such as the mass-priests formerly” used, were prescribed, great numbers of the clergy, who had put them off, resumed them. They wore them, they said, for the sake of obedience. “They are but few of us,” writes Lever to his friend Bullinger, “who hold such garments in the same abhorrence as the soldier, mentioned by Tertullian, did the crown.”² Thus the ears and eyes of the multitude were fascinated, and they could scarcely believe but that the popish doctrine was retained, or would be shortly restored.³

But the latitude hitherto enjoyed, by the connivance of the prelates, was now to cease. The publication of the advertisements, the disciplinary laws above-mentioned, was immediately followed by resolute efforts to enforce them. Deprivation was the penalty of non-compliance. In the month of March (1564), Sampson and Humphreys, with four London ministers, were cited before the queen’s commissioners. All the six declined conformity; they could not be prevailed upon, although submission was sanctioned by several of the foreign reformers, who had gained their esteem and affection in the years of exile. Every indulgence was denied them. Conformity or deprivation was the alternative absolutely placed before them.⁴ On the 24th of March, the same choice was proposed to the whole

⁸ Zurich Letters, i. 1.

⁹ Strype, Annals I. i. 263.

¹ Jewel to Martyr, Feb. 9, 1560.

Zur. Lett. i. 68.

² Tertullianus de Corona, c. i.

³ July 10, 1560. Zur. Lett. i. 84.

⁴ Soames’s Elizabeth. Rel. History, pp. 45, 46.

metropolitan clergy. A conforming priest, clothed in the obnoxious vestures, was placed before them. "My masters," said the bishop's chancellor, "the council's pleasure is, that ye strictly keep unity of apparel, like to this man. In the church, ye must wear a surplice; the rubrics in the book of Common Prayer, the queen's majesty's injunctions, and the articles, ye must inviolably observe. Ye that will subscribe, write *volo*; ye that will not, write *nolo*. Be brief; no words." Efforts to speak were abruptly stopped: "Peace, peace; Apparitor, call the churches." Thirty, out of one hundred and forty, preferred immediate sequestration; and with few exceptions, were deprived at the end of the three months allowed them for reflection. The papists among them went abroad. The rest welcomed poverty, rather than pollute their consciences with an unholy compliance.⁵

It would lead us beyond our purpose to detail the varying aspects and events of this conflict. The matter in question appeared trifling; but it was pregnant with the most important consequences. The whole question of church authority, and of human intervention in divine things, was stirred; and the refusal to wear a surplice, a square cap, a gown of peculiar fashion, involving as it did the duty of obedience to the ruling power, could be justified only by an appeal to the paramount law, that Christ alone is king in his church. The resulting exclusion of the secular magistrate, either as legislator or administrator, from the sacred fold, was not however perceived; and when set before the protestant mind by the baptists, was deemed visionary and impracticable; nay, seditious and subversive of all authority whatsoever. Yet, here and there, in the examinations and writings of the non-conformists, may be found glimpses of the fundamental objection to these impositions; they exalted the supremacy

⁵ Soames, pp. 47, 48.

of the scriptures, and confidently appealed to its decisions, but threw open the flank of an otherwise impregnable position, by one mistaken conclusion. They were fatally inconsistent in recognising any human authority, or royal supremacy, in the church of Christ, while they objected to consequences inevitably flowing from its exercise. The bible and the statute-book cannot possess a co-ordinate jurisdiction; one must reign supreme. The puritans, therefore, erred in admitting a foreign authority into the kingdom of the Most High—that of men.

The chief arguments employed against the habits were two. 1. That all things in the church ought to edify. 2. That the queen had no right to impose anything besides scripture, or contrary to it. The apparel in question had been abused to idolatrous purposes; it was offensive from its associations, and therefore unedifying to the children of God. Neither could the scriptures of truth, nor the elder fathers, be brought to sanction such a dress, for the ministry of the new dispensation. Christ had purchased a liberty for his people which ought to be maintained, and royal interference must be confined to the enforcement of his instructions.⁶ This latter admission of the nonconformists breached their munition of rock.

And now the godly mourned. Schism began to rend the church; the fair prospect was overspread with clouds. In vain they awaited the guidance of the Divine Spirit; for the queen, who held the helm, directed the bark “according to her pleasure.” Under her charge it was drifting fast towards the sands of a shifting, worldly policy; and ere long some would be compelled to abandon a vessel whose pilot, neither truth nor zeal, piety nor importunity, could persuade to turn the “sails to another quarter.”⁷

⁶ Neal, i. 141—143, note.

August 3, 1571. Zurich Letters, ii.

⁷ See Horn's Letter to Bullinger, 248.

SECTION II.

THE PURITANS.

SYMPTOMS of further movement soon began to appear; and many other matters to be called in question, beside caps and copes. As scripture did not authorise their use, so were there some other things not found written therein, but to which the rulers of the church most pertinaciously adhered. Were archbishops, bishops, deans, archdeacons, rectors, vicars, curates, commissaries, &c. necessary parts of the sacred edifice, *whose builder and maker is God?* From whom was derived the royal title of supreme governor of the church of England? Was there not another Head, whose claim was infinitely more legitimate, but disallowed by English parliaments and queen's councils? Who imparted the right of limiting the prayers of the faithful to the book of Common Prayer? Were there no "absurdities and silly superfluities" in it? Was it not composed "after the model, and in the manner of the papists?" Whence came the commissary's power of excommunication, and the absolution of the excommunicated in private, "without any trouble, and for a sum of money?" Were episcopal courts, courts of arches and audience, and courts of faculties, granting licenses for non-residence, pluralities, dispensations, &c. scriptural additions to the *courts of the Lord's house?* Part-singing in churches, organs, tolling bells at funerals, and on vigils of saints, bowing at the name of Jesus, baptism at private houses and by women, the sign of the cross, the sponsorial responses of the infant,—were these, and other such things, becoming the simplicity, and according to the precepts, of the gospel? And last, but not least, was it not an

unheard-of assumption, that "the queen's majesty, with the advice of the archbishop of Canterbury, may order, change, and remove any thing in the church at her pleasure?"⁸

Yet these truly unscriptural laws and institutions were rigorously enforced, and the queen's known determination destroyed the hope of any relaxation. The hardships and deprivations of many godly uncompliant men, induced many, in the year 1566, to separate from the established worship. Despite the meanness of their condition, and the perils that surrounded them, they "stood to the truth of God's word;" and sometimes in private houses, sometimes in the fields, and occasionally even in ships, they held their meetings and administered the sacraments. They also ordained them ministers and deacons, and exercised discipline upon such as walked not according to godliness.⁹ In this separation, they had not the sympathy of all who agreed with them as to the objectionable nature of the established worship. Many still clung to the vain hope of a purer ritual. They thought the evils of separation greater than submission to episcopal and royal commands. The church's standards of doctrine were pure, from her pulpits many proclaimed the way of salvation, and the points of agreement were more than those of difference. Thus did such men as Fox, Sampson, and Humphreys argue, and cleave to a community, which had been sanctified in their affections by the blood of many saints.¹

The separatists, however, became more bold. In the following year they ventured to assemble at Plumber's Hall, in London. Being discovered, the sheriffs broke up their meeting, and took the greater part into custody. The day after, they were brought before bishop Grindal, who charged them with their separation as a crime, and that thereby they con-

⁸ The Church of England as described by Perceval Wiburn. Zurich Letters, ii. 358.

⁹ Grindal to Bullinger, June 11, 1568. Zur. Lett. i. 201.

¹ Price, i. 198.

demned the well-reformed church of England, for which martyrs had shed their blood. Why had they separated? Were not the sacraments duly ministered, and the gospel truly preached? Were not the ceremonies indifferent, and under the prince's power to command for the sake of order? "So long," said John Smith, one of the company, "as we might have the word freely preached, and the sacraments administered without the use of idolatrous gear, we never assembled in private houses. But when all our preachers, who could not subscribe to your apparel and your laws, were displaced, so that we could not hear any of them in the church for the space of seven or eight weeks, excepting father Coverdale, who at length durst not make known to us where he preached; and then we were troubled in your courts from day to day, for not coming to our parish churches; we considered among ourselves what we should do." Being thus driven from the Anglican pale, they formed a congregation after the example of one in Queen Mary's days, using in their worship a book formerly approved by Calvin. Their further objections embraced the hierarchy of the church. They asserted that the kingly authority of Jesus Christ was sacrificed to popish canons and the prince's will. By that "prince's will, they too were sacrificed" to the phantom of uniformity: they were cast into prison. It was the beginning of sorrows. Severities multiplied. The prisons of London were soon filled with a numerous band of men, to whom a good conscience was of more value, than the wealth and preferments of the state church.²

An able and learned expositor of the advancing sentiments of the nonconformists, now appeared in the person of Mr. Thomas Cartwright. He availed himself of his public position as divinity lecturer at Cambridge, to proclaim the necessity

² Parte of a Register, 23—37. Grindal's Remains, p. 369.

of further reformation, and of a return to the practice of apostolic men. He asserted that a divine model of church polity was prepared in scripture, to which every ecclesiastical arrangement should conform. The titles and offices of archbishops and archdeacons were not there; they must be suppressed. The names of bishops, too, must be rejected, since the office no longer resembled the apostolic institute. Character and ability to exercise the functions of a teacher and pastor, must be peremptorily required of all who aspired to be ministers of the church. In many other particulars the Anglican forms needed amendment, and ought to be reduced to the primitive pattern: then only could the church of England be regarded as a church of Christ.³ These were dangerous doctrines, subversive of the very being of the establishment. Their defender was suspended from his office, expelled the university, and for a time compelled to reside abroad.

Meanwhile the sufferings of the non-compliant ministers increased; they were every where harassed by examinations, suspensions, deprivations, and imprisonments. Subscription was strictly insisted on. The house of commons was haughtily commanded not to interfere with the queen's prerogative in ecclesiastical affairs; and the aged but energetic proposer of further reformation, was forbidden to enter the house during her pleasure. "The world," it was said, "cannot bear two suns, much less can the kingdom endure two queens, or two religions."⁴

These rigorous proceedings were not, and could not be regarded as arising from a jealous watchfulness over the interests of Christ's kingdom. "How the most part of the bishops," writes one of the deprived ministers, "by wealth, honours, and dignity, are blinded, the present storms and

³ Collier, vi. 485. Neal, i. 173.

Pilkington to Bullinger, July 15, 1570.

⁴ Neal, i. 185. Soames, p. 147.

Zur. Lett. i. 222.

tempests, wherewith God's people are tossed, do sufficiently declare." They could not be sincerely anxious to cast out "the rags and dregs" of popery, while they stretched to the uttermost their authority to keep them; for they who would not use them, were forbidden to preach, deprived, and imprisoned. Thousands of unworthy men were permitted to exercise their ministry, and to enjoy livings; while fit and competent men were thrust out, because unwilling to wear the pope's livery. Immorality, the saying of mass for many years, gaming, and drunkenness, were no bar to promotion, if only such persons would obey the episcopal injunctions. Disobedience to the unscriptural regulations of the prince, was visited with the severest penalties by these pretended shepherds, but no notice taken of disobedience to God.⁵

At length, in 1572, the controversy assumed a form more menacing to the stability of the church than it had yet done. Though of much influence in the house of commons, the puritan party failed to obtain any relief. Or, as the spirited Wentworth afterwards said, "God would not vouchsafe that his Holy Spirit should all that session descend upon our bishops, so that in that session nothing was done to the advancement of his glory."⁶ Immediately after the prorogation, the famous Admonition to Parliament appeared. The effect of it was great and immediate, and threw consternation into the intrenchments of the church. Such bold language had not been heard before; the mitre was challenged to a fall. It commences with a reference to the citations and deprivations of "many ministers of God's holy word and sacraments," by her majesty's high commissioners, and prays the interference of the house. It then details with much energy and sharpness, it may be said irritation, the many grievances under

⁵ A Comfortable Epistle, &c. Parte of a Register, pp. 2—9.

⁶ Speech in 1575. Parliamentary History, iv. 195.

which those desirous of further reformation suffered. The prayer-book, they said, was picked and culled out of that popish dunghill, the portuise and mass-book; the homilies were too homely to be set in the place of scripture; the title of priests was a denial of Christ's having come, or a memorial of the popish priesthood; the rites employed in infant baptism were childish and superstitious toys; confirmation was popish and peevish; churching of women smelt of Jewish purifications; the psalms were tossed like tennis balls, so confused was their order; divine service was often profanely hurried, that the minister might go to his second church, and the people to their games, dancing, bull-baiting, and above all, to the interludes; the whole hierarchy, from the archbishop of Canterbury to the meanest sexton, was opposed to the word of God; a true ministry and regiment of the church were entirely wanting. To the articles, however, they were willing to subscribe. They conclude with a prayer, "that the reign of antichrist may be turned out headlong from amongst us, and Christ our Lord may reign over us by his word."⁷

The authors of this bold appeal to the nation's representatives, and of these sweeping accusations against the church, were Mr. John Field and Mr. Thomas Willcocks, two puritan clergymen of celebrity. Both were immediately imprisoned in Newgate. The archbishop's intolerance had, at length, led men to question the authority that oppressed them, and a rival polity now stood forth to claim the affections, and to arrest the judgment of the godly. Henceforth the conflict was not for mere concessions, nor for the removal of offensive apparel from the services of the church; the very existence of the hierarchy was threatened, and a new aspirant to dominion over conscience appeared, when presbytery

⁷ An Admonition to Parliament, 12mo. It has neither name, place, nor date

stood forth in array before the entrenched hosts of established episcopacy.

Mr. Cartwright returned about this time from exile, and supported the first by a Second Admonition. In this he lays down the new "platform" of church discipline, taking the Genevan presbyterial government for his model. He endeavours to strengthen his positions by an appeal to scripture, on which all church polity as well as doctrine depends. But to give his system stability, he enunciates the following important sentiment. "The civil magistrate, the nurse and foster-father of the church, shall do well to provide some sharp punishment for those that contemn this censure and discipline of the church, for no doubt it is in the degree of blasphemy, of a heathen, our Saviour says, that renounceth God and Christ."⁸ Near the close, in an appeal to the queen, he further urges the point. "We beseech her majesty to have the hearing of this matter of God's, and to take the defence of it upon her; and to fortify it by law, that it may be received by common order throughout her dominions. For though the orders be, and ought to be, drawn out of the book of God, yet it is her majesty, that by her princely authority, should see every of these things put in practice, and punish those that neglect them, making laws therefore; for the church may keep these orders, but never in peace, except the comfortable and blessed assistance of the states and governors link in to see them accepted in their countries and used."⁹ Such was the foundation laid by this great puritan divine, and we look in vain through his writings to find any higher views of human freedom in the church of God.

⁸ A Second Admonition, &c. p. 49.

⁹ Ibid. p. 60. "But," saith archbishop Sandys, "our skilful householder, our wise governor, *hath* planted

in this our vineyard neither thorns nor thistles, but the true vine—Christ. This vine *hath* been diligently watered with the dew of God's truth sincerely

This publication of Mr. Cartwright, was followed in a few weeks by Dr. Whitgift's Answer to the first Admonition; at the close of which he briefly refers to the second. In his introduction, Whitgift endeavours, at some length, to fix on the monitors the charge of Anabaptistry; in that they considered not, the authority due to the magistrate in ecclesiastical matters, nor the inapplicability of scripture rules to the varying circumstances of time and place.¹ Cartwright, in his reply, published in the following year, disclaimed this identity. He fully admitted the magistrate's authority, and acknowledged its lawfulness; but maintained that it was limited in its exercise by the scriptures. Truth might and ought to be established and held by the civil power; but not a hierarchy and a discipline having no foundation therein. Two other large volumes followed these, one on either side; but it were too long to enter upon the numerous subjects of discussion embraced by them. It will suffice, if we mark the agreement or difference of opinion of the disputants, on one or two of the main features of the strife.

The controversy turned upon two important points—church polity and church authority; or the sufficiency of scripture as a rule for ecclesiastical discipline, and the nature and extent of the magistrates' authority in or over the church. On the first topic they were at irreconcilable variance. Whitgift would grant scripture to be the only rule for doctrine, but for the rest, the church *hath* power to decree rites and ceremonies. On the general question, the arguments of Cartwright were conclusive and triumphant; but he had to

preached,—with his sacraments reverently administered, according to his will; it *hath* been under-propped with the continuance of authority, and defence of zealous Christian magistrates. . . . No flock better fed; no people

more instructed; no vineyard in the world more beautiful or goodly to behold."—Sermons, p. 59. Parker Society edition.

¹ An Answer to a certain Libel, &c. p. 1, 4to, 1572.

encounter great difficulties in establishing his synodal and consistorial discipline, as the order of the New Testament. With his opponent, the learned puritan was compelled to resort to patristical authority, for proofs of some of his positions; and not a little ingenuity does he display in order to evade the force of the intractable passages quoted against him. If the testimony of the fathers had sufficed to prove episcopacy to be the divine polity of the church, then did Whitgift gain the advantage; on scriptural grounds he was overthrown by the learned puritan. The episcopalian could, however, solace himself with the discomfiture which the presbytery, the holy discipline of his antagonist, met with at his hands.

On the second topic, the authority of the prince, Whitgift justified the appellation of head of the church, given to the reigning sovereign; and boldly asserted, not only that it was his duty to enforce obedience to the doctrines and commands of God's word, but to arrange, and even invent, new ceremonies in the church, for order and decency.² Cartwright admitted the duty of the magistrate to enforce doctrine, but rejected the title of head, as clashing with the only headship of Christ; and limited his authority to the imposition of that polity which was revealed in scripture. Christ, he said, was the only King and Head in his church, and had committed to pastors and teachers, the exercise of discipline according to his word; it was spiritual in its origin and object, and must be administered by spiritual men, lawfully called and ordained thereto. But it was incumbent on the magistrate to establish, within

² Thirty years later it was asserted, in a book dedicated to the Archbishop of Canterbury, "Our church hath this day power to have instituted the baptism of infants, although it had not been used in former ages. And consequently, that

it hath power, *a fortiori*, to set down orders and laws for the apparel of ministers," &c. !—The Regiment of the Church, as it is agreeable with Scriptures, &c. By Thomas Bell, London, 1606, 4to. p. 184.

his jurisdiction, this true and godly discipline, and to aid, with his civil power, the presbytery in enforcing it. Whitgift was not slow to perceive, that this was a return to the papal doctrine of the church's independence of the state: while at the same time it made the civil power subservient to it. "It bringeth in a new popedom and tyranny into the church," said he.

But Cartwright's views of the power of the magistrate did not stop here. He asserted, that the judicial laws of Moses, which were "merely politic and without all mixture of ceremonies, must remain;.....forasmuch as there is in those laws a constant and everlasting equity;" therefore, in making political laws, Christian magistrates ought to propound those laws unto themselves, and in the light of their equity, frame them.³ Hence he concluded that contemners of the word ought to be put to death; since, "he that despiseth the word of God, despiseth God himself." For, "if it be meet to maintain the life of man, by the punishment of death, how should the honour of God, which is more precious than all men's lives, be with smaller punishment established." And he goes on to assert, that the immoralities, perjuries, and murders, which abounded in the land, owed their prevalence to the "want of sharp and severe punishment, especially against idolaters, blasphemers, contemners of true religion, and of the service of God."⁴

The disputants were agreed upon two principles which were fundamental in the controversy; their differences arose in the application of them. Both believed, 1. That the church should be a national church, and not a mere congregation of believers; 2. That a divine obligation lay upon the

³ Second Replie, p. 97, edit. 1575.

⁴ Ibid. pp. 68, 117. Hallam remarks, after quoting a somewhat similar passage to the above, "It is difficult to believe that I am transcribing the words of a protestant writer; so much does

this passage call to mind those tones of infatuated arrogance which had been heard from the lips of Gregory VII., and of those who trod in his footsteps."—Const. Hist. i. 254. See also Short, p. 182.

magistrate to maintain, *vi et armis*, the true religion—that is, Christianity. They divided on the question, which of the two competing theories, episcopacy or presbytery, ought to be the favoured polity. The puritan would have the point determined by scripture only, the episcopalian by scripture and the fathers. It was a mere question of polity; in doctrinal sentiment they were agreed. The thirty-nine articles were to each party the law of belief, and were willingly subscribed by both. Whether, therefore, the prince became the head of the church, or merely the executor of its decrees, the result must be the same—oppression of conscience, and the persecution of the dissentient. And at this distance of time, looking at the state of the nation, sunk in ignorance and vice, and at the historical results of the one polity, and the probable effects of the other, apart from any scriptural authority that either might show, we are inclined to think, that the episcopal, under all the circumstances, was the preferable polity of the two. The sterner features of the presbyterian discipline, its provisions for a close and systematic inquiry into the social life of the community, and that inquisition brought to bear upon an ill-instructed and immoral people, would have led to more suffering, and wider-spread persecution, than that which befell the earnest, and generally pious, upholders of the “holy discipline.” Even while themselves enduring the many hardships entailed by a conscientious adherence to their views, they often urged most strenuously upon the ruling powers, the proscription, expatriation, and punishment of the catholics. “It was good policy,” said one, “to root out the sprigs of popery.” All history showed how necessary it was, “when thou hast subdued thy capital enemy, or banished him, to root out all his friends.”⁵ The example of Calvin and Servetus would doubtless have had its counterpart under a presbyterian rule.

⁵ An Humble Motion to the Lords of the Council, p. 54. ed. 1599.

The boldness and extent of the change advocated in the Admonitions, and in Cartwright's replies, awakened the fears and the anger of the queen and hierarchy. In the month of June (1573), a condemnatory proclamation was published. All who possessed copies of these books were ordered to bring them in for destruction. Before the close of the year, another manifesto was issued, denouncing these despisers of the order settled in the church, and of the common prayer; "wherein is nothing contained but the scripture of God, and that which is consonant unto it." The bishops were directed to enforce yet more strictly the Act for Uniformity. But although these writings were in wide circulation, thirty-four copies only, which lay in the hands of a bookseller, were brought in.⁶

It is unnecessary to trace the progress of events to the period of the queen's death. One uniform course of repression and punishment of the puritans was adopted. Many hundreds of pious and holy men were excluded from the ministry, deprived of their property, and often of life, through long and painful imprisonments. With growing severities the bitterness of both parties increased, and innumerable violent publications added fuel to the flame. The Marprelate tracts stood prominently forth, as incentives to greater rigour, and were doubtless injurious to the cause they were intended to serve. A new feature was introduced into the controversy, when, for the first time, it was asserted by Bancroft, in a sermon at St. Paul's cross, in 1589, that episcopacy was a divine ordinance; that the bishops had a supremacy over the clergy by divine right, "and were empowered, by virtue of their commission from heaven, to superintend and regulate their proceedings."⁷ This new element of strife was vigorously assailed; but no refutation

⁶ Doc. Annals, i. 348. Neal, i. 195.

⁷ Price, i. 376.

of such extravagant claims, removed, in the least, the oppressive burdens under which the consciences of the puritans groaned. The reign of Elizabeth closed, without any advance in the reformation so earnestly desired, so boldly attempted, and so courageously maintained.

SECTION III.

THE BROWNISTS.

MORE correct views of the nature of the church of Christ, were slowly winning their way through the contentions of the two great parties dividing the nation, and struggling for mastery. It is not known whence Robert Browne acquired those opinions, which, about the year 1580, he began to propagate in the counties of Norfolk and Suffolk. He had, some years before, made himself obnoxious by his bold invectives against the established order, and, with several other puritans, was cited, in 1571, before archbishop Whitgift. His high connexions for a time protected him. But he now began to preach and disseminate opinions, which were alike destructive of episcopacy and presbytery, and of a national church under either form.

He said, that "The church planted and gathered, is a company, or number, of Christians and believers, which by a willing covenant made with their God, are under the government of God and Christ, and keep his laws in one holy communion. . . . The kingdom of Christ is his office of government, whereby he useth the obedience of his people to keep his laws and commandments, to their salvation and welfare. . . . The kingdom of antichrist is his government confirmed

by the civil magistrate, whereby he abuseth the obedience of the people to keep his evil laws and customs, to their own damnation. . . . Civil magistrates, are persons authorized of God, and received by the consent or choice of the people, whether officers or subjects, or by birth and succession also, to make and execute laws by public agreement; to rule the commonwealth in all outward justice; and to maintain the right, welfare, and honour thereof, with outward power, bodily punishments, and civil forcing of men.”⁸

Thus Browne would have the church composed of true Christians only, excluding therefrom all human law. He inveighed strongly against the puritans for their pusillanimity and sin, in awaiting a reformation by the magistrate. It was a duty that they owed to God, to separate from the antichristian community to which they clung, and to set up at once the building and kingdom of the Lord. Such sentiments soon brought upon him prelatial wrath, and he was compelled to fly. At Middelburg, in Zealand, he, with many of his adherents, found a refuge. Differences of opinion soon arose among them, and the greater part united with the baptists, who, under the protection of the Prince of Orange, there formed a flourishing community.⁹

While at Middelburg, Browne printed a work of some importance, and which was very widely circulated in his native land. Some extracts have been already given. Other portions of it were especially directed against the wickedness of certain preachers, who would not amend, “until the magistrate reform and compel them.” He thus remarks on the magistrate’s authority: “For the magistrate, how far by their authority, or without it, the church must be builded

⁸ Hanbury’s Hist. Memorials of Independents, i. 18, 21.

⁹ Hoornbeek, J. Summa Controvers. p. 739. ed. 1676. Brandt, Hist. of Ref. i. 343, 443.

and reformation made, and whether any open wickedness must be tolerated in the church because of them, let this be our answer—for chiefly on this point they have wrought us great trouble, and dismayed many weaklings from embracing the truth;—we say, therefore, and often have taught, concerning our sovereign, queen Elizabeth, that neither the pope, nor other popeling, is to have any authority over her, or over the church of God, and that the church of Rome is antichrist, whose kingdom ought utterly to be taken away. Again, we say, that her authority is civil, and that power she hath as highest under God within her dominions, and that over all persons and causes. By that, she may put to death all that deserve it by law, either of the church or commonwealth, and none may resist her, or the magistrate under her, by force or wicked speeches, when they execute the law.”

Not untruly does he represent the puritans, as depending more upon secular power, than upon the spiritual weapons of the word of God. “You will be delivered from the yoke of antichrist, by bow, and by sword, and by battle, by horse and horsemen, that is, by civil power and pomp of magistrates; by their proclamations and parliaments; and the kingdom of God must come with observation, that men may say, ‘Lo! the parliament;’ or, ‘lo! the bishop’s decrees;’ but the kingdom of God should be within you. . . . Ye set aloft man’s authority above God’s, and the preacher must hang on his sleeve for the discharge of his calling.” Browne regarded the church, and its edification, as of more importance than earthly kingdoms; and by these enlightened sentiments did much to overthrow the prevalent notions of magisterial duty, and to purify the church from political intrusion.

Yet Browne was not wholly free from error on this point. There were some cases, in which he considered secular interference to be both necessary and scriptural. Thus he speaks,

“Neither durst Moses, nor any of the good kings of Judah, force the people, by law or by power, to receive the church government; but after they received it, if then they fell away, and sought not the Lord, they might put them to death.” Again he says, “If the magistrate be of their flocks, why should they tarry for them? Unless they will have the sheep force the shepherd unto his duty. *Indeed the magistrate may force him, but it is his shame to tarry till he be forced.*” Yet elsewhere he asserts, that to compel to religion, to plant churches by power, and to force a submission to ecclesiastical government, by laws and penalties, belong not to the magistrate, neither yet to the church. “For it is the conscience, and not the power of man, that will drive us to seek the Lord’s kingdom.”¹

While, then, he claimed for the church a perfect independence of the civil power, he yet allowed the magistrate a coercive authority in cases of acknowledged duty. In this opinion his successors followed him, as will presently appear. It may be doubted, whether Browne was ever sincere in his separation from the church, since, on his return to his native country, he renounced what he had taught, conformed, and enjoyed for many years a living in Northamptonshire. His moral obliquities finally brought him to a gaol, where he died. Several of his followers, who were very active in dispersing his books, were imprisoned, and two of them were put to death.”²

Between the years 1580 and 1593, the Brownists multiplied greatly; so much so, that Sir Walter Raleigh stated in

¹ The treatise is not paged. Its full title is, “A Booke which sheweth the life and manners of all true Christians, and howe unlike they are to Turkes, and Papistes, and Heathen folke, &c. Also there goeth a treatise before of Reformation without tarrying for anie,

and of the wickednesse of those Preachers which will not reforme themselves, and their charge, because they will tarry till the Magistrate commaunde and compell them. By me Robert Browne. Middleburgh. 1582.”

² Neal i. 248.

the House of Commons, perhaps somewhat at random, that there were not less than twenty thousand of them. They were divided into several congregations in Norfolk, Essex, and London. Mr. Henry Barrow and Mr. John Greenwood, were at this time two of their most eminent ministers. In 1586, they were summoned before archbishop Whitgift. For a time released on bond, they continued their zealous labours, and were again committed to the Fleet in 1588. After suffering much injustice and cruelty, during five years confinement in gaol, they were executed at Tyburn, in the year 1593. About six weeks after, Mr. John Penry, for the same crime, forfeited his life upon the scaffold.³ The fidelity and loyalty to the queen of these sufferers for conscience' cause are beyond all question; their ignominious deaths were a sacrifice to the unholy zeal of prelates, whom worldly policy and power had blinded to the true nature of the kingdom of Christ. The bishops cemented the stones of their building with the blood of better men.

† Their fellow-sufferers were for a long time vexed, and grievously afflicted, by every species of persecution. After enduring long imprisonments, with great fortitude, they were banished to other lands, and under the pastoral care of Mr. Francis Johnson and Mr. Henry Ainsworth, a church of these exiles was formed, and continued to exist for many years, at Amsterdam, in Holland. They were far in advance of their contemporaries, and were called to endure obloquy, hatred, and death—the common lot of those benefactors of the human race, who have been the first to utter truths of eternal value. It would seem, as if by some immutable law in the moral government of the universe, such men must not only lay the basis of a new era of human progress,

³ Neal, i. 347. Hanbury, i. 34.

but expiate with their blood the crimes and misdeeds of the evil principles they destroy.

The Brownists, or Barrowists, as they were likewise called, regarded the church of England in the same light as the puritans, from whom they sprung. Separation was the legitimate conclusion of their teaching: but from it they timidly shrunk. Both puritan and Brownist held, that the church of England had been constituted, for the most part, of papists, who had revolted from their profession in king Edward's days, and after another change, shed much blood of many Christian martyrs in queen Mary's. "This people, yet standing in this fearful sinful estate, in idolatry, blindness, superstition, and all manner of wickedness, without any professed repentance, were, by force and authority of law only, compelled and together received into the bosom and body of the church." None were excluded, were they never so profane; atheists, adulterers, thieves, &c., were of one fellowship, one body, one church. The same popish prelacy and clergy were set over them, persecuting "to death all that dare but once mutter against their unlawful proceedings." Parsons, priests, vicars, curates, were sworn to canonical obedience, to read the service book and bishops' decrees. In a word, the whole clergy were in servitude to the lordly prelates. Now the statute-book of the kingdom of God commanded none, and condemned much, of these things. But the puritan ministers, the Brownists went on to say, were weary with the troubles that came upon them. They gave place to prelatie tyranny, and were content to conform. "Keeping now silence, yea, going back, bearing and bolstering the things which heretofore by word and writing they stood against, so long as there was any hope that the queen and council would have hearkened unto them, and put these adversary prelates out of the church." But it was incumbent upon the true child of God to separate from a church set up after the pattern

and mould of the apostasy of Rome, and his duty, without longer delay, to walk in all the ordinances and commandments of the Lord.⁴

As true Christian men, the Brownists therefore separated from communion with the church of England, pushing yet further their views of the church of Christ. Their ideas of the spiritual and eclectic character of the kingdom of God, placed them in opposition to both episcopalians and puritans. "The true planted and rightly established church of Christ, is a company of faithful people, separated from the unbelievers and heathens of the land: gathered in the name of Christ, whom they truly worship, and readily obey;—joined together as members of one body; ordered and governed by such officers and laws, as Christ in his last will and testament, hath thereunto ordained." On the contrary, the parish assemblies transgressed this rule in every point, and were governed by the laws and ordinances of such officers as the pope left, "standing in bondage to the Romish courts and canons, having no power to execute the Lord's judgments, or to redress the least sin or transgression amongst themselves."⁵ Of this separated community, Barrow further writes, "There may be none admitted into the church of Christ, but such as enter by a public profession of true faith; none remain there, but such as bring forth the fruits of faith."⁶ It was one amongst the many forged excuses of the prelates, "that where a Christian prince is, which maintaineth the gospel, and the whole land, not resisting this commandment, reverenceth the word and sacraments, there the whole multitude of such a land, or state, are without doubt to be esteemed

⁴ Preface to Confession of Faith printed in 1596. H. Ainsworth's Defence of Brownists, pp. 8—12. edition 1604.

⁵ Conferences of Barrowe and Greenwood, p. 67. edit. 1590.

⁶ A Brief Discovery of the False Church, p. 8. edit. 1590.

and judged a true church.”⁷ This, in Barrowe’s estimation, was a sacrilegious profanation of the things of God—a poisoning of all Christian communion and fellowship.

Did the Brownists then deny the power of the magistrate? Were they one in opinion with the anabaptists? Nay. “The prince,” says Barrowe, “is to govern, oversee, and provide the commonwealth, administering and dispensing, gathering and dispersing, the creatures and the wealth thereof, as a father and a steward: yet still with this *interim*, as the steward and servant of God, according to their Master’s will, as they that shall account.” “Life and goods were at his command, only in divine things must he not command nor be obeyed; even the command to fast in Lent was unjust, contrary to the bountiful liberality of God, and to his honour and praise. It were, moreover, contrary to the liberty and freedom God hath given us in Christ. . . . Policy must take, and not give, laws to religion.”⁸

The advance was great on the politico-religious theories which had gone before. One principle, far-reaching in its results, and lying at the foundation of every question concerning the relations of the church to the state, was clearly enunciated and maintained—that the church, the true community of believers, is solely dependent on the laws of the one Lawgiver, Christ Jesus. Complete in itself, the church is able to execute all the functions for which it is formed. But here the Brownists stopped. These despised but honoured men, were not able to advance the final step, and demand that perfect freedom of conscience, which is the corollary to the proposition they demonstrated. Thus Mr. Greenwood, in the conference with Cooper, says, “The magistrate ought to compel the infidels to hear the doctrine of the church, and also with the

⁷ Ibid. p. 13.

⁸ Barrowe’s Brief Discovery, &c. pp. 91, 92.

approbation of the church, to send forth meet men, with gifts and graces, to instruct the infidels.”⁹ Mr. Barrowe gives the magistrate a yet greater power: “The prince hath the book of God committed unto him, with charge to see it duly executed, by every one in his calling. . . . That the prince also is charged, and of duty ought, to see the ministers of the church do their duty, and teach the law of God diligently and sincerely, we read, Deut. xvii. 1 Chron. xxviii. 2 Chron. xxix. and xxx. and xxxv. This did Jehoshaphat, and no other thing.”¹ But he marks the limit of the prince’s power, and the distinction between his sentiments and those of his opponents, in the following manner: “It will not suffice to confess, that God hath made the civil magistrate the keeper of the book of the law, to see both the tables thereof observed by all persons, both in the church and commonwealth; and so hath power over both church and commonwealth: but they must have this indefinite proposition granted them, ‘That a prince hath power to make laws for the church.’ . . . A godly prince is bound to God’s law; made the keeper thereof, not the controller; the servant, not the Lord. God hath in that book made most perfect and necessary laws, both for church and commonwealth; he requireth of the king and magistrate to see these laws executed, and not to make new.” By new laws is to be understood “traditions, ordinances, customs, &c., which are not prescribed in Christ’s testament.”²

The following passage, penned by Mr. Francis Johnson, will show how the Brownists attempted to reconcile these views with the contradictory sentiment, that God only can persuade the conscience:—“We condemn not,” he says, “reformation commanded and compelled by the magistrate, but do unfeignedly desire that God would put into the heart

⁹ Conferences, p. 59.

² Ibid. pp. 218, 219.

¹ Brief Discovery, &c. pp. 253, 257.

of her majesty, and all other princes within their dominions, to command and compel a reformation, according to the word of the Lord; as it is expressly noted that Hezekiah, and other good kings of Judah did. . . . Where, note withal, that it is the work of God only, to add to his church such as he will save. And, therefore, that it is not in the power of princes, or any man whatsoever, to persuade the conscience, and make members of the church, but this must be left to God alone, who only can do it. Acts ii. 47. Princes may and ought, within their dominions, to abolish all false worship, and all false ministries whatsoever; and to establish the true worship and ministry appointed by God in his word; commanding and compelling their subjects to come unto, and practice no other but this. Yet must they leave it unto God to persuade the conscience, and to add to his church from time to time such as shall be saved.”³

It is obvious, that this is persecution, under the garb of honouring and doing service to God; and that while the Brownists held truly, that the church ought to be free from secular legislation, and that the conscience was God’s seat, they most inconsistently delivered to the magistrate a rule of action, which must interfere with the one, and trample upon the convictions of the other.

³ An Answer to Maister H. Jacob, &c. pp. 198, 199. ed. 1600.

SECTION IV.

THE BAPTISTS.

IT has been already seen, that the claim, for the church and for the conscience, of freedom from all human control, was a distinguishing and characteristic trait of the baptists in former reigns. The divine saying, "FAITH IS THE GIFT OF GOD," moved, animated, strengthened them. Its practical assertion brought them into collision with every form of human invention in the worship of God. Faith, God's gift, must not be subjected to man's device, nor enchained by the legislative enactments of parliaments or kings. To worship God aright, the highest function of humanity, the spirit must be free; true worship can come only from a willing heart. For this the baptists bore cheerfully, *cruel mockings, and scourgings; yea, moreover bonds and imprisonments,* and death. The reign of Elizabeth saw no change in their faith, no amelioration of their sorrows. No brighter day dawned for them: the "bright Occidental Star,"⁴ whose rising exiles and Marian death-expecting prisoners hailed, was to them a scorching, meteoric flame.

In the view of the great polemic of that age, Richard Hooker, it was "a loose and licentious opinion, which the anabaptists" had embraced. They held that "a Christian man's liberty is lost, and the soul which Christ hath redeemed unto himself, injuriously drawn into servitude under the yoke of human power, if any law be now imposed besides the gospel of Christ, in obedience whereunto the Spirit of God, and

⁴ Translators' Dedication of the Authorized Version of the Bible.

not the constraint of men, is to lead us; according to that of the blessed apostle, *Such as are led by the Spirit of God, they are the sons of God*, and not such as live in thralldom to men. Their judgment is, therefore, that the church of Christ should admit of no lawmakers but the evangelists, no courts but presbyteries, no punishments but ecclesiastical censures.”⁵ His witness is true. Grand as were the conceptions of the “judicious Hooker,” this idea of the Christian man’s liberty exceeded them. The “door was too low, or he too stout to enter;” for not unfrequently, in the divine purposes of the Father, has it come to pass, “that poor shepherds which are accustomed to stables, have been found meet to have Christ revealed unto them.” The *wise* and the *prudent* oftener find Herod’s hall a “more meet place,” than “Christ’s stable.”⁶ He has, nevertheless, echoed, in his own beautiful way, the language of some “poor shepherd,” who in his lowliness found and prized the truth, to whom the babe of Bethlehem was more attractive than the pomp and glitter of courts.

Early in the reign of Elizabeth, did the baptists utter their protest, against the abhorrent spirit of persecution displayed by the reformers. Their words are embalmed for us in the pages of a bitter foe. The ireful spirit of the Scotch reformer had been chafed by their opinions on predestination; so that in the year 1560, he poured forth upon them an oburgatory stream of indignant reproach. It was, “An Answer to a great number of blasphemous cavillations written by an Anabaptist, and Adversarie to God’s eternal Predestination; and confuted by John Knox.”⁷ With much fairness he has given, in separate paragraphs, the whole of the obnoxious production, appending

⁵ Hooker, *Eccles. Pol.* book viii. sect. 9. vol. iii. 328. Hanbury’s edit. Keble considers this to be a part of a Sermon on Civil Obedience.

⁶ So the baptist to John Knox, in a work to be presently cited.

⁷ The edition before us is the third, of 1591.

to each its confutation. The immediate subject of the controversy must be passed over, not without some wonder at the large vocabulary of invective employed by the vigorous reformer. The passages following attract our attention; and, because the rulers and polemics of that day, proscribed, demolished, and misrepresented most diligently, the writings and opinions of this abhorred sect, so as to leave but rare specimens of their productions, it must be allowed the baptist on this occasion to speak for himself, although at some length; it is a voice from the deep darkness of oblivion. He addresses such men as Calvin and Beza, and Knox, the chiefest in this land of Calvin's disciples:—

“Your chief Apollos be persecutors, on whom the blood of Servetus crieth a vengeance, so doth the blood of others more whom I could name. But forasmuch as God hath partly already revenged their blood, and served some of their persecutors with the same measure wherewith they measured to others, I will make no mention of them at this time. And to declare their wickedness not to have proceeded of ignorance and human infirmity, but of indured malice, they have for a perpetual memory of their cruelty, set forth books, affirming it to be lawful to persecute and put to death such as dissent from others in controversies of religion, whom they call blasphemers of God. Notwithstanding, afore they came to authority, they were of another judgment, and did both say and write, that no man ought to be persecuted for his conscience' sake; but now they are not only become persecutors, but also they have given, as far as lieth in them, the sword into the hand of bloody tyrants. Be *these*, I pray you, the sheep whom Christ sent forth in the midst of wolves? Can the sheep persecute the wolf? Doth Abel kill Cain? Doth David, though he might, kill Saul? Shortly, doth he which is born of the Spirit kill him which is born after the flesh?

“Mark, how ye be fallen into most abominable tyranny,

and yet ye see it not. Thus I am constrained of conscience to write. That if it shall please God to awake you out of your dream, that ye may perceive how one error hath drowned you in more error, and hath brought you to a sleeping security, that when ye walk, even after the lusts, thirsting after blood, and persecuting poor men for their conscience' sake, ye be blinded, and see not yourselves; but say, tush! we be predestinate, whatsoever we do we are certain we cannot fall out of God's favour. Awake, therefore, and look what danger ye be in, and how by your poisoned doctrine ye infect the people of God, and draw them to a secure, idle, and careless life."

And what saith Knox to this: "You dissembling hypocrites cannot abide that the sword of God's vengeance shall strike the murderer, the blasphemer, and such others as God commandeth by his word to die; not so, by your judgments; he must live, and may repent." The reformer then infers that Joan Boucher was meant, as one of those whose blood cried for vengeance; and truly, the reformers' consciences might well be stricken with fear, when that dark deed rose to their remembrance. Our Knox seems somewhat aghast as he appeals to "all that fear God," against the judgment of the baptist upon those most valiant soldiers, Cranmer, Latimer, Ridley, Rogers, Bradford, and others, most of whom took part in the condemnation of that Christian woman. Yet, "upon whom—that is Cranmer and his fellow-inquisitors—O blasphemous mouth, thou sayest, God hath taken vengeance, which is an horrible blasphemy in the ears of all the godly!"

But has the reformer no good strong arguments to withstand the claims of conscience? Cannot the volume of holy truth supply some inexpugnable reasons for withholding its liberty? With no such ineffectual weapons will he meet his man. Argument with a blasphemer? No. "I will not now so much labour to confute by my pen, as [because] that my

full purpose is to lay the same to thy charge, if I shall apprehend thee in any commonwealth where justice against blasphemers may be ministered, as God's word requireth. And hereof I give thee warning, lest that after thou shalt complain that under the cloak of friendship I have deceived thee. Thy manifest defection from God, and this thy open blasphemy . . . have so broken and dissolved all familiarity which hath been betwixt us, that although thou wert my natural brother, I durst not conceal thine iniquity in this case."⁸ Let the baptist and quondam friend of John Knox beware! He may find a Geneva in Scotland, or perhaps in England, if he wait awhile.

But the reformer after all feels constrained to attempt some sort of reply. He endeavours first to prejudice his opponent's cause, by insinuating that he sympathized in the anti-trinitarian views of Servetus, although Knox knew to the contrary, since they were agreed on the unlawfulness of baptizing children, on the preaching of the gospel, and the administration of the Lord's Supper. He then confesses that books had been written by both parties, "that lawful it is not, to the civil magistrate, to use the sword against heretics;" but which that godly learned man, Theodore Beza, had answered.⁹ He avers that Servetus and Joan of Kent were justly burnt, since God allowed the idolaters of the golden calf to be slain by the sons of Levi, at

⁸ An Answer, &c. pp. 189—204.

⁹ Beza wrote his Treatise, *De Hæreticis a Civili Magistratu puniendis*, in 1553, in defence of the execution of Servetus, and to establish the right of the civil power to punish heresy. In the year 1601, it was translated into Dutch, for the purpose of exciting the magistrates of Friesland to persecute the baptists. Its editors say, that per-

secution is the means of restoring the dominion over conscience to God, "seeing it is only an attempt to execute the divine commands by divine methods!" Brandt, *Hist. of Ref.* ii. 8. Referring to Servetus, Beza says, "Quum igitur in carcerem coniectus esset, ecce statim *quidam Satanæ emissarii* clamitare cœperunt iniquissimum esse."—*Tract. Theol. Theodori Bezæ*, vol. i. p. 83, ed. 1582.

Moses' command. If, however, the baptist should infer, which he doubtless did, that since Abel, Isaae, and David, slew not Cain, nor Ishmael, nor Saul, it is not lawful "for any of God's elect to kill any man for his conscience' sake;" then "I answer," says Knox, "that if under the name of conscience, ye include whatsoever seemeth good in your own eyes, then ye affirm a great absurdity," which very thing the baptist did *not* affirm. But, "you say, that external crimes have no affinity with matters of religion, for the conscience of every man is not alike persuaded in the service and honouring of God, neither yet in such controversies as God's word hath not plainly decided. But, I ask, if that be a just excuse why pernicious errors shall be obstinately defended, either yet that God's established religion shall be contemptuously despised?"¹

So then, under the plea of some possibility of pernicious error, conscience must be trampled under foot; and its utterances, should they be found, or imagined, to be dissenting from an established religion, assumed to be of God, treated as blasphemy, and as the vilest of crimes. Infinitely more pernicious have been the domination over conscience, and the repression of its liberty, enforced by men claiming the authority of the Highest for their deeds of blood, than the multitude of errors they have sought to destroy. This hateful tyranny, disguised in pretensions to sanctity and truth, hath shed the blood of myriads of earth's noblest men, and of heaven's most worthy inhabitants. One more manifestation of thy wolfish spirit, O Knox! thy fearful imprecations, upon these poor peeled and scattered sheep, and we leave thee. "Your privy assemblies, and all those that in despite of Christ's blessed ordinance do frequent the same, are accursed of God!"² The maledictions of

¹ An Answer, &c. pp. 209—11.

² Ibid.

persecutors are a rich inheritance to the persecuted followers of the Lamb.

The "privy assemblies" of the baptists, and the attendance at them, must have been somewhat numerous in the early years of Elizabeth's reign. "We found," says Jewel, writing to Martyr, "a large and inauspicious crop of Arians, anabaptists, and other pests, which I know not how, but as mushrooms spring up in the night and in darkness, so these sprung up in that darkness and unhappy night of the Marian times."³ The measures adopted to root out this pestiferous "crop," accorded with the nature of a national church. They were denounced from the pulpit, the press sent forth its black load of falsehood and calumny, but was closed to every reply, and public law laid its ban upon them. St. Paul's Cross, where Latimer and Ridley, Bourn and Bonner, had each in turn, during the rapidly shifting scenes of that period, proclaimed the ruler's and the nation's faith, protestant or papal as it might be, became a place of attack upon them. In the beginning of the reign, John Veron had been chosen public divinity lecturer at St. Paul's. On that renowned spot, this bold and popular preacher inveighed against the baptists, "who molest and trouble the godly quietness and peace of the church."⁴ Their detestable heresies, as well as those of papists, were his not unfrequent theme. Free-will and predestination were the favourite topics handled in these discourses, which he afterwards committed to the press, to stay the "swynyshe gruntinge—the vain and blasphemous objections that the Epicures and anabaptists of our time can make." But while maintaining

³ Zurich. Lett. i. 92.

⁴ An Apology and Defence of the doctrine of Predestination, by John Veron, fol. 40, printed about 1560. Veron was a native of Sens, in France, but came to England, where he taught successfully in many places the Latin

language. By Ridley he was collated to the living of St. Alphege in London, in 1552, and immediately on Elizabeth's accession, obtained a prebend in St. Paul's. To this was shortly added the readership of theology. Tanner, Bib. Scrip. p. 732, ed. 1748.

the scriptural truth, "that God hath from the beginning ordained and appointed some to be fellow-heirs with his Son Jesus Christ," he recoiled not from the fearful statement "that some again are appointed (from the beginning) to be everlastingly damned."⁵ Strange inconsistency, that men holding such opinions should endeavour to coerce the consciences of others. Is it by fiery trials, or by lingering imprisonments, that the elect of God are to be brought to faith? Will the sight of the stake, the clanking of chains, or the severities of unrequited labour, change the immutable decrees of heaven? Did they doubt the execution of the doom, pronounced from eternity, which they said was the portion of these "accursed" heretics, that they hastened its approach by putting them to death? Why not bide the time of the full developement of the unchanging purposes of God, rather than strive, by such unhallowed means, to accomplish what, for aught they knew, was predetermined should not be done, and by their cruelty rendered impossible, the conversion of these erring souls? Were they the executioners of eternal doom, as well as the heralds of grace?

The archbishops and bishops dealt with the consciences of men, as if they thought them convertible by other means than God's word, when, in 1559, they directed, "that incorrigible Arians, Pelagians, or free-will men, be sent into some one castle in North Wales, or Wallingford, and there to live of their own labour and exercise, and none other be suffered to resort unto them but their keepers, until they be found to repent their errors."⁶ This was not intended to be an unmeaning threat. Parkhurst, the bishop of Norwich, who had most reluctantly yielded to the imposition of the habits, was warmly upbraided with remissness and want of activity in

⁵ A Fruteful Treatise of Predestination. Dedicated to queen Elizabeth.

Imprinted by John Tisdale, no date.
⁶ Doc. Annals, i. 205.

removing the baptists from his diocese, although he laboured by preaching to destroy the impression their doctrines had made.⁷ Many foreigners, especially Dutch, had taken refuge in that part of the country, from the fanatical and bloody decrees of Philip of Spain. Not a few of them were baptists, who with some success propagated their opinions among the native population. Under the "halcyon" reign of Elizabeth, they expected to find in England a peaceful shelter, from the frightful storm of persecution, that elsewhere beat upon them. There was none. "The queen, by a proclamation, ordered these heretics, both aliens and natural-born English, to depart the kingdom within one-and-twenty days."⁸ Imprisonment and forfeiture of all their property, were the penalties of a longer sojourn. Many, however, evaded the command, screening themselves in various ways from the severities inflicted by the royal injunctions. The good bishop Jewel hoped, indeed, that it was the fact that they had retreated before "the light of purer doctrine," for, he says, they were "nowhere to be found; or at least, if any where, they are now no longer troublesome to our churches."⁹ But it was not the "light of purer doctrine," that had driven them into the gloom of the forest glade to worship their God, "like owls at the sight of the sun;" it was regal usurped might, and episcopal tyranny.

Success still lingered behind the efforts of the queen and her obsequious bishops, when, in 1567, articles of inquiry were issued to the metropolitan, having especial respect to the state of the diocese of Norwich, where Parkhurst, its bishop, still "winked at schismatics and anabaptists." In addition to the usual inquiries to be made concerning the mode of performing divine service, the state of the grammar schools, and

⁷ Strype's Parker, I. i. 214.

⁸ Collier, vi. 332.

⁹ To Martyr, Nov. 6. 1660. Zur. Lett. i. 92.

the due performance of their respective ministries, by the various functionaries of the church, particular inquisition was ordered, as to whether any taught or said, that children being infants ought not to be baptized, that post-baptismal sins were not remissible by penance, that it was not lawful to swear, that civil magistrates may not punish certain crimes with death, or that it was lawful for any man, without the appointment and calling of the magistrate, to take upon him any ministry in Christ's church.¹ These, in the royal estimation, were most dangerous opinions, demanding every exertion to repress them.

For the third time, a special visitation was ordered in the following year, in every parish throughout the realm, wherever there was any confluence of strangers, to discover the teachers of such evil doctrines. Great numbers of Dutch people, under which designation were included both Germans and Flemings, were daily repairing to this country for a refuge from the sanguinary cruelties of the duke of Alva. Among them, it was feared were some infested with poisonous errors, "contrary to the faith of Christ's church, as anabaptists, and such other sectaries." Their mode of life, the length of their residence in the realm, the cause of their resort hither, and to what churches they went for worship, were to be carefully noted and registered. The suspected, and the unconvertible to the established order, were to be speedily brought to trial, and if not reconciled by "charitable teaching," to depart in twenty days on pain of severe punishment. "This provision," says Collier, "was no more than necessary; for the Dutch anabaptists held private conventicles in London, and perverted a great many."²

It is most probable, that a congregation discovered in the isle of Ely, in the year 1573, consisted of some of these

¹ Doc. Annals, i. 306.

² Collier, vi. 462. Doc. Annals, i. 309.

converts. They refused oaths, condemned capital punishments, exercised a Christian liberty in the preaching and exposition of scripture, and some were *supposed* to maintain an inequality of persons in the godhead; this latter is very doubtful. Their meetings were private; closed to all but such as agreed with them in sentiment.³ It gives us but little concern that many charges of immorality are made against them. It has ever been the custom of the enemies of true godliness thus to vilify its professors. Were these charges admissible, we should be compelled to believe that an earnest heed to the word of God, which it was made a crime in these people to have shown, was productive of results the opposite to those which experience daily justifies. Light and darkness cannot long intermingle in the human heart, without one or the other gaining the mastery. *The fear of the Lord is clean; sin must flee before the pure, eye-enlightening commandments of God.*

The very partial success of these repressive measures, seems to have led to that dark catastrophe, to which in the progress of events we are now brought; the burning alive of two Flemish baptists in Smithfield, an oblation of blood to the demon of protestant intolerance. Lingering imprisonments, fines, and banishment, had not been found effectual; the fires of Smithfield might perhaps scare the pertinacious errorist, and by their burning radiance neutralize the glimmerings of the true light, which here and there feebly shone. The zeal of puritans, too, might be allayed, by this evidence of the inexorable purpose of the queen, to permit no dissentients from the national creed within her dominions.

It was on Easter-day, April 3, 1575, that a congregation of Flemish baptists, numbering some thirty persons, men and women, assembled in a private house in the suburbs of Lon-

³ Strype's Parker, II. 287.

don, just without Aldgate Bars.⁴ The slaughterings and devastations of the Duke of Alva, in the Low Countries, had caused severe distress, and loss of trade. Urged by the desire of obtaining a livelihood for their wives and children, and liberty to worship God in the simplicity of faith and love, these exiles had left Flanders for England. Outcasts and strangers, they sought a heavenly citizenship, and in their sojourn met to comfort each other, and to unite their prayers at the throne of grace. Their meeting was espied by the neighbours, although conducted with secrecy. While commending each other to God, their devotions were suddenly interrupted by the entrance of a constable, who, addressing them as devils, demanded which was their teacher. Seven-and-twenty names were put down at his command, and taking their promise to remain, he proceeded with a few to the magistrate. He shortly returned, and with opprobrious and cruel words drove the rest before him to the gaol. Two escaped on the way; the rest were "led as sheep to the slaughter." On the third day they were released, heavy bail being taken for their appearance, whenever and wherever it should please the authorities to determine.⁵

Information of the capture was conveyed to the queen's council; and at the suggestion, apparently, of archbishop

⁴ Holinshed's Chron. iv. 326, ed. 1808.

⁵ Where not otherwise stated, the narrative in the text is derived from three relations preserved in the Dutch Martyrology. The first is that of the martyrologist. The second is by Gerrit van Byler, one of the prisoners. The third by one James de Somer, a member of the Dutch church in London, contained in a letter to his mother, residing at Ghent, in Flanders; he writes as an eyewitness of the facts he relates. The title of the work is, *The Bloody Theatre, or Mirror of Baptist*

Martyrs. By Thielem J. van Bragt. Amsterdam, two volumes, folio, 1685. The first volume is a history of the church from the first to the fifteenth centuries. The second, and by far the largest of the two, is devoted to the martyrdoms of baptists during the sixteenth century. The account now laid before the reader may be regarded as a fair example of the many deeply interesting narratives it contains. Both volumes are adorned by a large number of beautifully executed and spirited etchings.

Parker, a commission was issued on the 27th of April, to Sandys, the bishop of London, assisted by several civilians and judges, "to confer with the accused, and to proceed judicially, if the case so required."⁶ But a few days elapsed before the summonses to appear were issued, and these poor people stood criminally arraigned, for worshipping God according to their convictions. The court assembled in the consistory of St. Paul's; for it was a case of heresy. Besides the commissioners, certain members of the Dutch congregation were present as interpreters, a French preacher, and two aldermen. The prisoners first laid before the court a confession of their faith. The bishop was not satisfied. He produced four articles, requiring their subscription; if obstinate in their refusal, they should be burnt alive. Such were the instructions he had received.

"They proposed to us four questions," says one of the prisoners," telling us to say yea, or nay:—

"1. Whether Christ had not taken his flesh and blood of the Virgin Mary?

"We answered: He is the Son of the living God.

"2. Ought not little children to be baptized?

"We answered: Not so; we find it not written in holy scripture.

"3. May a Christian serve the office of a magistrate?⁷

"We answered, That it did not oblige our consciences; but, as we read, we esteemed it an ordinance of God.

"4. Whether a Christian, if needs be, may not swear?

"We answered, That it also obliged not our consciences; for Christ has said, in Matthew, *Let your words be yea, yea; nay, nay.* Then we were silent.

"But the bishop said, that our misdeeds therein were so

⁶ Soames, Eliz. Hist. p. 213. Macintosh Eliz. ch. xviii. p. 375.

⁷ Our author understands the office of a *criminal* magistrate to be meant here.

great, that we could not enjoy the favour of God. O Lord! avenge it not. He then said to us all, that we should be imprisoned in the Marshalsea."

Many threats were uttered during the examination; they were vexed with subtle questions, and urged to recant on peril of a cruel death. That they might expect no favour, the bishop sternly informed them of the firm determination of the queen and her council, to compel all strangers to sign a renunciation of these articles. The conforming might remain in the land, and be free from taxes; but the uncompliant should die a frightful death. The prisoners were unmoved, and were conveyed to the Marshalsea for the testimony of Christ. One young brother, the first questioned, was sent into solitary confinement at Westminster, for his bold attestation to the truth.

And now severe trials and temptations beset them. Private friendships, the arguments of learned men, and the dark background of a fearful death, combined to shake their constancy. "Master Joris came to us and said, If we would join the church, that is, the Dutch church, our chains should be struck off, and our bonds loosed. The bishop, he said, had given him command so to do. But we remained stedfast to the truth of Jesus Christ. He is indeed our Captain, and no other; yea, in Him is all our trust. My dear brethren, and sweet sisters, let us bravely persevere until we conquer. The Lord will then give us to drink of the new wine. O Lord strengthen our faith. As we have received the Lord Jesus Christ, let us go forward courageously, trusting in Him."

Five, however, yielded to the solicitations of the Netherland preachers, quailing at the fearful prospect set before them. They consented to forego their convictions, and subscribe the articles. Notwithstanding the bishop's promise, that subscription should release them from all pains and penalties, they were brought to St. Paul's Cross on the 25th of May, to make a

public recantation. Taken in their toils, these recovered sheep were not gently lifted on the shepherds' shoulders, and brought home with joyful shouts, as Christ teaches us the *good* pastor will do; but before many thousands of people, in the church-yard of St. Paul's, they were set for a gazing-stock, a fagot bound on each one's shoulder, as a sign that they were worthy of the fire. At the close of the bishop's sermon, their prescribed recantation was read. They declared themselves to have been seduced by the spirit of error, and that their renounced opinions were damnable and detestable heresies; but that the whole doctrine and religion established in England, as also that received and practised by the Dutch congregation in London, was sound, true, and according to the word of God. It was afterwards repeated in the Dutch church, to which they promised to unite; and bail taken for the performance of the vow.⁸

Two several times were the rest taken before their inquisitors, and for three weeks endured rigorous imprisonment, the sore chafing of iron fetters, with mingled entreaties and threats, to induce them to a renunciation of their faith. On the 11th May, a further commission was issued, to proceed to their condemnation. On Whitsun-eve, the 21st, ten women and one man were formally condemned to the fire, one female shrank from the trial.⁹ A few days after the public penance at St. Paul's, the remainder were again brought up to the bishop's court, the place of Bonner's savage cruelties in queen Mary's time. Day was just dawning when, bound two and two, they entered the place of doom. "We remembered the word of the Lord," says Gerrit van Byler, "*When*

⁸ Holinshed, iv. 326, 327.

⁹ There is much difficulty in reconciling the accounts of the English chroniclers, especially as to the numbers tried and punished. It is very likely

that some others had been discovered, and that they were brought before the same commissioners, whose powers were enlarged for the purpose.

they shall lead you before lords and princes, fear not what you shall say, for in that hour it shall be given you. So we trusted in the Lord. The questions were again proposed, and subscription demanded; but we said, That we would cleave to the word of the Lord.”

In the plenitude of royal authority—dare any one call it apostolical?—delegated to him, the bishop sentenced them to excision from the church of Christ, and to death; and formally delivered them to the secular arm for punishment.

Fourteen women and a youth, bound together, were led away to Newgate; the remaining five were kept in the bishop’s custody. And now for five or six days they suffered great anxiety and temptation. Oft threatened with a cruel and fiery death, they feared, from day to day, the hour of their offering up was at hand. They were severely treated, and compelled to hear the blasphemies of the vilest criminals. Ten days thus passed, when on the eve of the first of June, about ten o’clock, the gaoler, with his officers, entered their place of confinement, noted down their goods, and bid them prepare to die on the morrow. Seeing that their courage, and faith in God, remained unshaken, he then announced to them, that the queen, in her clemency, had commanded a milder penalty—banishment.¹

In the morning, surrounded by halberdiers, they were led by the sheriffs to the water-side, and put on board a ship at St. Catherine’s. The youth followed, tied to a cart’s tail, and was whipped to the place of embarkation.² Thus the

¹ In a sermon preached at the Spittle in London, probably about this time, Sandys remarked:—“Such as are of no religion, of no church, godless and faithless people, some papists, some anabaptists;—these are to be expelled and cast out of the country, lest for their

wickedness God plague the whole realm.” Sermons, p. 266.

² Some hints it appears were given to the captain of the vessel, that if the banished ones did not reach the land of their fathers in safety, he need not fear any inquiry. He was, however, proof against the base instigation.

ties of nature were severed: some of the poor exiles had to mourn in anguish over husbands and fathers, left in the hands of their persecutors, for whom yet more cruel severities were reserved.

The next day, June 2nd, the five men,³ who remained of this company, were again led bound into the consistory. The terrors of the stake were vividly set before them; their only escape, subscription to the articles. They were urged, they were threatened; it was unavailing. "It is a small matter thus to die," said Jan Peters, with a courageous mind. The bishop sharply inquired, "What does he say?" Peters replied. The bishop listened with some moderation, and then stoutly said, "We must shave such heretics, and cut them off as an evil thing from the church."⁴ Said Hendrik Terwoort, "How canst thou cut us off from your church, since we are not of it." The bishop, "It was all the same; there were none in England who were not members of the church of God." And now were these friends of Christ unjustly condemned, and led away to Newgate to await the day of death.

Here they were strongly secured, heavily ironed, and thrown into a deep and noisome den, swarming with foul and disgusting vermin. "Then we thought ourselves," says Byler, "within one or two days of the end, after which we earnestly longed, for the prison was grievous; but it was not yet the Lord's will. After eight days, one of our brethren was released by death, trusting in God; his dying testimony

³ It is manifest that Strype is mistaken in supposing that these were the five who had previously recanted. Strype's Annals, II. i. 564.

⁴ A few years later, when archbishop of York, Sandys, in a *pastoral* letter, said:—"Those who are stubborn and inveterate foes are to be bruised

with a rod of iron, at least to be restrained that their leprosy infect not the sound; nets must be spread by which the papal stragglers, the firebrands of seditions, and pests of the church, may be snared and fall." The bishop was at least impartial in his zeal for the church's purity. Sandys' Sermons, p. 441.

filled us with joy." Even the society of thieves and malefactors was deemed too pure for them, both the bishop and a preacher saying, that care must be taken, lest the criminals should be corrupted by the association. Great indeed must have been the horror their opinions had inspired, when an English preacher, occasionally visiting their dungeon, would lay his hands upon them, and falling upon his knees, cry aloud, "Sirs, be ye converted;" and then, exorcising the devil within them, exclaim, "Hence, depart, thou evil fiend!"

But exertions of another kind were not wanting on their behalf. Strenuous efforts were made to bring their case before the queen. An earnest supplication, and a confession of their faith on the four articles, were prepared; but the attempt to present them to her was met with a stern and passionate rebuke to the ladies of her court, who ventured to intrude on the royal prerogative. Reports of the most unjust kind were rumoured about; that they disowned God and Christ, and rejected all government and authority of magistrates.⁵ Her majesty was not free from these impressions, and they were sedulously fostered in her mind, by parties thirsting for innocent blood. The bishop was next applied to. A nobleman, Lord de Bodley, undertook to plead their cause, and, if possible, move his compassion. A simple confession of their faith was laid before him. But bishop Sandys refused to interfere. He even demanded their assent to the doctrine, that a Christian magistrate may rightly punish the obstinate heretic with the sword!⁶

⁵ "Barbarous and wicked is the opinion of the anabaptists, which condemn all superiority, authority, and government in the church. For what is this else, but utterly to expel, both out of church and commonwealth, all godliness, all peace, all honesty?" Sandys' Sermons, p. 35. Preached at York.

⁶ This was no hasty opinion of the bishop; for thus he instructs the parliament at an early period of the reign:—"Such as teach, but teach not the good and right way; such as are open and public maintainers of errors and heresy; such in the judgment of God, are thought unworthy to

A month's reprieve was, however, granted them, at the earnest suit of the venerable martyrologist, John Fox. His pious admiration of the Marian martyrs was shocked at the thought, that the scene of their triumphs would be defiled with the blood of these fanatic and miserable wretches. To roast alive was more accordant to papal practices, he said, than to the custom of the gospellers. He therefore urged upon her majesty, the adoption of some other mode of punishment. Might not close imprisonment, or bonds, or perpetual banishment, or burning of the hand, or scourging, or even slavery, suffice? Any or all of these would be preferable to death by fire. But not one word does her "Father Fox" breathe of tenderness for the rights of conscience. He also addressed the victims. He laboured to persuade them to acknowledge their error, and bow to the voice of scripture; to cease "to cultivate certain fanatic conceptions, nay, rather deceptions," of their own minds; "for it is sufficiently apparent, that for long you have disturbed the church by your great scandal and offence." To the lord chief justice Monson, one of their judges, he sent a copy of his letters to the queen and council, further reprobating the punishment of death, and advocating a milder punishment.⁷ The sufferers highly estimated his kindly interference; but while they thanked him for his condescension, they endeavoured to change his unfavourable opinion.⁸

live. . . . I have no cruel heart : blood be far from me : I mind nothing less. Yet needs must it be granted that the maintainers and teachers of errors and heresy, are to be repressed in every Christian commonwealth!" Sandys' Sermons, p. 40.

⁷ Prebendary Townsend's *Life of Fox*, in vol. i. of the 8vo. edit. of *Acts and Mon.* p. 198.

⁸ Fox's letter to the queen has been several times printed; as by Fuller in

his *Church History*, ii. 507. Crosby has given a translation of it. *Hist. of Eng. Baptists*, i. 80. Fox's letters to the lord chief justice and to the council, still exist among the Harleian MSS. in the British Museum, and have never yet, we believe, been printed. The excellent and interesting answer of the prisoners to Fox, we have placed in the *Addenda*, Note A. Also their supplication to the queen, and confession of faith.

The month expired, without any alteration in the resolution of these servants of God, or in their fidelity to the truths they had received. Early in the month of July, it was intimated to two of them, that they must die. Incarcerated in separate cells, they were not permitted to enjoy each other's society, and words of love. On the 15th, the queen signed, at Gorham-bury, the warrant and writ for the execution to proceed.⁹ Jan Peters and Hendrik Terwoort were the two selected.

Jan Peters¹ was an aged man, and poor, with nine children. His first wife, some years before, had been burnt for her religion, at Ghent, in Flanders; and his then wife had lost her first husband by martyrdom for the truth. They had fled to England, hoping there to worship without danger. His circumstances were laid before the bishop, and he had earnestly entreated permission to leave the country with his wife and children; but the bishop was inexorable.

Hendrik Terwoort was a man of good estate, five or six-and-twenty years of age, and a goldsmith by trade. He had been married about eight or ten weeks before his imprisonment. But neither domestic affection, nor the solicitations of his friends, nor the dread of death, weakened his resolution.

On Sunday, the 17th, tidings were brought them, that within three days they would be burnt, unless they desired delay. To this Terwoort replied, "Since this your design must come to pass, so we wish you to speed the more quickly with the matter, for we would indeed rather die than live, to be released from this frightful den." He, however, asked till

⁹ Doc. Annals, i. 360. Prebendary Townsend says, "I have examined the writ by virtue of which they were burnt: and am sorry to say that it is worded as the old writs for burning the episcopal and other protestants in the reign of Mary." Life of Fox, p. 199, vol. i. 8vo. edit. of Acts and Mon.

¹ By the chronicler, Stow, he is called John Wielmacker, but in the warrant for execution John Peters, as in the Dutch narratives. Perhaps the former indicates his trade, that of a wheelwright. Van Braght does not mention his occupation.

Friday. We again quote the affecting narrative of their companion in tribulation. "Upon Tuesday, a stake was set up in Smithfield, but the execution was not that day. On Wednesday, many people were gathered together to witness the death of our two friends, but it was again deferred. This was done to terrify, and draw our friends and us from the faith. But on Friday, our two friends, Hendrik Terwoort and Jan Peters, being brought out from their prison, were led to the sacrifice. As they went forth, Jan Peters said, 'The holy prophets, and also Christ, our Saviour, have gone this way before us, even from the beginning, from Abel until now.'"

It was early morning when they reached the scene of their triumph. They were fastened to one stake, neither strangling, nor gunpowder being used to diminish their torture. As defenceless sheep of Christ, following the footsteps of their master, resolutely, for the name of Christ, they went to die. An English preacher was present, to embitter, if possible, by his cruel mockings, the closing moments of their martyr-life, and martyr-death. Before all the people he exclaimed, "These men believe not on God." Saith Jan Peters, "We believe in one God, our heavenly Father Almighty, and in Jesus Christ his Son." While standing bound at the stake, the articles were again, for the last time, presented to them, and pardon promised on subscription. Peters again spake, "You have laboured hard to drive us to you, but now, when placed at the stake, it is labour in vain." One of the preachers attempted an excuse: "That all such matters were determined by the council, and that it was the queen's intention they should die." But said Peters, "You are the teachers of the queen, whom it behoves you to instruct better, therefore shall our blood be required at your hands."

And now with courage they entered on the conflict, and fought through the trial, in the midst of the burning flame;

an oblation to the Lord, which they living offered unto him. *Accepting not of deliverance*, for the truth's sake, they counted not their lives dear unto them, that they might finish their course with joy.

“ For what were thy terrors, O Death ?
And where was thy triumph, O Grave ?
When the vest of pure white, and the conquering wreath
Were the prize of the scorned and the slave ? ”—DALE.

We are saved comment on this painful scene. All writers, of every party, are agreed in condemnation of its folly and criminality. “ How utterly absurd and unchristian,” saith our Dutch martyrologist, “ do all such cruel proceedings, and sentences as are here seen, appear, when contrasted with the Christian faith. The Christian host is described as sheep and lambs, sent forth among cruel and devouring wolves: Who will be able with a good conscience to believe, that these English preachers were the true sheep of Christ, since in this matter they brought forth so notably the fruit of wolves ? ”²

But although none defend the deed, some defame the sufferers to lessen its enormity. They were actuated, it is said, by a spirit of insubordination, and their principles were of a disorganizing tendency; the overthrow of church and commonwealth must have followed their prevalence, and it was incumbent on the ruling authority to crush the germ of sedition and rebellion in its earliest form. And so it has been ever said of the members of the spiritual kingdom of the Lord Jesus Christ; and without question, while oppression reigns supreme, while injustice ravages the homes and possessions of a people, while the honour of God and the

² The other two sufferers were for a long time kept in prison. The last we hear of them is, that attempting to escape, by filing the bars of their dungeon

window, they were discovered, and heavily ironed. James de Somer, in conjunction with a friend, made several ineffectual efforts to obtain their release.

rights of conscience are trampled under foot,—the gospel of eternal verity, the word of the God of equity, and the pure unworldly doctrine of Christ, must overturn, overturn, until He shall reign, whose is the right. But when under the garb of religion, when in the name of holy truth, when with the words of heaven upon their lips, men go forth to slay the innocent, to destroy the lowly disciple of Jesus, to forbid the word of the living God to echo in the soul the voice of the Eternal, and to stifle the groanings of the human spirit under its bond-chain of sin and woe, sighing for liberty to serve its God, and, as the free angels of his presence, to obey His will—then human guilt has reached its highest mark, and displayed the most intensely affecting feature of the ruin which has befallen our race. It is an effort to crush the only means of man's restoration, to quench the spark of reviving life amid the agonizing death-throes of the human soul.

But what was the crime of which these victims of intolerance so dreadful were guilty? Did they aim at the queen's life? Did they assemble to plot the ruin of the state which sheltered them? Did they league with any whose glory is in their shame, to assassinate, to rob, to violate the rights of their neighbour? Let us hear them speak from their abyss of sorrow, "We, poor and despised strangers, who are in persecution for the testimony of Jesus Christ, entreat from God for all men, of every race and degree, that the Lord may grant perpetual peace and every happiness, and that we may live among them in peace and godliness, to the praise and glory of the Lord. Our fatherland, our friendships, our property, have we been compelled to forsake, through great tyranny, and as lambs before wolves, have fled, only for the pure evangelic truth of Christ, and not for uproars and seditions, as we are accused. . . . We know that we follow no strange gods, neither have we an heretical faith, contrary to the word of Christ. But we believe in one God,

the Father Almighty, Creator of the heavens and the earth; in one Jesus Christ, his only beloved Son; who was conceived of the Holy Ghost, born of the undefiled Virgin Mary, suffered under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, died, and was buried. On the third day he rose from the dead, ascended to heaven, and is sitting at the right hand of God, the Father Almighty; from thence he will come again to judge the quick and the dead. We believe in the Holy Ghost. We believe that Jesus Christ is true God and man. . . . We do not boast ourselves to be free from sin, but confess that every moment we are sinners before God. But we must abstain from wilful sins, if we would be saved; viz., from adultery, fornication, witchcraft, sedition, bloodshed, cursing and stealing . . . hatred and envy. They who do such things shall not possess the kingdom of God." Here we leave this noble evangelic confession of the martyr, Hendrik Terwoort. He hath fairly won the martyr's crown. Although despised, trampled upon, and his name held accursed among men, his is the palm-branch of victory, and the white robe, washed and made white in the blood of the Lamb.

Not less nobly does he plead the rights of conscience. "Observe well the command of God: *Thou shalt love the stranger as thyself.* Should he then who is in misery, and dwelling in a strange land, be driven thence with his companions, to their great damage? Of this Christ speaks, *Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them: for this is the law and the prophets.* Oh! that they would deal with us according to natural reasonableness, and evangelic truth, of which our persecutors so highly boast. For Christ and his disciples persecuted no one; but, on the contrary, Jesus hath thus taught, *Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, &c.* This doctrine Christ left behind with his apostles, as they testify. Thus Paul, *Unto this present hour we both hunger, and thirst, and are naked, and are buffeted, and*

have no certain dwelling place; and labour, working with our own hands: being reviled, we bless; being persecuted, we suffer it. From all this it is clear, that those who have the one true gospel doctrine and faith will persecute no one, but will themselves be persecuted.”³

The reader is now able to judge of the truth of the innumerable crimes laid to the charge of these the Lord’s afflicted ones, the baptists of that age. Thus runs the accusation of the celebrated Whitgift:—They give honour and reverence to none in authority;—they seek the overthrow of commonwealths and states of government;—they are full of pride and contempt;—their whole intent is schismatic, and to be free from all laws, to live as they list;—they feign an austerity of life and manners, and are great hypocrites, &c. But the same high authority, the future archbishop of Canterbury, adds these following particulars as aggravations, of their guilt:—In all their doings they pretend the glory of God, the edifying of the church, and the purity of the gospel;—when punished for their errors, they greatly complain, that nothing is used but violence: that the truth is oppressed, innocent and godly men, who would have all things reformed according to the word of God, cannot be heard, nor have liberty to speak, and that their mouths are stopped, not by God’s word, but by the authority of the magistrate;—they assert, that the civil magistrate has no authority in ecclesiastical matters, and ought not to meddle in causes of religion and faith, and that no man ought to be compelled to faith and religion;—and lastly, they complain much of persecution, and brag that they defend their

³ Besides the narratives, the supplication to the queen, and the reply to Fox, already referred to, the martyrologist has preserved a writing, or letter, of considerable length, by Terwoort, from which the two passages above are extracts; and also a confession of faith,

embracing the most important doctrines of holy writ; this latter is deposited in the Addenda to this volume, as it will serve to show the general orthodoxy of the baptists at that period. Note A. See *Het Bloedig Toonel*. Deel ii. pp. 694—712.

cause, not with words only, but by the shedding of their blood.⁴

These were the high crimes and misdemeanors of which the baptists were accused. They need neither counsel nor apologist. The indictment is at the same time their accusation, and their acquittal. Their deeds were noble; their sentiments just. Their affliction and triumphant deaths, reflect glory on the holy truths of humanity's Great Martyr, in whose footsteps of blood they trod; but shame upon the men, who, with loud professions of fidelity to Him, slew the servants he had sent.

We have perhaps lingered too long over these events, but justice, oft somewhat tardy in her pace, seemed to demand that the sufferers should at last be heard in defence, after nearly three centuries of defamation and obloquy; and that the meagre and hostile accounts of our historians be corrected by authentic narrations, preserved in a foreign tongue, and now for the first time presented to the English reader.⁵

From this time until the reign of James, the notices of the baptists in our writers and annalists, are but few and indistinct. Although "they were rife in many places of the land," as we are told by Mr. Cartwright in 1575,⁶ the severities they endured doubtless caused many to emigrate, and the rest to hide *in dens and caves of the earth*. Yet on the literature of the time, their name was ever floating as a term of reproach. Their principles were thrown from disputant to disputant, evidently felt, though not seen, to be the only justifiable basis of the changes made or urged by the conflicting parties. Their views formed the ultimate idea of the great movement

⁴ An Answer to a certain Libel, &c. by John Whitgift, D. of Divinity, pp. 3—5. ed. 1772.

⁵ A translation of the deeply affecting narratives of Van Bragt has been often

desired, both in England and America; it is hoped that the Hanserd Knollys Society may be able to effect this important object.

⁶ Second Replie. Epist. ed. 1575.

of the reformation, although eschewed by every other party, as subversive of that union of things sacred and secular, to which both reformers and puritans clung with a blind pertinacity. It was anabaptistical, to hold that the church ought to be constituted of believers only;—to separate from the national church because of its many unscriptural practices, unauthorized constitutions, and the impiety of the majority of its members;—to demand that the minister of the word should be a believer of the truths he preached, and a practiser of the piety he inculcated;—to give to the whole community of the faithful the power of electing their pastor, of binding and loosing, of discipline and instruction, and to call such as were gifted by divine grace, whether learned or unlearned, to the teacher's office;—and lastly, to exclude the magistrate from the exercise of any civil power in the church.⁷

We may adopt the language of Bishop Sanderson on this subject:—"The Reverend Archbishop Whitgift, and the learned Hooker, men of great judgment, and famous in their times, did long since foresee and declare their fear, that if puritanism should prevail among us, it would soon draw in anabaptism after it. This Cartwright and the disciplinarians denied, and were offended at. But these good men judged right; they considered, only as prudent men, that anabaptism had its rise from same principle the puritans held, and its growth from the same course they took, together with the natural tendency of their principles and practices towards it; especially that ONE PRINCIPLE, as it was by them misunderstood; that the scripture was *adequata agendorum regula*, so as nothing might lawfully be done, without express warrant, either from some command or example therein contained;

⁷ See A Godly Treatise, wherein are examined and confuted many execrable fancies, given out and holden partly by Henry Barrowe and John Greenwood :

partly by other of the anabaptistical order. Written by Robert Some, Doctor of Divinity, 4to. London, 1589.

which clue, if followed as far as it would go, would certainly in time carry them as far as the anabaptists had then gone."⁸

Thus it was that Whitgift, in his controversy with Cartwright, drew a full length portrait of these men, as the original picture of the "holy discipline;" but marred by the superfluous touches of the puritans. He likewise appeared as the antagonist of the baptists in a sermon at St. Paul's in 1583.⁹ Hence the universal execration which attended them, and the solemn asseveration of the puritan justices of Norfolk, "We allow not of the anabaptists, nor of their community; we allow not of the Brownists, the overthrowers both of church and commonwealth; we abhor all these, and we punish them."¹ Every man's hand was against them.

Still they lingered in various places, nor could all the diligence of their foes wholly extirpate them. "I would," says the author of the *Defence of the Ecclesiastical Discipline*, in 1588, "I would we could say for our church, that there are none of the family, no recusants, yea, no anabaptists, nor libertines, amongst us."² A congregation was discovered in 1586, of which one Glover was the minister, which appears to have been formed from this persecuted sect. He was imprisoned by the order of Whitgift, but released through the interference of Lord Burghley.³ Two years after, (1588,) some further discoveries were made of several conventicles of "wicked sects and opinions." In the summer time they met in the fields. Seated on a bank, they read, and listened to exhortations, from the word of God, by some of their number. In the winter they assembled in a house at the early hour of five; the day was passed in prayer and scripture exposition. They dined together, then collected money to pay for their food, carrying the surplus to any of their brethren who were

⁸ Quoted in *Early Hist. of Rhode Island*, p. 112. Boston, 1843.

¹ *Parte of a Register*, p. 129.

² P. 183.

⁹ *Strype's Whitgift*, i. 264.

³ *Strype's Annals*, III. i. 634.

in bonds for the testimony of a good conscience. They used no form of prayer, not even the Lord's prayer; their devotions were extemporaneous. "The use of stinted prayer, or said service, is but babbling in the Lord's sight," they said, "and hath neither promise of blessing, nor edification." They regarded Christ as the supreme governor of the church; the queen had neither authority to appoint ministers, nor to frame any ecclesiastical government for it. A private man, being a brother, might preach, and "beget faith;" but every man in his own calling was to preach the gospel. It was unlawful to attend the public prayer and preaching, because the clergy taught, "that the state of the realm of England is the true church;" this they denied; the preachers were false preachers, who proclaimed not the glad tidings of the gospel. They were under no obligation to wait for the magistrate to reform the church; whenever stones were ready, they ought to go forward with the building, as the apostles did; but the preachers made Christ attend upon princes, and be subject to their laws and government. They held it unlawful to baptize children. They refused the salutary water to a child, twelve years of age, who tearfully sought to repair its parents' neglect; and, when the child was publicly baptized at the command of the Chamber of London, the mother fled for fear of punishment.⁴

Thus the leaven of true doctrine slowly and secretly spread. Many also of the Brownists, on emigration, became baptists. Thus Mr. Johnson, writing in 1606, says, "About thirteen years since, this church, through persecution in England, was driven to come into these countries [Low Countries.] A while after they were come hither, divers of them fell into the errors of the anabaptists, which are too common in these countries, and so persisting, were excommu-

⁴ Strype's Annals, III. ii. 102—106.

nicated by the rest.”⁵ And it will be remembered, that a few years earlier, the congregation formed by Mr. Browne at Middelburg, lost many of its members from the same cause.

From a very singular book, written by one John Payne, at Harlaem, in 1597, it appears that there were considerable numbers of baptized believers in this country. He makes especial mention of a prisoner in Norwich gaol, Maydstone by name, incarcerated and threatened with death for professing baptist sentiments. He addresses his loving brethren, the merchants who frequent the Royal Exchange, to quicken them with a godly emulation, ere the axe be laid to the root of the tree. He is most anxious, however, to give the various classes of his fellow-countrymen warning to avoid “new English anabaptists.” “I wish you beware of the dangerous opinions of such English anabaptists bred here, as whose parsons, in part with more store of their letters, doth creep and spread among you in city and country.” Having heard of the proposed execution of Maydstone, he urges his wish that the prisoner should not be put to death, but banished; “by reason, our noble prince, judges, nor state, should not be so reputed of, with such hard terms, by anabaptists and others, as I am loath here to express; and (I am) already grieved to hear, what I hear, by occasion of report, that one of this English company is shortly like to die, being prisoner at Norwich.” He then appeals to the “prisoner at Norwich;” hopes some loving brother will signify to him, that “his suddenly stepping from his spiritual mother to a new stepdame, rejecting the sweet food of the one, and licking up the poison of the other, that therefore his suffering is as comfortless as it is rash and perilous.” The usual topics of reproach are then introduced, and, as was likewise usual, the

⁵ An Inquirie and Answer of Thomas White, &c. p. 63, ed. 1606.

sufferer's opinions misstated, distorted, and defamed.⁶ It is unnecessary to quote, since the reader is by this time familiar with them, and can estimate the little confidence to be placed in the accusations of a prejudiced opponent.

We here close our notes from the fragmentary history of a people, who, among the mighty movements of the sixteenth century, held a subordinate, but by no means unimportant place. The history of their embodiment into churches, having historical records of their own, and an abiding place in this land, belongs rather to the notices which will accompany the earliest remaining writings of their pastors, Mr. John Smyth and Mr. Thomas Helwys.

It has been seen that their idea, the true archetypal idea, of the church, was the grand cause of the separation of the baptists, as individuals and communities, from all the various forms of ecclesiastical arrangement adopted by the reformers and their successors. There could be no harmony between the parties; they were antagonistic from the first. Hence the baptists cannot be regarded as owing their origin to a secession from the protestant churches; they occupied an independent and original position, one which unquestionably involved suffering and loss from its unworldliness, and manifest contrariety to the political tendencies and alliances of the reform movement. Let it be granted as a truth of divine origin and power, that a visible church of Christ ought to comprise none but such as are believers in his doctrine, under the influence of his Spirit, and subject to him as *Head over all things to his church*; then it follows, that the mixed assemblages of a national church, under the headship of worldly princes, cannot be the true churches of Christ; and also, that the exercise of secular power by the magistrate, either as the

⁶ Royall Exchange: To suche worshipfull Citezins, Marchants, Gentlemen, and other occupiers of the contrey as

resorte thervnto.—At Harlem, printed with Gyles Romaen, pp. 21, 23, 45. 4to. 1597.

imposer or executor of the church's law, is an invasion of the rights of the flock of Jesus, a breach of the statutes of the only Lawgiver, and a denial of his all-sufficient authority. Then also, the conscience must be free to follow the instructions of the Heavenly Monitor, and none, not even idolaters, blasphemers, nor papists, be driven to the sacred temple by threats or violence, since faith is the gift of God, not producible by human power; nay, less likely to be produced, when physical force is resorted to. Then too, lastly, the unconscious babe must be denied admittance to the church, since both reason and scripture refuse to recognize the unintelligent infant as possessed of that faith, which can only follow hearing the word of God, being also unable to declare a hearty, free, and willing acceptance of the salvation it proclaims.

It would be an interesting inquiry, did time and occasion permit, how far this instinct of liberty influenced the doctrinal peculiarities of the baptists, and led to the maintenance of a dogma, so often the theme of reproach against them, the freedom of the will against the absolute predestination of the reformed. Liberty of conscience, and the free action of the will, are evidently nearly allied; and perhaps influenced, by some of those intangible and mental sympathies which often affect opinion, or by the antagonist position in which they found themselves on other points to those who persecuted them, they were probably led to adopt a mode of stating this "vexed question" somewhat distant from the true mean.

We have, however, discovered the real cause of the unanimous hostility these despised people encountered. Papist and protestant, puritan and Brownist, with one consent, laid aside their differences, to condemn and punish a sect, a heresy, an opinion, which threw prostrate their favourite church, their politico-ecclesiastical power, their extravagant assumptions, and their unscriptural theories. The papist

abhorred them: for, if this heresy prevailed, a church hoary with age, laden with the spoils of many lands, rich in the merchandize of souls, must be utterly broken and destroyed. The protestants hated them: for their cherished headship, their worldly alliances, the pomps and circumstances of a state religion, must be debased before the kingly crown of Jesus. The puritans defamed them: for baptist sentiments were too liberal and free for those who sought a papal authority over conscience, and desired the sword of the higher powers to enforce their "holy discipline" on an unconverted people. The Brownist avoided them: for their principle of liberty was too broad, and to this they added the crime of rejecting the "Lord's little ones" from the fold.

Thus the baptists became the first and only propounders of "absolute liberty, just and true liberty, equal and impartial liberty."⁷ For this they suffered and died. They proclaimed it by their deeds, they propagated it in their writings. In almost every country of Europe, amid tempests of wrath, stirred up by their faith, and their manly adherence to the truth, they were the indefatigable, consistent, primal apostles of liberty in this latter age. We honour them. We reverence them. And humble though they be, we welcome the republication of the first English writings which sounded the note of freedom for conscience as man's birthright, in this land of the free; they are sanctified by holy tears and the martyr's blood.⁸

⁷ Locke on Toleration, p. 31, 4to. ed. science, published by the Hanserd

⁸ See Tracts on Liberty of Con- Knollys Society. 8vo. 1846.

SECTION V.

THE INDEPENDENTS.

A BRIEF notice will suffice to dispose of a recent effort to deprive the baptists of the honour which is their due, and to claim for others the commendation which is their historic right. "We shall not hesitate," says Mr. Hanbury, "to attribute to Jacob's pen, what constitutes the boast and glory of our denomination as independents, the very first composition ever addressed to authority, restricted to the particularly interesting object expressed in its title in these terms:—'An humble supplication for TOLERATION and Liberty to enjoy and observe the ordinances of Jesus Christ, in the administration of his churches, in lieu of human constitutions.'" ⁹

The "restricted" claim made in this supplication, would not have required our attention, had the historian of the independents been content therewith; but as in the face of every accessible historical fact he has questioned the "equity of the claim" asserted, among others, by Dr. Price, in his *History of Nonconformity*,¹ that the baptists "must be regarded as the first expounders, and most enlightened advocates of the best inheritance of man"—liberty of conscience; it becomes necessary to vindicate their equitable right and pre-eminence.

We propose, therefore, to establish the three following points:—1. That the petition in question did not emanate from the independents. 2. That its contents do not entitle

⁹ Memorials relating to the Independents, i. 225.

¹ Vol. i. 522.

it to the honourable position assigned it. 3. That the Independents, to a much later period, were not the advocates of an absolute, true, and impartial liberty.

1. From whom did the petition for toleration emanate? On the accession of James I. to the crown of this country, the Puritans made, as is well-known, several attempts to obtain a new settlement of ecclesiastical affairs. The ill success of the Hampton Court conference for ever crushed their hopes of further reformation, and was followed by the immediate deprivation of some hundreds of godly men. Among these was Mr. Henry Jacob. He became the most active of those ministers, who were designated by Mr. Bradshawe, another of them, "the rigidest sort of them that are called Puritans."²

But that Mr. Jacob was not the author of the petition, is evident from his own words. For thus he speaks of its author: "That faithful man of God, whosoever he was, that made that petition to the king's majesty for a toleration of our way and profession, with peace and quietness in England."³ Still, in its prayer and statements he heartily concurred, and frequently referred to it with approbation. The petition is signed by "Your majesty's most loyal, faithful, and obedient subjects, some of the late silenced and deprived ministers."⁴ If then Mr. Jacob was one of the subscribers, which he probably was, he and the petitioners were Puritans, and not Brownists nor independents.

In perfect accordance with this fact, which appears on the face of the petition, the authorship is ascribed to the Puritans by the writer of the Supplication to king James in 1620.⁵

² English Puritanism, containing the main opinions of, &c., printed, 1605.

³ An Attestation, &c., p. 137. 1613.

⁴ P. 48, edit. 1609. See also Hanbury, i. 227.

⁵ "The Puritans.....in their supplication, printed anno 1609. Much they write for toleration." Tracts on Liberty of Conscience, pp. 222, 223.

We find, moreover, at the period when Mr. Jacob was at Leyden, in Holland, that although he enjoyed the friendship of Mr. Robinson, who is with justice regarded as the parent of modern independency, yet, as an elder, he governed a separatist church, "which began before Mr. Robinson, and continued after him;" and which, without doubt, was a prebyterian church.⁶ Certain it is, that in 1613, four years after the date of the petition in question, Mr. Jacob held to a presbyterian and synodal association of churches, "differing," he says, "not one hair from Calvin and Beza, touching the substance of this matter."⁷ And when forming his congregation in London, in 1616, he consulted not with the separatists, nor with the Brownists, nor with the Independents, but with certain deprived and learned puritans, who expressed their approbation of his design.⁸

Other circumstances seem to lead to the conclusion, that the church established by Jacob was not an independent church. From a letter, dated April 5, 1624, about the time of Jacob's departure for Virginia, addressed by Mr. Robinson to some other church in London, we learn that it was questioned whether Jacob's church was a true church, and to be recognized as such. Mr. Robinson replies in the affirmative, but somewhat doubtingly; which hesitation could not have existed had it been in communion, or governed on the same principles, with his own church.⁹

It is to be further observed, that when, in 1633, Mr. Spilsbury seceded from Jacob's church, it being then under the pastoral care of Mr. Lathorpe, it was ranked as an independent church, as it continued to be for some time after, until, during the pastorate of Mr. Henry Jessey, it

⁶ Cotton's Way of Congregational Churches, p. 14, edit. 1648. Steven's Hist. of Scot. Ch. at Rotterdam, p. 310.

⁷ An Attestation, &c. pp. 13, 97.

⁸ Neal. i. 462.

⁹ Treatise on the Lawfulness of hearing ministers of the Church of England. Printed 1634; at the end.

became a baptist community. Now we are informed by Mr. Kiffin, that Mr. Spilsbury's secession was owing not merely to a change of views on the subject of baptism, but "that the congregation kept not to their first principles of separation." Thus, before it became an independent church, it held certain "principles of separation," which could have been none other than those of the more rigid puritans, to whom Mr. Jacob, about 1609, belonged.¹

It is, however, clear, that the petition for toleration is a puritan production, and that if Mr. Jacob united in its prayer, as he certainly concurred in its sentiments, it was not as an independent, but as a puritan. Whatever cause there may be for glorying in this matter, the "glory" and the "boast" must evidently belong to that party.

2. But do the contents of the petition bear out the pre-eminence assigned to it? It is admitted by Mr. Hanbury "that Mr. Jacob did not on his side dissert upon, or argue for religious liberty, in the entire breadth of it."² Where, then, is the basis of Mr. Hanbury's claim, since the baptists DID "dissert upon, and argue for religious liberty" in its fullest extent, as the "Tracts on Liberty of Conscience" clearly show. Can a prayer for a *restricted* toleration be set by the side of a demand for entire liberty of conscience, as of equal worth? Yet such was the toleration in question; for thus it prays:—"First, the liberty of enjoying and practising the holy ordinances enacted and left by the Lord, for the perpetual direction and guiding of his churches. Secondly, an entire exemption from the jurisdiction of the said prelates and their officers. And lastly, the happiness to live under the command and charge of any of your subordinate civil magistrates, and so to be for our actions and carriage in the ministry accountable unto them."³

¹ Wilson, i. 41. Crosby, i. 148.

² Hanbury, i. 225, note.

³ An Humble Supplication, &c. p. 8. Hanbury, i. 225.

Again: "We acknowledge no other power and authority for the overseeing, ruling, and censuring of particular churches, how many soever in number, in the case of their misgovernment, than that which is originally invested in your royal person, and from it derived to such of your laity as you shall judge worthy to be deputed to the execution of the same under you. So as the favour humbly solicited by us is, that whereas our Lord Jesus hath given to each particular church this right and privilege, viz., to elect, ordain, and deprive her own ministers, and to exercise all other parts of lawful ecclesiastical jurisdiction under him, your majesty would be pleased to take order, as well that each particular church that shall be allowed to partake in the benefit of the said toleration, may have, enjoy, and put in execution and practise, this her said right and privilege, as that some your subaltern civil officers may be appointed by you to demand and receive of each church a due and just account of their proceedings." ⁴

Having thus provided for secular interference with the church's affairs, the petitioners proceed to limit to themselves the toleration desired. "We do humbly beseech your majesty not to think, that by our suit for the said toleration, we make an overture and way for toleration unto papists, our suit being of a different nature from theirs, and the inducements thereof such, as cannot conclude aught in favour of them, whose head is antichrist, whose worship is idolatry, whose doctrine is heresy, and a profession directly contrary to the lawful state and government of free countries and kingdoms." ⁵

For such a "restricted" toleration the papists had petitioned the sovereign at an earlier period. The language of the puritans is but the counterpart of the following, which issued five years before from these excepted religionists.

⁴ Ibid. pp. 13, 14. Hanbury, i. 226. ⁵ Ibid. p. 20. Hanbury, *ibid.*

“We think,” say the catholics, “that the permission of the liberty we entreat, is, neither in reason of state, a thing hurtful, nor by the doctrine of protestants unlawful.—But the puritan, as he increaseth daily above the protestant in number, so is he of a more presuming, imperious, and hotter disposition and zeal, ever strongly burning in desire to reduce all things to the form of his own idea, or imagination conceived, and therefore, by discourse or reason, not unlike to attempt the overthrow of the protestant, and bring the kingdom, especially the ecclesiastical state, to a parity, or popular government, if the catholic were once extinguished; and to extinguish him no mean more potent, than to forbid and punish the exercise of his religion.”⁶ A singular and pre-eminent toleration truly, which would involve an exterminating and internecine war between papist and puritan!

Mr. Jacob has, however, left us no room to doubt the nature of the toleration, he and his brother puritans so earnestly pressed. Thus, in 1606, he writes it down as a proposition they were willing to maintain, against the prelates; that “civil magistrates ought to be the overseers of provinces and dioceses, and of the several churches therein. And it is their office, and duty, enjoined them by God, to take knowledge of, to punish and redress, all misgoverning or ill-teaching of any church, or church officer.”⁷ Again, in the year 1613, when he is supposed by Mr. Hanbury to have joined the Independents, he writes, “Though we affirm that the church government is independent, and immediately derived from Christ, yet we affirm also, that the civil magistrate is even therein supreme governor civilly. And though nothing may be imposed on the Christian people of a congre-

⁶ A Supplication to the King, &c. pp. 4, 9. 4to. 1604.

⁷ A Christian and Modest Offer of a Conference, &c. pp. 2, 3. 4to. 1606.

gation, against their wills, by any spiritual authority—for so only we intend—yet we affirm withal, that the civil magistrate may impose on them spiritual matters, by civil power; yea, whether they like or dislike, if he see it good. This we all gladly acknowledge.” And he refers to the petition in question for proof.⁸

Elsewhere Mr. Jacob says, “We grant that civil magistrates may, and sometimes ought, to impose good things on a true church, against their wills, if they stiffly err, as sometimes they may.”⁹ And in his latest production, when engaged, in the year 1616, in forming his church in London, he makes use of the following language, in the Confession of Faith he then put forth to clear the “said Christians from the slander of schism, and undutifulness to the magistrate.” “We believe that we, and all true visible churches, ought to be overseen, and kept in good and peace, and ought to be governed, (undèr Christ) both supremely and also subordinately by the civil magistrate; yea, in causes of religion when need is. By which rightful power of his, he ought to cherish and prefer the godly and religious, and to punish as truth and right shall require, the untractable and unreasonable. Howbeit, yet always but civilly. And therefore we from our heart, most humbly do desire that our gracious sovereign king would himself as far as he seeth good, and further by some substituted civil magistrate under him, in clemency take this special oversight and government of us, to whose ordering and protection we most humbly commit ourselves.”¹ To this confession is added another supplication for toleration, in which he humbly prays his majesty to appoint some civil magistrate, “qualified with wisdom, learning, and virtue, to

⁸ An Attestation of many learned, &c. pp. 115—117.

¹ Anno Domini, 1616. A Confession and Protestation, &c. not paged. Hanbury, i. 301.

⁹ An Attestation, &c. p. 316, edit.

be overseer for their more peaceable, orderly, and dutiful carriage, both in our worshipping God, and in all other our affairs." ²

The admission then of Mr. Hanbury, so fatal to his claim, that Mr. Jacob did not "dissert upon, nor argue for religious liberty, in the entire breadth of it," is established by undeniable evidence; and we are now entitled to ask, Is the clear, explicit, and broad statement of the doctrine of religious liberty, in the treatises published in the years 1614 and 1615 by the baptists, to be regarded as of less value than the meagre and individual desire of toleration which this petition, and these extracts from the writings of its supposed author, exhibit? A toleration founded on the narrowest basis; to be enjoyed only by the body that sought it; and, at the same time, allowing, nay, asking for a compulsory and forced interference with its religious rights and duties, and those of others also? Can this be "the glory and boast" of the "independent denomination," for which Mr. Hanbury thinks it so "commendable to strive for the pre-eminence?" The baptists may relinquish such a glory; while they hold in equity, that perfect liberty of conscience, to be enjoyed by all men, excelleth in glory; and for *this* they strive.

3. But lastly, we have to show, that the independents to a yet later period were not the advocates of an absolute, full, and impartial liberty. If Mr. Jacob was a puritan, then are they deprived of the honour in question; or if an independent, the evidence fails to substantiate the claim. It now remains to examine one other witness, of whose relation to that body

² A Confession, &c. Hanbury, i. 306. The petition of 1609 is also referred to approvingly in this Supplication, and in other places of the Confession. Jacob's words are, "Beseeching you, as in effect they formerly did, so now again, to give

unto them this favour, that peaceably and quietly they may worship God," &c. And in the margin reference is made thus:—"Anno 1609. An Humble Supplication." Jacob thus again, in 1616, identifies himself with the puritans.

there can be no doubt, and whose name would be an honour and a praise to any community who could call him theirs. Mr. John Robinson had been a puritan. He separated on holy principles from a church, which he thought to be antichristian, and in exile nobly endured and laboured for the cause of God. He was the spiritual parent of many, who, in future years, were to be called the pilgrim fathers; whose deeds form the early annals of a mighty people. But while on many points he arrived at juster and truer views than the puritans: on their doctrine of coercion in matters of religion he made little or no advance. In the year 1610, in the earliest of his productions, he thus explicitly asserts its propriety—"That godly magistrates are by compulsion to repress public and notable idolatry, as also to provide that the truth of God, in his ordinance, be taught and published in their dominions, I make no doubt; it may be also, it is not unlawful for them by some penalty or other, to provoke their subjects universally unto hearing for their instruction and conversion; yea, to grant they may inflict the same upon them, if, after due teaching, they offer not themselves unto the church." And again, he says, "That religious actions may be punished civilly by the magistrate, which is the preserver of both tables, and so to punish all breaches of both, especially such as draw with them the violation of the positive laws of kingdoms, or disturbances of common peace."³

It was in the year succeeding this publication of Mr. Robinson, 1611, that the baptists issued a "Confession of Faith, with certain conclusions," in which they assert, "that the magistrate is not to meddle with religion, or matters of conscience, nor compel men to this or that form of religion, because Christ is the King and Lawgiver of the church and conscience." This assertion was questioned by Robinson,

³ Justification of Separation, pp. 242, 243, 153, edit. 1639.

and in 1614 he published a work in which it was denied. The baptists were not slow to answer, and in the next year replied to his objections, endeavouring to prove, "that no man ought to be persecuted for his religion." For this piece, and the sentiments of Mr. Robinson, we must refer to the volume lately published.⁴

These views of Mr. Robinson were not accidental, they constituted a part of his religious belief. Hence in nearly all his works, from the first in 1610 to the last in 1625, we find the same sentiments maintained.

In his *Observations, Divine and Moral*, he says, "Men are for the most part minded for or against Toleration of Diversity of Religions, according to the conformity which they themselves hold, or hold not, with the country or kingdom where they live. Protestants, living in the countries of papists, commonly plead for toleration of religion; so do papists that live where protestants bear sway; though few of either, specially the clergy, as they are called, would have the other tolerated where the world goes on their side." He then remarks on the sentiment of the fathers on this point, and says that the saying of "the wise king of Poland seemeth approvable, that it is 'one of the three things which God hath kept in his own hands, to urge the conscience this way,' and to cause a man to profess a religion by working it first in his heart."⁵ He next reviews two or three objections, and comes "Lastly, to that of the father, 'that many who at first serve God by compulsion, come after to serve him freely and willingly.' I answer," he says, "that neither good intents, nor events, which are casual, can justify unreasonable violence: and, withal, that by this course of compulsion many become atheists, hypocrites, and familists, and being at first constrained to practise against conscience, lose all conscience

⁴ Tracts on Liberty of Conscience, pp. 85—180.

⁵ See Tracts, &c. p. 216.

afterwards. . . . Yet, do I not deny all compulsion to the hearing of God's word, as the means to work religion, and common to all of all sorts, good and bad; much less excuse civil disobedience, palliated with religious shows and pretences; or condemn convenient restraint of public idolatry; so as this rule of reason holds its place, viz., that 'the bond between magistrate and subject is essentially civil,' but religious accidentally only, though eminently."⁶

Our last quotation shall be taken from his most important work;—a work issued as a formal, and therefore carefully digested statement of his belief on all points of faith and godliness. It is "A just and necessary Apology of certain Christians, no less contumeliously than commonly called Brownists or Barrowists." It was first published in Latin, in 1619, and afterwards translated by himself, and printed in 1625. The latter edition is before us. In the chapter on civil magistracy he thus writes—"We believe the very same, touching the civil magistrate, with the Belgic reformed churches, and willingly subscribe to their confession; and the more, because what is by many restrained to the Christian magistrate, they extend indefinitely and absolutely to the magistrate whomsoever." In commenting on this enlarged duty of the magistrate, and which we will presently produce, he says, "The magistrate, though a heathen, hath power, as the minister of God for the good of his subjects, to command and procure in and by good and lawful manner and means, whatsoever appertains either to their natural or spiritual life, so the same be not contrary to God's word: upon which word of God if it beat, God forbid, that the Christian magistrate should take liberty to use, or rather abuse his authority for the same."⁷ That is to say, the magistrate, whether Christian

⁶ Observations Divine and Moral, &c., pp. 49—51, edit. 1625. Hanbury, i. 436.

⁷ Ch. xi. pp. 56, 57. Hanbury, i. 384. The last part of this passage is omitted by Mr. Hanbury.

or heathen, has a natural and unchangeable right, neither diminished nor increased by his profession of Christianity, to command the *truth*, that is of course such truth as Mr. Robinson may approve, but no other. And inasmuch as many persons may not be able to receive that truth, then must they abide the infliction of some undefined penalty for their unbelief.

We now turn to the Belgic confession for the full and authentic expression of Mr. Robinson's creed upon this point. The reader will be then fully prepared to appreciate the "equity of the claim" made by the advocate of the independents. After confessing the divine institution of magistrates, to punish the wicked and defend the good, it thus proceeds—"Moreover it is their duty, not only to be careful to preserve the civil government, but also to endeavour that the ministry may be preserved, that all idolatry and counterfeit worship of God may be clean abolished, that the kingdom of antichrist may be overthrown, and that the kingdom of Christ may be enlarged. To conclude, it is their duty to bring to pass, that the holy word of the gospel may be preached everywhere, that all men may serve and worship God purely and freely, according to the prescript rule of his word." And they finish with the following damnatory clause:—"Wherefore we condemn the anabaptists, and all those troublesome spirits, who do reject higher powers and magistrates, overthrow all laws and judgments, make all goods common, and to conclude, do abolish and confound all those orders and degrees, which God hath appointed among men for honesty's sake."⁸

It is then most conclusively shown, that the petition of 1609 fails to sustain the assertion of Mr. Hanbury, being puritan in its origin, and unworthy of the commendation bestowed upon it; and that the independents, as such, in the

⁸ An Harmony of the Confessions, many of the Confessions, p. 483, edit. &c. p. 588, edit. 1586. Hall's Harmony of the Confessions, 1842.

person of their founder, did not understand, up to the period of his death in 1626, the rights of conscience.

We may here close our defence of the claim of "priority boasted of by some modern baptists;" a claim, however, advanced and established, not in the spirit of boasting, but on the ground of truth and historic fact. Our forefathers asserted the inalienable right of all men, Jew and Gentile, papist and puritan, infidel and believer, to serve God, to obey the statutes of the Lord Jesus in his sanctuary, and to act as each one's conscience might dictate; they desired not to be *tolerated*, but to be *free*. Evidence can be adduced that the Independents reached not this high ground of truth and liberty until a much later period; and that even in the times of the Commonwealth, while many were favourable to a toleration, they refused to allow an unrestricted liberty in matters of faith. Enough is, however, presented to show the fallacy of the claim made by Mr. Hanbury, and the injustice of withholding from the authors of the tracts above-mentioned, the pre-eminent honour of having issued "the very first composition ever addressed to authority," NOT restricted to toleration, but demanding an absolute, full, and impartial liberty.

The baptists stood alone, amidst all their contemporaries, for liberal and enlightened views. Calumny, contumely, reproach, and persecution, failed to turn them from their high and holy calling. Freedom to worship God, as each for himself thought right, even when others might think it heresy, they nobly struggled for to the end. They were the first to pioneer the way through the forests of human superstitions, the morasses of human inventions, and the barriers of human usurpations. A forlorn hope, they assailed the huge fortress of human tyranny. But *God was their refuge and their strength*. They made the costly outlay for that inheritance whose rich and pleasant fruit we daily gather.

On their behalf, on our own behalf, that the stigma of ingratitude may not attach to us, nor those worthy ones be deprived of their honourable and blood-bought renown, we most emphatically, re-assert their claim, and adopt, with an assured confidence in its truth, the admirable language of Dr. Price—“It belonged to the members of a calumniated and despised sect, few in number and poor in circumstances, to bring forth to public view, in their simplicity and omnipotence, those immortal principles which are now universally recognized as of divine authority and universal obligation. Other writers of more distinguished name succeeded, and robbed them of their honour; but their title is so good, and the amount of service they performed on behalf of the common interests of humanity is so incalculable, that an impartial posterity must assign to them their due meed of praise.”⁹

⁹ Hist. of Nonconformity, i. 522, 523.

INTRODUCTORY NOTICE.

FOR the singularly interesting and unique picture of the formation, growth, and persecutions of the church of Christ, now, and for nearly two centuries past, meeting in Broadmead, Bristol, we are indebted to one of its ruling elders, Mr. Edward Terrill. As a young man, and while serving his apprenticeship to a schoolmaster in that city, he was wont to attend the ministry of Mr. Thomas Ewins, then pastor of this rising community. The account of his conversion he has left recorded, and it is now transferred to the following pages. At the age of twenty-four he was baptized, and united to the church. From that time he became identified with all its proceedings and tribulations, taking the most lively interest in its concerns, and labouring most assiduously for its prosperity and peace. *In all things showing himself a pattern of good works: in doctrine showing uncorruptness, gravity, sincerity, sound speech, that cannot be condemned.* Tit. ii. 7, 8.

In the month of February, 1666-7, he was chosen a ruling elder, and discharged that office with pious energy, and with the divine blessing, till his death in 1685. By his marriage in the year 1668 (Wednesday, 29th April), with Mrs. Dorothy Heath, the daughter of Mr. William Listun, mentioned on page 9 and elsewhere, he became possessed of very considerable property, which was generously devoted to the defence of his suffering brethren, and to the main-

tenance of the cause of God, during the series of persecutions which befell the church. By a deed executed in 1679 he consecrated a large part, if not the whole, of his estates, to the education of young men for the ministry.

The subject of an educated ministry had for several years been agitated among the baptists, and it is probable that Mr. Terrill was confirmed in his intention and desire for an able and learned body of pastors, by a circular letter issued in 1675, by several of the London ministers, inviting brethren to London, "with a view to form a plan for an orderly standing ministry." Among the subscribers were the learned Daniel Dyke, William Collins, Henry Forty, and William Kiffin. The result of this convention is unknown; but at the General Assembly in 1689 a fund was formed for this purpose, the church under the pastoral care of Mr. Andrew Gifford sending thirty pounds. Several years had yet to elapse before Mr. Terrill's bequests could become available for the pressing wants of the churches.

"For the glory of God, and the propagation of the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ, and for the true love and affection he hath and beareth unto the congregation of which he is a member," Mr. Terrill empowers his trustees to devote the proceeds of his estates to the maintenance of "a holy learned man, well skilled in the tongues, viz. Greek and Hebrew, and doth own and practise the truth of believers' baptism, as a pastor or teacher to the congregation." Three half days in the week is the tutor to employ in the instruction of some young men, not exceeding twelve, members of any baptized congregation in or about Bristol, for two years at the most. Ten pounds yearly, to the amount of forty pounds, may be granted to any student, whose friends are unable to support him; if none such appear, to be lent to members of the congregation. From a reserved portion of his property, he further directs the trustees to pay £100

yearly to the pastor thus engaged, and £13 yearly to each of four students; the surplus to be for the benefit of the poor of the congregation.

From various causes, especially the unfitness of the first tutor, Mr. Jope, these liberal bequests did not come into effective operation until the pastorate of Mr. Bernard Fosket in 1720. Mr. Caleb Jope had settled at Broadmead about 1714, for the purpose of fulfilling the wishes of Mr. Terrill, and from some old account books it appears that he was paid from this fund from 1714 to 1719; but no records exist of the proceedings of the church at that time, and it is doubtful whether any steps were taken to obtain any young men to educate. However, for several years, ten poor members, a deaconess, and the overseers appointed under the deed, were regularly paid.

The admission of the first pupil under Mr. Fosket's tuition is thus recorded:—"Upon the 5th of November, 1720, being the day appointed for the meeting of the trustees and overseers of Mr. Terrill's estate, Mr. Thomas Rogers, a member of Mr. Gifford's church, was proposed as a person suitable for a student under the direction of brother Fosket, according to Mr. Terrill's deed, and it was requested that he might have ten pounds for his maintenance for one year, as the deed directs. Agreed he should have the liberty of learning, and referred the other part to the church's consideration." The benefaction was subsequently allowed. On the same day, the feoffees and trustees directed the profits of the estate to be paid to the sole use of Mr. Fosket; under the protest, however, of Mr. Samuel Hunt, one of the overseers, that Mr. Fosket "is not the pastor such as the will appointed to have Mr. Terrill's gift." A Mr. Peter Kitterell was the then recognized pastor of the church. In the year 1770, the Bristol Education Society was formed through the exertions of Dr. Caleb Evans, as

an additional aid to Mr. Terrill's bequests: with which it continues united.

But Mr. Terrill's deep interest in the welfare of the church, and the prosperity of Christ's kingdom, also appears in the preparation of the narrative of its varied history during the times of the Commonwealth and the Restoration, and now, for the first time, printed. From the incidental reference on page 47, it would appear that he commenced the record about the year 1672. This he continued from time to time, carefully collecting and arranging his materials, till in 1678 his handwriting disappears from the manuscript. It was doubtless at his suggestion that the brethren Bodenham and Davis, were, in 1675, desired every Monday to collect and record the "affronts and abuses" of the preceding week; which record, it is probable, is the "Waste Book" referred to by the unknown continuator of Mr. Terrill's narrative, who takes up the history on page 420, and which was afterwards continued from the same "Waste Book" by Mr. Bernard Fosket, from page 426 to the end, with the exception of a few pages at the close. It must be matter for regret that this original document is lost, since it contained a fuller account of the persecutions which, even in its abridged form, is of deep and thrilling interest. From several slight indications we deem it most likely that much of it was written by Mr. Terrill.

The series of letters written by Mr. Hardcastle during his second imprisonment, may perhaps owe their origin to the necessary seclusion of Mr. Terrill from the public assemblies of the church, on account of the numerous warrants which were issued for his arrest. During Mr. Hardcastle's first imprisonment, Mr. Terrill by his gifts supplied the pastor's absence; but now he too must suffer in the same righteous cause, and the church be deprived of his ministerial labours. These letters are preserved in a

separate book, and apparently in the handwriting of Mr. Terrill. The originals were perhaps destroyed to prevent their falling into the hands of the persecutors, and their employment as a means of further annoyance to the pastor.

The late Mr. Isaac James, classical tutor of the Bristol Academy, gave, in the year 1821, several lectures on the history of Broadmead, in the vestry of the meeting-house, to the illustration of which he had devoted much time and attention. For this purpose he made a lengthened abstract of these records, intending to add to it the results of his investigations into the history of dissent in Bristol. This manuscript forms the basis of the work published in 1840 by Mr. J. G. Fuller, under the title of "The Rise and Progress of Dissent in Bristol, chiefly in relation to the Broadmead Church," &c. 12mo.

For the manuscript employed in printing the present volume, the arrangement of the letters, and copies of the several documents, the Council of the Hanserd Knollys Society is indebted to J. M. Chandler, Esq., a deacon of the church. Its records he has laboriously investigated and arranged, having purposed to publish a work that should embody these papers; but which the previous publication of Mr. Fuller's work prevented. The editor has also to express his obligations to him, for the assistance he has rendered during the progress of the work through the press.

Scrupulous attention has been paid to the accuracy of the work, and its entire conformity to the originals. Both the manuscript copy and the proofs have been compared with them. No changes in the text have been permitted, except in the orthography, and the use of the plural form of the verb for the singular, which not unfrequently occurs. All explanations or additions are invariably placed in brackets. There are many references in the margin of the original to the contents of the text, in the handwriting of the late

Dr. Ryland, an example of which may be seen in the lithographed passage relating to Mr. John Canne; these have been omitted, as they form no part of the original record. The same eminent minister of Jesus Christ also continued in the heading of every page the Greek and Hebrew words with which Mr. Terrill began the manuscript, but discontinued by him in the account of the year 1675. Συγγραφὴ Ἐκκλησίας. קִיְנוֹרְ אֲבָנִי

The chronology of the author is preserved throughout, as it was thought that the occasional interspersions of the modern mode of computing the commencement of the year would be sufficient to correct any misapprehension, while the integrity of the record would be maintained. The few obsolete words occurring have been retained, the explanations being added in brackets, with one or two exceptions where the meaning could not be discovered.

The almost entire absence of punctuation in the original records has rendered this part of the editor's task most anxious and laborious. He trusts, however, that but few instances will be found in which he has not given the writer's meaning.

The fac-similes accompanying the volume will give a correct idea of the form of the manuscript, and the care that Mr. Terrill took in composing it. The autographs are interesting memorials of the excellent men who penned them. Although several original letters of Mr. Vavasor Powell are among the papers, in none does he sign his name at length; his initials only can be given.

Συγγραφὴ Ἐκκλησίας.

THE RECORDS

OF

A CHURCH OF CHRIST.

1827 128



THE RECORDS

OF

A CHURCH OF CHRIST.

GOD *who at sundry times, and [in] divers manners spake in time past unto the fathers by the prophets, hath in these last days spoken unto us by his Spirit, by his word, and providences, even by his Son; whom he hath appointed heir of all things, by whom also he made the world;*¹ this God, we say, *who worketh all things after the counsel of his own will,*² having according to his determinate purpose, suffered his church to be carried into the wilderness of antichristian darkness, as he signified and foretold by his servant the apostle John, Rev. xii. 6, and that she should be there, and prophesy in sackcloth 1260 years:—towards the expiration of those years it seemed good to our gracious God and Father, through Jesus Christ, to send more of his Holy Spirit into the hearts of the children of men; that they began more openly and professedly to seek after the Lord, and to shake off popish doctrines in King Henry the Eighth's days; and [to establish] reformation of worship in the days of King Edward the Sixth, of blessed memory; which was darkened again in the

¹ Heb. i. 1, 2.

² Eph. i. 11.

reign of Queen Mary, who burned those that she and her prelates knew left off popery; under whom many that kept faithful to the Lord, according to their light received, suffered martyrdom through fire.

But by the grace of the Lord, after [that] Christ, in these his martyrs, was again so openly and grossly crucified, it pleased our heavenly Father that reformation in worship was again carried on in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, of happy remembrance, and the pope wholly cast out, as having no dominion nor superiority in England; so that the power of Rome died, and the papal worship thereof languished: wherefore in the reign of king James, the popish worship struggling for life, it thought to revive again by treasons and politic contrivances.

But God, of his infinite grace, continued the spirit of reformation; [so] that a people were raised up, in the days of King Charles the First, to cast off the scraps of church government [left] by the papal hierarchy, namely, of lordly bishops; because that it was directly opposite to the holy scripture and rule of true worship. For they did lord it over God's heritage, and thereby did manifest themselves to be as the skirts of the whore of Romish Babylon; by reason they looked not after the pure and spiritual worship of God, but rested in the relics of antichristian forms of worship, by unscriptural officers, called, after human inventions, chancellors, vice-chancellors, deans, archdeacons, prebends, choristers, registrars, proctors, apparitors, &c.,³ not like the worship instituted by our Lord Jesus Christ recorded in scripture; having scarcely the form of godliness, and

³ ["As for deans, prebendaries, parsons, vicars, curates, archdeacons, chancellors, officials, commissaries, and such other the like names, *which being not found in holy scripture*, we have been thereby, through some men's error,

thought to allow of ecclesiastical degrees not known nor ever heard of in the better ages of former times."—Hooker, *Eccles. Pol.* book v. sect. 78. Hanbury's edit. ii. 394.]

wholly denying the power thereof. From such we are commanded to turn away. Under whom the Spirit of God in his people groaned, and were in pain to be delivered; earnestly waiting *for the manifestation of the sons of God*; but instead of further reformation, nothing but profanation of the Lord's day [was sanctioned], and a book of sports set forth and allowed, against which the Spirit of God in many of his people testified.⁴

Notwithstanding, they persisted with insultations over the appearance of God in any that would not run with them to the same excess of riot, superstition, and will-worship; continually putting yokes upon the necks of the disciples, which neither they nor their spiritual fathers were able to bear; insomuch that it made those that were godly to cry mightily unto God, under those heavy pressures and burdens in their consciences, and against those Egyptian task-masters that began to make their burdens heavier; citing to their spiritual courts (so called) any that they knew did refrain out of conscience from their ceremonies, and not come to their inventions in worship, as cringing at the altar, bowing at the name of Jesus, imposing the cross, and divers other innovations which came in again apace, after the began reformation, and the carrying of it on, as aforesaid; so that those whose hearts God had touched would get together and pray, repeat their sermon-notes, and upon the Lord's day would carefully sanctify the Christian sabbath, and [perform]

⁴ [May 24th, 1618, King James set forth a declaration to this effect:— "That for his good people's lawful recreations his pleasure was, that after the end of divine service they should not be disturbed, letted, or discouraged from any lawful recreations; such as dancing, either of men or women, archery for men, leaping, vaulting, or

any such harmless recreations; nor from having of May-games, Whitsun-ales or morris-dances, and setting up of May poles, &c." When this declaration "was brought abroad, it is not so hard to believe, as sad to recount, what grief and distraction thereby was occasioned in many honest men's hearts."—Fuller's Church Hist. book x. sect. iv. c. 56.]

other such acts of living piety. As when they could hear of any minister that did savour of God, or of the power of godliness, they would flock to him as doves to the windows; like babes new born from above, desiring the pure, sincere milk of the word, that they might grow thereby. For which they were branded with the name of puritans; it being an old trick of the devil, in his instruments, to cast some reproachful name or other upon the servants of the Lord in all ages: Satan envying the purity of that Spirit of holiness that God poured out upon the reformers of religion, in this nation of England, at that time. Which name of puritans was the common term of derision of the professors in England, from about the year of our Lord 1600, to the year 1640, and after;⁵ [even] as those that were reformers before, were stigmatized with the name of Brownist. And in other parts of Europe, those that God had stirred up to cast off popish doctrines and worship, and whom the Lord enlightened in the true and saving doctrine of justification by free grace, were called Waldenses, Lutherans, Calvinists, &c. And now, at this time, here in England, they were called puritans.

⁵ [The name puritan seems to have originated about the year 1580, for about that date we find the nonconformists of Elizabeth's reign thus addressing the Privy Council:—"We pray your good lordships to give us leave to advertise you how the adversary very cunningly hath new-christened us with an odious name, to the end, no doubt, that we being occupied in defence of our innocency, they might have greater freedom to go about their hateful treacheries. It is the name of *puritanism*; we detest both the name and heresy; it is a compound of all the heresies aforesaid.—Parte of a Register, &c., p. 129.

King James, in 1601, informs us, that there was a "sect among the anabaptists that were called puritans, from whence the precisians of our kingdoms, who, out of self-will and fancy, refuse to conform themselves to the orders of our church, have borrowed their name."—Works, p. 371. See Ottius de Sect. Anab. Browne's first work was published in 1582, but he became known as the leader of a separate party about 1580. The origin of the term puritan would thus appear to be simultaneous with that of Brownist.—Baillie's Dissuasive, p. 13. Neal, i. 245.]

And indeed the Lord did pour forth of the purity of his Spirit into the hearts of many, that made them to walk very holy, harmless, and undefiled in their day. And there were raised up divers holy and powerful ministers and preachers, in and about that time, in this nation; whereof in these parts was one Mr. Wroth, in Monmouthshire, not far from this city of Bristol, who for the powerfulness and efficaciousness of his preaching, with the exemplary holiness of his life, was called the apostle of Wales; for the papist, and all sorts almost, honoured him for a holy man.⁶ By his ministry it pleased the Lord to convert many, [so] that they left their sinful courses in the world; after which he caused them to separate from the worship of the world, and gathered them into [the] gospel order of church government. Which light of theirs began to shine very much in this part of the land.⁷

⁶ [Mr. Wroth was educated at Oxford, and became afterwards rector of Llanvaches, in Monmouthshire. About the year 1620 he was convinced of the vanity of all earthly pleasures by the sudden death of a friend, and devoted himself with great success to the ministry of the word. For refusing to read the Book of Sports, and other uncanonical acts, he was brought under the power of Laud, in the High Commission Court, in the years 1634 and 1635.—Thomas' MSS. p. 113.]

⁷ [Mr. Henry Jessey, "in November, 1639, was sent into Wales by his congregation to assist old Mr. Wroth, Mr. Cradock, and others in their gathering and constituting the church in Llanvaches, which afterwards was like Antioch, the mother church in that Gentile country; being very famous for her officers, members, order, and gifts." — Jessey's Life, &c., pp. 9, 10.]

"It was a church of independents

and baptists mixed, yet united in communion; they had two ministers, co-pastors—Mr. Wroth, an independent, and Mr. William Thomas, a baptist." —Thomas' MSS. p. 113.

The following is from a paper addressed to Mr. Terrill in 1675, and written by Mr. Henry Morris, a Welsh minister, giving a catalogue of the then existing churches in Wales. Under Monmouthshire he writes:—"The original nonconformist church gathered in this county was the first in all Wales that I can hear of; holy and reverend Mr. Wroth was the first gospel preacher here; the original materials of a church were called by him, and cast into a mould of church order, according to the New England way, in his days. They were, and are in judgment for free communion, uniting saints as saints." This interesting document is in the Addenda, note B.]

About the same time God raised up, in this city of Bristol, in Philip's parish, one Mr. Yeamans, a zealous preacher, that, although in some things, he, keeping in his place, did observe according to the time that then was, yet would not suffer his hearers to use any blind devotion, as bowing at the name of Jesus, and ignorant or rather customary walking and profaning the Sabbath; to whom the awakened souls and honest minded people did flock very much to hear him. They sat under his light near twenty years, keeping many fast days together in private houses; namely, at one William Listun's house, a glover, near Lawford's gate; and at one Richard Langford's house, a house-carpenter in the castle, and sometimes at other places. But at those two places they met mostly; where they did cry day and night to the Lord to pluck down the lordly prelates of the time, and the superstitions thereof; which prayers the Lord heard and graciously answered in his time; although first he suffered them to pass through sore afflictions, and they were scattered up and down, that is most of them. The chiefest of the professors were especially driven out of the city, from their houses and habitations; bringing them, as it were, into a wilderness state, passing through a Red Sea of blood by the wars.

But before that, those two men at whose houses they met, with Mr. Yeamans aforesaid, and Mr. Anthony Kelly, grocer, in High-street, Mr. Robert Haynes, writing-schoolmaster, in Corn-street, and Richard Moone, a farrier in Wine-street, and one Goodman Cole, a victualler, or butcher, at Lawford's gate:—which men, as some of the chief resolved and watchful professors in those days, they did use, as aforesaid, with many others, to keep days of fasting and prayer together, during Mr. Yeamans's time. But it pleased the Lord to gather one of these ripe professors, namely, Mr. Kelly, to himself, by death. He was one that feared the Lord above many, Neh. vii. 2; which words were the text

from whence Mr. Yeamans preached his funeral sermon. And likewise the aforesaid pious and laborious minister, Mr. Yeamans, deceased about two years after.⁸

Then the good people were at a great loss, and, like sheep without a shepherd, were scattered, and knew not where to hear. But sometimes Mr. Wroth, before mentioned, would come over, who lodged, when in Bristol, at William Listun's aforesaid; and sometimes others of the reforming ministers of South Wales, as Mr. Symonds, Mr. Cradock, Mr. Henry Walter, Mr. Moston, and others, would come.⁹ But when they came to town, the professors would run after them as hungry souls for food. By reason the preachers that were in the city, those that the good people looked upon as the best, and for want of better would go and hear them, because that in some things they seemed religious in those days, yet many times a great deal of bitterness came from them against the New England ministers, and those that went thither. For about that time, abundance of the godly transported themselves into that part of America, for conscience' sake, to enjoy the gospel of our Lord Jesus without the impositions of men. And those that remained here, groaning under the same burdens, could not bear to hear their brethren spoken against.

About that time Mr. Hazzard, the minister, being come to

⁸ [Mr. Yeamans died in the year 1633. Fuller's Dissent in Bristol, p. 15.]

⁹ [Mr. Symonds was afterwards colleague of Mr. Cradock, at Allhallows, in London, whither they came with many others at the commencement of the war. "He preached several strange things, as for a toleration and liberty for all men to worship God according to their consciences, and in favour of anti-pædo-baptism." At an earlier period, in 1635, these two excellent men had exer-

cised a beneficial influence on the mind of Baxter, who met with them at Shrewsbury. Baxter's Narr. p. 13. Mr. Symonds, Mr. Cradock, and Mr. Walter were nominated by the parliament, in 1646, with some others from that church, six in all, to be itinerary preachers in Wales. Edwards's Gangrena, part III. p. 242. Mr. Moston was a man of great abilities, and highly esteemed as a minister of God's word.]

the city, a young preacher that minded good things, and could not close with the grossness of those times, did some time preach at Nicolas, the public place,¹ to whom the good people flocked. But he, savouring of a puritanical spirit, preaching against the debauchery of the people and priests, was worked out from thence, after which he preached some time as a lecturer at Redcliff public place, till a minister was provided by those that had the donation.²

Now at this [time], Mr. Kelly being some years deceased, his widow persevered in godliness; and it might be said of her as of Ruth (iii. 11), all the city did know her to be a virtuous woman: she was like a he-goat before the flock.³ For in those days Mrs. Kelly was very famous for piety and reformation, well known to all, bearing a living testimony against the superstitions and traditions of those days, and she would not observe their invented times and feasts, called holy days. At which time she kept a grocer's shop in High-street, between the Guilders' Inn and the High Cross,⁴ where she would keep open her shop on the time they called Christmas day, and sit sewing in her shop, as a witness for God in the midst of the city, in the face of the sun, and in the sight of all men; even in those very days of darkness, when, as it were, all sorts of people had a reverence of that particular day above all others. And as the apostle saith, 1 Cor. viii. 7, *There was not in every man that knowledge; for some, with conscience of the idol unto this hour, eat it as a thing offered unto an idol, and their conscience being weak is defiled.* But this gracious woman, afterwards called Mrs. Hazzard, like a Deborah she *arose*, with strength of holy resolution in her soul from God, even *a mother in Israel*,⁵ and so she proved:

¹ [i. e. the parish church.]

² [This was in 1639. Fuller's Discourse, &c. p. 15.]

³ [Jer. i. 8.]

⁴ [The high cross formerly stood at the upper end of High-street.]

⁵ [Judges v. 7.]

because she was the first woman in this city of Bristol that practised that truth of the Lord, which was then hated and odious, namely, separation.

Now the way that the Lord took to bring her, with some others of the professors in this city, to separate from the world, was this:—after they had, as before rehearsed, been awakened, and met first together to repeat sermon-notes, then they kept many days of prayer together, as a company of good people, sensible of the sins and snares of their day. In doing of which duties they began to be more humble and spiritual, and grow more resolved for God, heaven, and eternal happiness, and for the worship of God according to holy scriptures. So that when they had been conversant in these duties and pious acts of hearing the best men, repeating their notes to one another, whetting them on their hearts, and praying them over, fasting and praying together frequently, and had thus continued in so doing for about the space of twenty years, and beginning to grow somewhat numerous in that work, they had strength to begin to go further, for the path of those truths of building up one another was well beaten, though they had not a little reproach cast on them for their so meeting; because the world and wicked men vilified them, saying, they met together in the night to be unclean, but the Lord knew their innocency; and would further deride them, as that they had women preachers among them, because there were many good women, that frequented their assembling, who, when they should upon occasion be speaking with the world about the things thereof, in their buying or selling, they would speak very heavenly; [then] they would brand the good people with such odiums, and the like.

Now these meetings of prayer, &c. as aforesaid, being so frequent, and many resorting unto them, they became such a light, as a city upon a hill that could not be hid, especially from the bishops, who, instead of being

promoters and encouragers in such acts of piety, they were the obstructers, and could not bear it, for they endeavoured to suppress them. And God made his people not to bear them, nor their ways of worship; for the professors, meeting one day in a house in High-street, the house was assaulted by the rude multitude and seamen, so that they broke all the windows, because they heard there was a conventicle of puritans; which, to them, was a very strange and unheard of thing, for people to meet in a church with a chimney in it, as they termed it.

When the uproar was over, some of the good people complained to the mayor of the city that then was, for redress upon some that were chief. But instead of justice being done, he imprisoned several of the godly that met; whereupon some of them, being public, active, spirited men, drew up a petition to the parliament that then sat, against the mayor of the city, for suffering them to be abused; and not only so, but imprisoning them when they complained. So that William Listun before-mentioned, at whose house they commonly met, went to London, delivered the said petition to the parliament, who then favoured the righteous cause of God's people in general, and well resented their case in Bristol, which so startled the mayor of the city, that it abated the execution of the fury of his spirit. So that when the said Mr. Listun came home from London, it was noised about the city that he would be imprisoned, as others had been, and more severely dealt with, wherefore he was persuaded not to be seen near the Tolzey; but the next day he went and appeared at the High Cross, standing in his intimate acquaintance's shop, that faced the Tolzey, at one Mr. Haynes's, a glover; where standing, a serjeant was sent, for him to come before the mayor, who, when he came, instead of sending him to prison, brought him home to his house, and entertained him very civilly, asking him

what he did at London; who told him, he went thither to petition the parliament against his worship. The mayor said he should first have come to him. He answered, that they had by others made their complaint to him, but instead of doing them justice, they were imprisoned. Yet, notwithstanding this his bold appearing, and telling him that he was the person that petitioned, he was discharged without further trouble.

Thus you may see how the Lord stood by them, and made them stronger and stronger to go forward in reformation, as the prelates went forward in their innovations and superstitions. For about that time the parsons of the parishes were commanded that their communicants should kneel at the sacrament. The good people, especially some of the chief, and those afore-mentioned, could not bear it, nor would not kneel, but sit; which would not be borne by the parsons. Then they would not come at all to their sacraments, but at such times would get out of town, or meet together if they could get any godly minister to preach to them, and some would rent houses, in other parishes, where they could hear of a good man, or towards Cathay, out of the bishop's diocese, for their respective families to spend the Lord's day, going thither over night, on the last day of the week, and the second day return again to their shops, and places where they kept their trades and vocations all the week.⁶

⁶ [In the year 1631 the bishop of Bristol issued articles of inquiry for his diocese, some of which were to the following effect:—Whether Sundays and holy days were kept according to the book of Common Prayer; whether the householders, or some one of their families, attended the church on Wednesdays and Fridays; whether they bow or kneel at the mention of the name of Jesus; whether any used his manual

craft on holy days, especially during divine service; whether schismatics were admitted to communion; whether any married women refused to come to church after confinement; whether there are any private assemblies, or conventicles, in the parish; whether there be any that come to hear sermons, but not common prayer; whether any impugn the ceremonies, the articles of religion, and speak against them. "Articles to

Thus they shifted, up and down, for some years, when the clergy began to be high. About, and in this time, the good people persuaded Mrs. Hazzard, Kelly that then was, to be married to Mr. Hazzard, the minister aforesaid; [to] whom, at his, and the importunity of the good people, she was married; who, after some time, being troubled by the parson of the parish where they lived, in High-street, because Mrs. Hazzard would not conform, and had openly, in the presence of the congregation, gone forth in the midst of his sermon, when she heard him begin to bring in another innovation, viz. [when] he began to assert that pictures and images might be used; when she heard that, away she went forth before them all, and said she would hear him no more, nor never did to this day; for that, together with not kneeling as aforesaid, trouble came on, and they knew no way to escape the utmost rigour of his envy, because their spiritual courts were so busy. Whereupon she thought of taking a house in Redcliff-street, for their family to spend the Lord's day, that they might be out of the parish, as before she had done in Phillip's parish, that they might have the benefit of hearing Mr. Yeamans, in her former husband's time and his. And as Mr. Hazzard and his wife were stepped out of doors into the street to go to take a house, behold, providentially, the Lord sent a woman, that came to them in the street, and told them [that] the minister⁷ of 'TEwins [St. Ewins] parish was deceased, and that the people of the parish had chosen him to be their minister. So in some short time he was settled there.⁸

Thus God provided [for] them the parsonage of 'TEwins,

be enquired of, and answered at the fourth visitation of the Rt. Rev. Father in God, Robert, by God's divine Providence, Lord Bishop of Bristol. 1631."]

⁷ [A Mr. Thomas Gawen.]

⁸ [Mr. Hazzard was appointed preacher at St. Ewins in 1639, where he minis-

tered till 1643. In the early part of 1639 he was supplying Redcliff church, which led to the desire, on the part of Mrs. Hazzard, of obtaining a residence in that parish; a plan obviated by the appointment of her husband to St. Ewins.]

with the house for the minister, and a benefit besides, which she looked upon as an eminent answer of prayer, having often prayed that God would find out some way to deliver them. And she had many times used this expression :—" Lord, hast thou never a little corner to hide us from the rage of man?" And a little house it was that God gave them, when, by that providence, they were succoured themselves, and many others also; for they, using it only [on] Lord's days, they entertained sometimes two or three families together, at one time, that came to the city, bound for New England;⁹ where they abode until they were ready, or if they waited for a wind. So the Lord, by them, made their house as an hospital for his people in their peregrination. And when it was empty of them, at other times, several good women would come out of other parishes, and be brought to bed there at their time of lying-in, to be in Mr. Hazzard's parish, to avoid the ceremonies of their churching, the cross, and other impositions that most of the parsons of other parishes did burden them withal that were delivered within their precincts.

Thus the Lord went before his people by his providences, which things set them at a further distance from the forms of the world's worship; for the consciences of the good people (were heavy-laden, having, as aforesaid, so long sat under those burdens of men's inventions in worship,) began to be very weary.

Then it pleased the Lord to stir up some few of the professors of this city, to begin to lead the way out of Babylon—the corrupt worship, and to separate from them, and not so much as come near any of their superstitions—viz. five persons began to go further, and scrupled to hear common prayer;

⁹ [About the year 1634 or 1635, "when the yoke of episcopal persecution in England became so heavy on the necks of the most godly, many thou-

sands of them did flee away, to join themselves to the American churches." Baillie's *Dissuasive*, &c. p. 55. ed. 1646.]

even four men and one woman, namely, one Goodman Atkins, a countryman of Stapleton, two miles from Bristol, also one Goodman Cole, a butcher, without Lawford's Gate, with one Richard Moone, a farrier, in Wine-street, and one Mr. Bacon, a young minister, together with Mrs. Hazzard aforesaid. These persons *went out* from hearing common prayer, *not knowing whither they went*; but at the command of God, 2 Cor. vi. 17, they *went out*, as it is said of Abraham, Heb. xi. 8.

But before Mrs. Hazzard could get out from that of hearing common prayer, she had a very sore conflict in her spirit, because her husband did read that, according to the necessity of his place, though he would not administer the sacrament to all the parish, and many other things in conscience he could not do. For her temptation lay here, that she must hear her husband; for it would be of ill report if she should forbear, and a bad example unto others if she did refrain and not go. But at last, one Lord's day, in the morning, it was very much on her spirit not to go, but then the temptation aforesaid appears, and comes in, saying, she must not neglect that [duty] of being present when common prayer was read, seeing her husband was the preacher; which reasoning did, as it were, force her to go. (Then the Spirit of the Lord steps in, and stands in the way.) As she was going, she had some strong doubts that made her turn back, and she returned, being on the stairs, into her chamber again, and opening her bible to read, happened upon that place in Rev. xiv. 9, 10, 11, *If any man worship the beast and his image, and receive his mark in his forehead, or in his hand, the same shall drink of the wine of the wrath of God, which is poured out without mixture into the cup of his indignation, and he shall be tormented with fire and brimstone in the presence of the holy angels, and in the presence of the Lamb; and the smoke of their torment ascendeth up for ever and ever: and they have*

no rest day nor night, who worship the beast and his image, and whosoever receiveth the mark of his name, or print, as she said it was in her old book; and χάραγμα may be so translated, print, or stamp. This struck such terror into her soul, that she dreaded to go; and thereupon, presently, without admitting, or hearkening to any more reasoning, she resolved, in the strength of the Lord, never to go more to hear common prayer. Thus the Spirit of Christ in her soul was stronger than Satan and antichrist: making her to fear sin, and willingly to obey the voice of the Lord in the holy scriptures.

The Lord having thus convinced them of the dangerous state of all such that worshipped the beast, or his image, or any thing that had his print, whether publicly or plainly to be seen as in the forehead; or that did it more secretly, receiving the impression, though but in a hand, that they should be the subjects of his wrath, it did both awaken them to look about, and scrutinously to make search after the primitive, scriptural, and instituted worship of the Lord, and also it did strengthen them with fear and holy trembling, to take up holy resolutions to follow the Lord; giving up themselves to him to walk before him all the days of their lives in his ways, and joining together, in the fear of the Lord, to separate from the worship of the times.

ANNO 1640.

And thus the Lord led them by his Spirit in a way and path that they knew not, having called them *out of darkness into his marvellous light* by Jesus Christ our Lord. So that in the year of our for ever blessed Redeemer, the Lord Jesus (1640) one thousand six hundred and forty, those five persons, namely Goodman Atkins of Stapleton, Goodman Cole, a butcher of Lawford's Gate, Richard Moone, a farrier in Wine Street, and Mr. Bacon, a young minister, with Mrs.

Hazzard, at Mrs. Hazzard's house, at the upper end of Broad Street, in Bristol, they met together, and came to a holy resolution to separate from the worship of the world and times they lived in, and that they would go no more to it. And with godly purpose of heart [they] joined themselves together in the Lord; only thus covenanting, That they would, in the strength and assistance of the Lord, come forth of the world, and worship the Lord more purely, persevering therein to their end.

Thus they having engaged themselves to the Lord, and one to the other, to walk before him according to his word, they would go to hear common prayer no more; but after the common prayer was over in the morning, when the psalm was singing, they would go in to hear Mr. Hazzard preach. Thus they did on the mornings of the Lord's day, but in the afternoons they met by themselves, and so built up one another. At their beginning they met usually at Mr. Hazzard's, and sometimes at Mr. Bacon's, in Lewin's Mead.

Shortly after this, on a time called Easter, because Mr. Hazzard could not in conscience give the sacrament to the people of the parish, he went out of town, and took that season to visit his kindred at Lyme. And at that juncture of time the providence of God brought to this city one Mr. Canne, a *baptized* man; it was that Mr. Canne that made notes and references upon the bible. He was a man very eminent in his day for godliness, and for reformation in religion, having great understanding in the way of the Lord.

When Mrs. Hazzard heard that he was come to town she went to the Dolphin Inn, and fetched him to her house, and entertained him all the time he stayed in the city; who helped them very much in the Lord, he being a man skilful in gospel order. Like unto Aquila, he taught them the way of the Lord more perfectly, and settled them in church order, and showed them the difference betwixt the church of

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ing in the way of the Lord.

Mr Cann
a Baptist

my Faith
& Fellowship of 14 Godpell.
of Christ. Tho: Lewis

James Atton
Henry Fortye
Sam^l Bushall

Your most affectionate Father
(W. 1641)

0 unworthy friend & brother in our Lord Jesus
Thos. Handeable

For most affectionate brother & servant
m. y. D.

J.P.

Edw. Ferris

Your much endeared & obliged Bro:
Robert Browne

Christ and antichrist, and left with them a printed book treating of the same, and divers printed papers to that purpose.¹ So that by this instrument, Mr. Canne, the Lord did confirm and settle them; showing them how they should join together, and take in members. And he exhorted them to wait upon God together, and to expect the presence of God with those gifts they had, and to depart from those ministers that did not come out of anti-christian worship. And when he had stayed some time in the city he departed.

And on a Lord's day following he preached at a place called Westerleigh, about seven miles from this city; and many of the professors from hence went thither to hear him, with Mrs. Hazzard, willing to enjoy such a light as long as they could; where he had liberty to preach in the public place, called a church, in the morning, but in the afternoon could not have entrance. The obstruction was by a very godly great woman, that dwelt in that place, who was somewhat severe in the profession of what she knew, hearing that he was a baptized man, by them called an anabaptist, which was to some sufficient cause of prejudice; because the truth of believers' baptism had been for a long time buried, yea, for a long time by popish inventions, and their sprinkling brought in the room thereof. And [this prejudice existed] by reason [that] persons in the practice of that truth

¹ [Mr. Canne published in 1632, at Amsterdam, "The Way to Peace, &c., at the reconciliation of certain brethren, between whom there had been former differences." He calls himself "Pastor of the ancient English church in Amsterdam," in 1634, when he printed "A Necessitie of Separation from the Church of England," which, probably, is the book here referred to. Between that date and 1640 he must have become a baptist, as stated in the text.

He returned shortly after his visit to Bristol to Amsterdam, where he published "Syon's Prerogative Royal, to prove that every particular congregation hath from Christ absolute and entire power to exercise in and of herself every ordinance of God, and is an independent body, not standing under any other ecclesiastical authority out of itself."—Amsterdam, 1641, 12mo. pp. 64. See also Baillie's *Dissuasive*, pp. 15, 107.]

of baptism were by some rendered very obnoxious; because, about one hundred years before, some beyond the sea, in Germany, that held that truth of believers' baptism, did, as some say, do some very irregular actions; of whom we can have no true account what they were but by their enemies; for none but such in any history have made any relation or narrative of them.

And truly, if all shall be taken for truth that the enemies of God's people, in their own understanding, do write, what will they not say of the most pure and best reforming people, under any of the denominations whatsoever. Witness the many pamphlets written by the adversaries, that do vilify those friends, the good people called the presbyterians, and independents. That if there should be none else penned by the godly, to take off those gross calumnies and untruths cast upon the profession of the most sincere professors now in these times, would not the next age be stumbled thereby, and almost abhor profession that separates from the church of Rome, unless God by his Spirit make them subject to his truth, or else they shall not enjoy serene peace of conscience?

But if those people in Germany did hold that truth, and many errors with it, as denying original sin, and [affirming] free will, as some have ground to think they did,² their errors are to be blamed and rejected, but not their sincere profession of that truth of believers' baptism; nor other men now, so long as they hold with that sound truth, all other sound principles of Christian religion equally with the godly, called presbyterians and independents; which was Mr. Canne's case, and the case now of many thousands in England that do not hold communion with others, though they do own and practise believers' baptism. Because they hold with it free will and falling from grace, &c., are all therefore to be

² [See Tracts on Liberty of Conscience, pp. xcvi. 170, 172.]

counted unsound and heretical, because some that go under the name, or have taken up baptism, do hold errors? Therefore, for the very bare holding of believers' baptism, and for practising the same, a man cannot be, and ought not to be accounted a heretic; neither are they so esteemed by the godly, wise, and learned, because they differ only in the subject or time; for all other sound Christians do own baptism with water to be an ordinance of Christ, and so do they.

But to speak after men, not to mention the commands in scripture, which is fully and clear for believers' baptism, and the practice of Christ himself, his apostles, and primitive saints, which should be our pattern and warrant for the worship of God, Dr. Ames saith, it is not heresy simply to deny the baptism of children; and he gives this reason, Because by this they overthrow not the foundation of faith. Thus this learned man affirms, as you may see in his *Cases of Conscience*, book the fourth, page the eleventh.³ In whose *Cases of Conscience*, further, where he treats of baptism in answer to this query, Who are to be baptized? he saith, concerning those of age there can be no question or doubt. See *idem liber*, page 81.⁴ This Dr. Ames, his *Body of Divinity*⁵ and *Cases of Conscience*, are received by divines very orthodox.

But to return to our narrative of the Lord's carrying on the truth of separation. This godly, honourable woman, perceiving that Mr. Canne was a baptist, and not in her way, but a step beyond her light, caused the

³ [Q. 3. An anabaptistæ habendi sint pro hæreticis? Resp. Non sunt proprie hæretici, qua pædobaptismum simpliciter negant, quamvis error ille sit in ecclesia non tolerandus: quia summam fidei ad salutem necessariæ hoc errore non evertunt.—Gul. Amesii, De Conscientia, &c., Lib. iv. cap. iv. p. 172. Amstel. 1654.]

⁴ [Quinam sunt baptizandi? Resp. I. De adultis non potest esse quæstio: quia in illis requiritur intelligentia veræ fidei et voluntas baptismi suscipiendi distincte declarata.—Ibid. Lib. iv. cap. xxvii. p. 246.]

⁵ Gul. Amesii, *Medulla Theologica* Amstel. 1652.]

public place to be made fast, whereby they were prevented to come in. Then he drew forth, with abundance of people, into a green thereby, and sent for Mr. Fowler, the minister that lived there, to speak with him, who was a holy good man, of great worth for his moderation, zeal, sincerity, and a sound preacher of the gospel, as he approved himself since; who, accordingly, came to Mr. Canne, in the green, where they debated the business of reformation, and the duty of separation from the worship of antichrist, cleaving close to the doctrine of our Lord Jesus and his instituted worship. To which Mr. Fowler agreed that there was great corruption in worship, and that it was the duty of people to reform from corruptions in worship; but he said that at that season, as things stood, it was not a time, because they should not be suffered, and should be cast out of all public places. Mr. Canne answered, that mattered not; though they could not get a public place or such conveniences, they should hire a barn to meet in, keeping the worship and commands of the Lord as they were delivered to us. Thus Mr. Canne continued near two hours in the green, asserting and proving the duty of a people to the Lord in such a day; after which they took leave of each other and departed.

But the business of preaching in a barn could hardly be received. The thing of relative holiness, and tincture of consecrated places, was not off the people; for they were not as yet prepared, having been so long nursed up in ignorance and outward forms.

But Mr. Hazzard being come home, Mr. Fowler aforesaid meeting with him, told him his wife was quite gone, and would hear him no more. Others deridingly said, the next thing that followed would be that she would forsake the bed also. Thus Satan, when he knew not how to hinder them in their going on to perfect separation, he cast out slanderous fomentations. But she, approving her heart to the

Lord, walked before him, with her husband, in his ordinances blameless, to his death, near thirty years afterwards.

Then she, with those few that had joined themselves together to worship the Lord more purely, as aforesaid, after Mr. Canne had thus instructed them, and showed them the order of God's house, and the difference thereof from anti-christian worship; then they stepped further in separation, and would not so much as hear any minister that did read common prayer. Thus the Lord led them by degrees, and brought them out of popish darkness into his marvellous light of the gospel.

First of all, the Lord alone, by his Spirit, not by might nor by power, opened their eyes, and made them cast off the body of false doctrines of the church of Rome, that had so long deceived the nations, and *made them drunk with the wine of her fornication*, worshipping under pretence the true God in a false manner, wresting the holy scriptures to their own damnation, saying the real presence of Christ was in the sacrament that signified his body, by a transubstantiation, and teaching [that] man's works merit salvation, and works of supererogation, &c.

Secondly, The Lord put it into the hearts of some in authority in this nation to cast off the body of the worship of Rome, as well as their doctrine, namely, the nest of idolaters; even to cast out the monks, friars, abbots, priests, masses, advocacion of saints, with praying for the deceased, &c. These things were done long before; for which ruff [*sic*] and rough work God chose and fitted rough spirits to do it; more for their own interest and concern, than aiming at God's glory. So, through man's own private ends, the wise Lord managed his own good pleasure. Witness king Henry VIII.

Thirdly, It pleased the Lord, in these latter days to raise up a people, and make them come a step further in the

reformation; even to come from under the skirts of the whore, and to cast off popish scraps of doctrine and worship, the appendices thereof: namely, idolatrous holy days, primarily their three great or cardinal masses, viz., Michaels-mass, Christ—or pymass, thirdly Candles-mass, days of their own invention, like Jeroboam; together with the multitude of their saints' days, so called, as St. Allsouls, and St. Midsummer. The folly of which might be shown at large, if it might not obstruct the design of a brief narrative how the Lord brought this church out of darkness.

Fourthly, The Lord alone, by his Spirit, made them to disrelish and cast off carnal, debauched preachers, idol shepherds that cared not after the flock but the fleece, looking their gain from every quarter, that did not relish or savour what they preached, nor preach what they savoured; being thus blind, others' eyes were opened not to follow them.

Fifthly, The Lord made them to embrace and adhere, to follow, love, and cleave to lively and powerful preachers; by giving the people a taste of his Spirit, they desired more, that they might grow thereby, and could not be content with the abominable broth that was not poured out by his Spirit.

Sixthly, The Holy One, by pouring forth into the hearts of those that should be saved a more sanctified spirit, he made them cast off and leave the common road; they forsook profaning the Lord's day and hearkening unto homilies, of which they grew weary.

Seventhly, They left off superstitious bowing at the name of Jesus, and to the altar; which thing was plain and open idolatry, worshipping and adoring that which there is no show of precept for, but a direct and visible breach of the second commandment.

Eighthly, They cast off the cross and other ceremonies at their sprinkling children; which was a good step, though

the people could not see through to reform in that particular, to cast off the thing of sprinkling itself, which was the mere invention of men three hundred years after Christ, [being] not mentioned of in Tertullian's time—the fruit of the apostacy that the church fell into, from one thing to another, until at last they lost the substance of religion, and kept only a shadow thereof. From baptizing souls, as they entered into the church, in a river, they made a *vaunt*, and placed it in their public places, near some great door; in all such places signifying or resembling the entrance into the church. Secondly, From dipping the children in the font, they by degrees took up sprinkling them. Thirdly, From a font, in process of time, they used a bason in their place called a church. Fourthly, From a bason in their church they brought it to a bason in the house. Fifthly, From men, their parsons, to sprinkle, they allowed women to do it, in case of necessity, as they called it, to seal their wills, and seal that which they never read by the party's profession or confession, or saw by their conversation; thus leaving the examples in holy scripture, and the commands of the Lord. *In vain do they worship him, teaching for doctrines the commandments of men*, Mark vii. 7, or traditions of men; setting up their posts by the Lord's.

Ninthly. Though the Lord for a time winked at the times of these ignorances in that thing, he made them cast off the use of pictures and images; and they could not bear to hear any preach or plead for that old scrap and relic of idolatry, so much like pleading for Baal.

Tenthly. The Lord wrought so upon their spirits, that they would not kneel at the sacrament, because the example in holy scriptures was sitting at the Lord's Supper; although it was pleaded against them, [that] so solemn an ordinance was to be done with a great deal of reverence, and kneeling was a reverence to God. But a reverence and

decency that God hath not commanded must not be observed, to make void the example or command; the pattern must be kept. Remember God's altar must not be made of hewn stone, which to man was more decent; so that this small thing in the eye of many, was great strength to the godly that left it off. They that make conscience in doing small things will be made thereby stronger, and enabled to do greater; for "he that hath clean hands shall wax stronger and stronger in the Lord."

Eleventhly, They cast off hearing the common prayer—that nurse of formality and chain of security. Many persons by reading thereof, without searching their hearts and leaving off sin, they would lick themselves whole in their thoughts or esteem, like the harlot in the Proverbs, [who] said, *I have paid my vows* [Prov. vii. 14]; come, let us sin and be vain; not regarding whether their spirits received any divine impress upon them, [being] broken and humbled in the presence of God. And so the Spirit of the Lord [was] quenched, and no room to breathe, from the sense of their present miscarriages or wants, whether consolation or humiliation.

Twelfthly, They were holpen by the Lord to cast off this also, and to step this further in their reformation, that at last they would not hear those men that did read common prayer, that did thereby declare themselves to own, or partake in any part, consentingly to the worship of the beast.

Thus I have briefly recited twelve steps that doth complete a demonstration that they, this church, in their beginning, were truly reformed in a great measure, in turning from the worship of antichrist. And it is prayed and hoped [that] the Lord will in his due time, not only turn them from antichrist, but that he will also turn them perfectly to himself, and make them so to wait upon him until he come, Rev. ii. 25; xxii. 20.

These few being thus joined, confirmed, and separated, they began very much to increase; and many that the Lord had awakened and converted joined in to them. But divers that were grave, sincere, and godly people, that had gone all along with them step by step until this, would not enter into church fellowship at that time, standing off for many years. Now, notwithstanding some good people had not light in that duty, so to separate from the church of England, as they called it, and did not come in, yet those that had begun to join themselves together they did increase, enjoying only their own gifts.

But sometimes Mr. Wroth would come over and preach to them, strengthening them in the Lord, who lodged at Mr. Listun's aforesaid, whose children the said Mr. Wroth would use to teach them at night-times this verse following:—

Thy sin, thy end, the death of Christ,
The eternal pangs of hell,
The day of doom, the joys of heaven,
These six remember well.

Thus this holy and humble man, desiring the good of souls, would be doing good wherever he came, both to young and old. So this church of Christ, sometimes they had food from their Father's house sent unto them, and without feeding upon the husks of the swine. And sometimes some of the professors of Bristol would go over to Wales, to hear Mr. Wroth and the good ministers there, so lively were they in those times; so that the Lord by one and by another built and increased them still. Reformation in separation went on.

Much about this time Mr. Bacon,⁶ that chiefly was speaker or teacher to this people, he was sent for, away from them, to

⁶ [Mr. Robert Bacon published in 1646, "Christ Mighty in Himself and Members, revealed in some short expressions by way of catechism; to which

is added, A Hint of the Nature of the Kingdom of God, by R. Bacon, a companion with them that have not the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ with

a good people that the Lord stirred up, at a place called Filton, three miles from this city, having no minister at that time to their parish. They, after much seeking of him, and arguing with him and the church here, did obtain him; and the church of Bristol, sore against their wills, was fain to part with him to them, though he was principally useful to them, for they had no settled pastor as yet. Which notwithstanding the loss of him, the church here kept together; having sometimes only the brethren of the church, that were not ministers, vulgarly so called, but only gifted, [who] did use to speak and carry on the meetings; and they multiplied and grew in the fear of the Lord.

Then there joined unto them one Mr. Pennill, who had before been a minister at Leonards, but being inclined to reformation was several times set on by Mrs. Hazzard, like a Priscilla; so he left off his conformity, and closed in with them. And the church increased to about one hundred [and] sixty persons from within the city and [from the] country near fifteen miles round. Some from Busselton, Keynsham, and Wells, came and joined themselves to them.

Then began the wars to break forth between king Charles I. and the parliament of England.⁷ Then, where the king's army came, the godly professing people were fain to fly, and leave their habitations. At that time another nickname and

respect of persons." 12mo, London. Dedicated to the Right Hon. Lady Elizabeth, Viscountess Say and Seal. Edwards tells us that in 1645 or 1646 he was in London, having been expelled from Gloucester for "several erroneous doctrines," denial of infant's baptism being probably one of them, and found a refuge in the house of Mr. Edward Barber, in Threadneedle Street, pastor of a baptist church assembling in the Spital. Mr. Bacon is reported to have

returned to Bristol after the taking of that city by the parliament's forces, Sept. 10, 1645.—Gangræna I. p. 38, II. p. 109. Crosby, iii. 3.]

⁷ [On the 23rd of April, 1642, the king attempted to seize Hull, with its magazine of arms and provisions; on the 22nd of August he raised his standard at Nottingham; and on the 23rd of October the first battle was fought, at Edgehill, in Warwickshire. White-locke, pp. 55, 59, 61.]

term of derision was cast upon the professors, that they were called Roundheads. Some think it arose from this:—the good people that were zealous for the Lord, turning from the manners of the world as well as [from] their worships, would not wear their hair long, as did the ungodly, therefore they would cause their hair to be rounded very short, being cut so near that the very tips of their ears were seen. Thus the opprobrious name of roundhead was raised, and the name of puritan began to be less used and declined; so that if the king's soldiers met with any such, they were the objects of their fury; wherefore the good people were forced to fly from them.⁸ And this city being now possessed with the parliament's army, many of the ministers and professors from Wales were fain to make haste from their families, being like to be taken by the Commission of Array,⁹ [and] fled by night, some one way and some another, and came to this city, and joined (namely, most of the church at Llanvaches) with the church at Bristol. But Mr. Wroth, their pastor, was by the Lord laid asleep, according to his prayer, before the war, which for a great while was feared; and therefore he petitioned [that] he might never hear a drum beat in order thereto.

These two churches being thus come together, and now having an opportunity to have the ordinance of the Lord, the Lord's supper, to be administered to them, by reason

⁸ ["The debauched rabble through the land, emboldened by his gentry, and seconded by the common soldiers of the king's army, took all that were called puritans for their enemies. . . . So that if any one was noted for a strict and famous preacher, or for a man of a precise and pious life, he was either plundered or abused, and in danger of his life. . . . Most were afraid of their lives, and so they sought refuge in the

parliament's garrisons."—Baxter's Narrative, p. 44.]

⁹ [In June, 1642, the king appointed Commissioners of Array, to raise in various parts of the country, men and money for an army. Their operations commenced in Leicestershire. The Commission of Array was declared illegal, and against the property and liberty of the subject, by the parliament.—Whitelocke, p. 56. Husband's Collections, pp. 344—348.]

Mr. Cradock¹ was come; for unto that time, although they had separated about two years from the world, yet were [they] not in a settled way with a pastor over them, but Mr. Cradock being pastor over the church from Llanvaches, they sat down together and brake bread; he being the administrator, first in the Dolphin, in the great room, then afterward sometimes at a baker's house, upon James' Back, who was a member of the church. And after that they had the use of a small public place to themselves, called 'TEwins, by the Tolzey, where they used to preach and celebrate the ordinance of the Lord as it was delivered. And so they continued and kept together in church fellowship, breaking bread, and prayers, until Bristol was delivered up to the king's forces, which was in the year of our Lord one thousand six hundred and forty and three.²

ANNO 1643.

Then those of Wales, and most of the professors of this city, were fain to journey to London; and thus going, a little way they were guarded by a conduct of the king's soldiers, according to articles agreed upon at the delivering the city. But by the same guard they were stripped and robbed in the country, contrary to [the] articles, and so left them, those that had horses to go on foot. When they came to London, the said people of Wales, and those of

¹ [Mr. Walter Cradock was of a reputable family, and studied at Oxford for the ministry. Converted by the instrumentality of Mr. Wroth, he began to preach the gospel with great acceptance, and while acting as curate to Mr. Erbury, vicar of St. Mary's, Cardiff, in 1634, was exposed to episcopal wrath, suspended, and deprived of his licence. In 1639 he was united with Mr. Wroth,

Mr. Jessey, and others, in forming the church at Llanvaches, but was chiefly occupied in itinerant labours through Wales.—Thomas's Hist. of Welsh Association, pp. 3, 4.]

² [26th of July, to Prince Rupert, after three days' siege.—Clarendon Hist. of Reb. II. i. 395. For Mrs. Hazzard's heroic conduct on this occasion see Addenda, Note C.]

Bristol joined together, and did commonly meet at Great Allhallows for the most part; only those professors that were baptized before they went up, they did sit down with Mr. Kiffin³ and his church in London, being likewise baptized.

ANNO 1645.

And when Bristol was surrendered again to the parliament,⁴ the church came home again, that is, the greatest part of them.⁵ But some that were joined in Bristol before they were driven out, were dealt with, and cast out in London for errors, and some fell away to notions. So that after they came down again, the heads and minds of many of the members were filled with controversies, insomuch that every meeting almost was filled with disputes and debates: [so] that they were in great confusion, and but little order. Some of them [were] against ordinances, as having got above them, or pleading that while the church of Christ was in her wilderness state they should not use them, and so took liberty to forbear them; and it ended with them in a very vain conversation. And being thus, as it were, in a chaos of confusion, by reason of those several that did not cleave to their former received principles, nor soberly retain their new notions, but publicly propagating of them, and so contending

³ [Mr. Kiffin, on adopting the sentiment of believers' baptism, in 1633, left the church of Mr. H. Jessey, of which he was a member, and united himself to the church of Mr. Spilsbury. A difference of opinion having arisen, about permitting persons to preach among them who had not been baptized by immersion, Mr. Kiffin and some others amicably separated, and formed the church at Devonshire Square, probably about 1640. Crosby, i. 149, iii. 4.]

⁴ [10th September, 1645.]

⁵ [Mr. Cradock appears to have re-

mained in London till the close of 1646, when he proceeded to Wales as an itinerant preacher of the gospel. In September, 1646, Edwards tells us that he preached "many odd things," as that in the day of the gospel's triumph, "there should be no ordinances to punish men for holding opinions, there should be no confessions of faith, there every one should have the liberty of their consciences." He also dropped many "hints about dipping often, and suffering such." *Gangræna*, part III. p. 161.]

for them, and not duly keeping their places, those that did cleave to the simplicity of the gospel of Christ, and the ordinances thereof, began again to new model themselves, and to separate from those disturbers; and declared, that whosoever would keep to the plain truths of the scripture, and [to] the gospel ordinances as they were there laid down, should give in their names; to which many assented, and gave in their names. Among which, two or three others that had not been formerly of the church, but came to hear, gave in their names also; but at that time they would not receive them, because not of the church before. Thus having taken the names of such that again gave up themselves to the duties and privileges of such that were called to be saints, they entered into a covenant that was very briefly written in a paper, and read unto them, to this effect—‘That they would, in the strength of Christ, keep close to the holy scriptures, the word of God; and [to] the plain truths and ordinances of the gospel, of church fellowship, breaking bread, and prayers; and to [be] subject to one another, according to the discipline and admonition [commanded] by the rules of Christ, in the New Testament, or the scriptures.’

And so having now by a new embodying of themselves again, and, as it were, renewing their covenant with God, and [with] one another, they went on in the ways of the Lord, meeting usually every Lord’s day, in the afternoons in Lewin’s Mead, at a brewer’s house, namely, at one Mrs. Nethway’s, a woman who in her day was very eminent for godliness, and of a good and great understanding in the fear of the Lord; and [on] Lord’s days, in the mornings, they usually heard Mr. Ingello, at the parish or public meeting house, called All Saints, near the Tolzey. And the church also met every fifth day of the week, sometimes at one place, sometimes at another, of the members’ houses. For a considerable time it was kept at sister Griffen’s house, in Christ-

mas Street; afterwards she was married to Mr. Edmund Ellis. This meeting of the church upon the fifth day of the week, about four of the clock in the afternoon, was a meeting for conference, that was for divers, or any of the brethren, to speak unto a question propounded from some place of holy scripture; that so there was liberty for any brother, and for any sister by a brother, to propose his doubt of, or their desire of understanding, any portion of scripture; and the rest of the brethren, especially the officers in the congregation, one by one, would speak to the answering of the question, according as the Lord did hint upon their spirits, and then be silent, and another speak, and so a third, according to what was commanded the churches, 1 Cor. xiv. 30, 31, 33. By this means and practice, that the fifth day, or the weekly meeting, was always managed by way of conference, these seven benefits did redound to the glory of God, and the well-being of the church:—

First, by this meeting for any brother to speak to any scripture upon his heart, or to any question that was proposed, that was judged meet by the elders for the church's edification (those were rejected if any tended to vain jangling):—first, this benefit was found, that many dark scriptures were opened.

Secondly, many souls had their doubts resolved, especially concerning their interest in Christ, and their eternal state, when they heard the doubts and experiences of others discovered.

Thirdly, many cases of conscience were answered, what to do, or not to do, that in their conversations they might know how to carry it towards their heavenly Father, and their neighbour, in divers particular cases, [so as] to keep a conscience void of offence towards God and man.

Fourthly, light in the church much increased, to the clearing of their understandings in matters of faith and practice, for doctrine, worship, and discipline. When any

of these [were] propounded in a question, by divers speaking at the same time to the same thing, what light God had given them in it, by searching the scriptures, or by any one scripture being laid together, the rest did, and could better judge.

Fifthly, many souls in the church [were] confirmed and established that it was the true grace of God wherein they stood, 1 Peter v. 12; which was of great use against those erring days and false doctrines that Satan and his instruments brought in, to draw away souls from the simplicity of the gospel of our Lord Jesus to a light within.

Sixthly, by this meeting many brethren that seemed to have no gift, they were discovered to have a very spiritual understanding and a good utterance, to the mutual edification of the church. So that those gifts and graces that lay dormant and hidden were brought forth, to the end that our Lord gave them when he ascended, Eph. iv. 8—17.

Seventhly, and lastly, though more might be named, this benefit followed, that those gifts that were discovered were increased, and their knowledge much enlarged, and some enabled in process of time, being trained up by these meetings of conference, to hold forth the word of life publicly, if there were occasion of necessity, to the building up of the church, and converting of several souls; that afterwards, as experience hath found, to the praise and glory of God it hath been declared, that God first awakened several souls to turn from sin, and look after their soul's eternal welfare, by the speaking of some of the younger brethren at those meetings that in after years were kept up in the church.

The church being thus settled, as aforesaid, by their new congregating, and leaving those that sucked in libertinism notions to forbear, in that manner those that kept to the simplicity of the gospel withdrew from them, and kept together, meeting, as aforesaid, Lord's days and on the fifth day. Having no pastor, they chose Mr. Ingello afore-

said, otherwise called Doctor Angello, to be their teacher, and sat under his ministry about four or five years. They also desired him to break bread unto them, which accordingly he did during the said time; and so the church walked together and increased.

And while they thus walked with Mr. Ingello, their teacher, by the goodness of God, they had one memorable member added unto them: namely, a blackamoor maid, named Frances, a servant to one that lived upon the back of Bristol, which thing is somewhat rare in our days and nation, to have an Ethiopian, or blackamoor, to be truly convinced of sin, and of their lost state without the Redeemer, and to be truly converted to the Lord Jesus Christ, as she was; which, by her profession or declaration at the time of her reception, together with her sincere conversation, she gave great ground for charity to believe [that] she was truly brought over to Christ; for this poor Ethiopian's soul savoured much of God, and she walked very humble and blameless in her conversation to her end. And when she was upon her death-bed, she sent a remarkable exhortation unto the whole church with whom she walked, as her last request unto them; which argued her holy, child-like fear of the Lord, and how precious the Lord was to her soul, as was observed by the manner of her expressing it, which was this:—one of the sisters of the congregation coming to visit her in her sickness, she solemnly took her leave of her, as to this world, and prayed the sister to remember her to the whole congregation, and tell them, that she did beg every soul, to take heed that they did let *the glory of God to be dear unto them.* A word meet for the church ever to remember, and for every particular member to observe, that they do not lose the glory of God in their families, neighbourhoods, or places, where God casts them; it being the dying words of a blackamoor, fit for a white heart to store. After which, this Ethiopian yielded up the

spirit to Jesus that redeemed her, and was honourably interred, being carried by the elders, and the chiefest of note of the brethren in the congregation—*devout men* bearing her—to the grave, where she must rest until our Lord doth come, who will bring his saints with him. By this, in our days, we may see, experimentally, that scripture made good, *οὐκ ἔστι προσωπολήπτης ὁ Θεός, ἀλλ' ἐν παντὶ ἔδνει, &c.*; that is, *God is no respecter of faces; but among all nations, &c.* Acts x. 34, 35.

Thus the Lord carried on his work in this church, in Mr. Ingello's time of being with them.

But at last, divers of the members of the congregation began to be offended with Mr. Ingello's conversation; as first, with his flaunting apparel, for he, being a thin, spare, slender person, did go very neat, in a costly trim, and in some time began to exceed in some garments not becoming the gospel, much less a minister of Christ; together with his being given so much to music, not only at his own house, but at houses of entertainment out of town; sometimes with some of his relations, and [sometimes with the] gentry of the city of his acquaintance, he would be at his music. Of which, when some of the members heard, they were much troubled and offended; and dealing with him for it by way of admonition and entreaty, they could not work upon him to leave his music, nor his so frequent nor public use thereof. For he told them,—take away his music, take away his life; which offended and stumbled them more, that is, the lively and most serious, watchful members in those times; [so] that their affections began to alienate from him, and to hearken after another.⁶

⁶ [Dr. Nathanael Ingello was the author of several works. In 1659, when fellow of Eton College, he published a sermon preached before the university of Cambridge in the preceding year,

and also a sermon preached at St. Paul's Cross, both in 8vo. His most important work is a singular and rather curious romance, entitled *Bentivoglio and Urania*, in folio, the

Whereupon some of the members, hearing of the fame of one Mr. Ewins, [desired his services as their pastor.] He was one of those that were sent forth by the church of Allhallows, in London, to preach the gospel in Wales—there were about six in all sent;—and the church of Llanvaches, in Wales, some few miles from Chepstow, chose Mr. Thomas Ewins to be their teacher, and there, by the said church, by fasting and prayer, he was set apart to the work of the ministry. Llanvaches was the church first planted by worthy Mr. Wroth, whom Mr. Walter Cradock succeeded, and Mr. Ewins succeeded him.⁷

But one of the members of this church, namely, Mrs. Nethway, aforesaid, [a woman] of a gracious lively spirit, rode over to Wales to hear this Mr. Ewins, so to taste as it were the savour of his spirit; and she being affected with his preaching, she was the instrument, when she came home, to persuade the leading brethren of the congregation that then were, to endeavour to get the said Mr. Ewins to be teacher to this congregation, which, accordingly, was assented unto: so that some were sent by this church in Bristol to the church of Llanvaches, in Wales, to get their consent, and Mr. Ewins's consent, for his settlement in Bristol with this church; but could not prevail, the church being altogether unwilling to part with him. Yet, notwithstanding, after much ado, and great importunity from the church, and from the magistrates of Bristol that then were, being invited by the mayor and aldermen, as well as [by] the church, Mr.

second edition of which appeared in 1669. In addition to his title of D.D. in the former works, that of *Mus. Bac.* is found in the latter. It is said that he became subsequently master of the band to Charles II.]

⁷ [The late Rev. Joshua Thomas, of Leominster, in his valuable manuscript

history of the Welsh baptists, conceives that on the return of Mr. Wroth's people to Llanvaches, in 1646, the baptists separated, and formed a church at Llantrissaint, under the pastoral care of Mr. William Thomas, p. 538. Of this church and its pastor some notices occur in the subsequent pages of these records.]

Ewins was prevailed with to come, and the church of Llanvaches was at last prevailed with so far, as to lend him to Bristol (but not otherwise); by reason [that] they saw the need and earnestness of this church, and a letter from the mayor, and aldermen, and steward of the city, which was as follows:—

ANNO 1651.

Good Sir,—In pursuance of an act of parliament for the better maintenance of ministers to preach the gospel, We, the commissioners by the said act appointed, being met together to consider and advise of able and godly men to preach the gospel in Bristol, having experience and much assurance of your faithfulness and sufficiency for that work, do desire you, Sir, that you will please to come unto us, and perform the work and service of a faithful dispenser of the word of the gospel in this city. And forasmuch as there is a power given us by the said act, to make provision for a competent number of good ministers, we doubt not but we shall provide a sufficient and comfortable maintenance for you. We shall expect to hear from you, and remain, Sir, your loving friends,

DENNIS HOLLISTER,
JOHN HAGGATT,
JAMES POWELL,
THOMAS HARRIS,
GEORGE LANE,

HU. BROWNE,
RI. ALDWORTH,
EDW. TYSON,
ROBERT VICKRIS,
JER. HOLWEY.⁸

Bristol, the 14th of July, 1651.

This is a true copy of the letter sent unto Mr. Ewins, to have him come to live at Bristol, being from the then mayor, Hugh Browne, Esq., with divers aldermen and others that

⁸ [This was under an act dated 29th March, 1650, for the more frequent preaching the gospel, consolidating pa-

ishes, and better maintenance of the ministers in the city of Bristol.—Scobel's Collection of Acts, part 2, p. 111.]

were commissioners for the maintenance of ministers for the city of Bristol, 1651.

Thus Mr. Ewins was settled [as] teacher to this church, and by the mayor, as aforesaid, he [was] made lecturer for the city also; namely, at the place called Nicolas, to preach a sermon every third day of the week; and the place they appointed him for the Lord's day was Christchurch, where he preached usually mornings, and at Maryport in the afternoon. But in the summer time several of [the] other parishes would get him in the afternoons: at Thomas's, on the other side of the bridge, and frequently to Phillips's, seeing those places were spacious, [and] for the conveniency of the people he would be there. Thus he continued divers years, to the comfort, peace, and increase of the church.

And in those halcyon days of prosperity, liberty, and peace, it pleased the Lord to break forth more primitive light and purity in reformation of worship, to bring the church to a more exact keeping to the holy scripture; so that some of the members began to question what rule they had for sprinkling of children; and upon examination, finding no bottom for it, but men's inventions and tradition. And many that were preachers of this latter age, knowing there was no other ground but tradition for that practice, they endeavoured to find out a way to hold it up by arguments from the covenant made with Abraham. And about this covenant they are full of variance among themselves; for ask one what this covenant was, he will say one thing, and ask a second, he will say another thing, &c.; but ask the scripture, and it will be found there is not that in it that they pretend; if you compare Gen. xv. 7, 13, 16, 18, with Gen. xvii. 7, 8, where it is confirmed, with the Lord's recital, or repeating it, Exod. vi. 6, 7; and Moses' expounding or repeating it, in Exod. xxxii. 13; and the apostle Paul's expounding of it, Gal. iii. 16, 29; and Romans ix. 6, 8, com-

pared with Exod. xxix. 45 ; and our Saviour makes a distinction between Abraham's seed and Abraham's children, see John viii. 37, 39 ; and Paul from Christ so saith, Rom. ix. 7.

Yet, notwithstanding the plain gospel rule, that none were baptized until they professed their faith in Christ, they would have people (believe and) keep to the dispensation under the law, as though God had not altered it ; but as if that there is the same law for God's house, or church, under the gospel, as there was under the law, for the discipline of it ; though under the law, and in Abraham's time, God changed it from what the law of his house was in Enoch and Noah's time. But they will have the same law of entrance into the church under the gospel administration as it was under the law, because all the children of the nation of the Jews had a right to both the seals under the law ; namely, circumcision and the passover. Therefore, they argue, that children under the gospel administration have a right to baptism ; yet they themselves will not grant them a right to the Lord's supper, though under the law they had a right to the passover ; which doth confute themselves, in their keeping them from one of the seals, and not from both, as they should [do], until they profess their faith in Christ : for so is the law under the gospel administration, *If thou believest thou mayest*, Acts viii. 37 ; it being changed from what it was under the law. As saith the author [of the epistle] to the Hebrews, chap. vii. 12, *The priesthood being changed, there is made of necessity a change also of the law* ; that is to say, a change of the law of God's house for discipline, Ezek. xlv. 5, and for the form of the house.

But there is not a change of the moral law, for that abides as a rule of life for conversation to all generations. But this law, or form of the church, under gospel administration, is not the same with the form under the legal administration, for the apostle saith there is a change of that as well as of the priesthood. But antichrist, the papal church, having reigned

long, did introduce forms and laws of its own invention, and laid aside the simplicity of the form laid down in the New Testament.

ANNO 1652.

Now the Lord hath been of late years leading out his people out of Romish darkness, to practise the ordinances, as they were delivered by Christ himself and the apostles, recorded in holy scripture, which is the Christian's rule; and, accordingly, the Lord awakened some of this church to consider [that] there was no ground for baptizing children, much less for sprinkling them; and, therefore, [that] they had not been rightly baptized, according to the scripture. Whereupon, one of the members, namely, Thomas Munday, being convinced in the year of our Lord, 1652, he desired leave of the congregation to go and join himself to the other church in Bristol that were all baptized, having one Henry Hynam for their teacher. And when, after divers reasonings with the said brother Munday, they could not prevail with him to abide in his former understanding as to that point, they gave him liberty to depart, and join himself to the other church aforesaid.⁹ Thus, of several that were enlightened in the truth, some had strength to practise it.

⁹ [The earliest remaining records of this church, formerly meeting in the Pithay, but now in King Street, Bristol, inform us that Mr. Thomas Munday was received into the communion of that church on the "18th of the 4th month (June), 1653," at the same time with a "brother John Teague." We also learn that there was at this time a company of general baptists in this city, for two members, Jane Williams and Mary Prosser, were "withdrawn from the 10th of the ninth month (November), 1653,"

"for owning and practising corrupt principles," as that of the general baptists. The Pithay church was doubtless formed soon after Mr. Canne's visit to Bristol, since the names of many attendants at Phillip's church are found in their records, as well as in the records of the Broadmead church. Thus Mr. Haynes, the tutor of Mr. Terrill, and Mr. Listun, were never members of Broadmead, but are found among the members of the baptized church.]

ANNO 1653.

And the next year, 1653, another member, namely, Timothy Cattle, being convinced of the ordinance of baptism, that none ought to be partakers thereof but such as profess faith in our Lord Jesus Christ: and when he had declared his desires of enjoying that ordinance of the Lord, as it was delivered to us, and the scripture grounds for it to the church, they agreed that if any were convinced of that ordinance, they might practise it: desiring that such persons so convinced, and practising that ordinance of baptism in that scriptural manner, would keep their places in the church, and not leave their communion notwithstanding. Agreeable to which agreement and desire, the church advised brother Cattle to be baptized in London, he having some occasions to go there about his private occasions.¹ In order thereunto, the church gave him a letter to one Mr. Henry Jessey,² a gracious, holy, baptized minister, in London, desiring him to baptize their said member, Timothy Cattle, which, according to their desire, he did. After this, divers others of the church were baptized, according to scripture example, in a river.

But Satan, seeing the abundance of light of reformation in this nation, envying the progress of the doctrine of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ—justification freely by his grace, he transformed himself into an angel of light, and made use of popish Jesuits, to creep abroad, up and down, in England. Under the guise of professors of truth, [they] spread about many damnable errors and heresies, beguiling some unstable

¹ [It would appear from the records of the baptized church, that Mrs. Isabel Cattle, the wife of Mr. Cattle, had been baptized, and received into that church on the same day as Mr. Munday.]

² [Mr. Henry Jessey became pastor in 1639 of a pædobaptist church, formed

by Mr. Henry Jacob in 1616. Many of his members becoming baptists, and separating from his communion, led to an examination of the question of infants' baptism on his part, and in June, 1645, he was baptized by Mr. Hanserd Knollys. Crosby, i. 310.]

professors. Thereby Satan deceived many profane people to embrace their upstart notions of quakerism, under a pretence of a great degree of holiness, by hearkening to the light within, which they called Christ, laying aside the manhood of our blessed Redeemer. When as that light is but the light of nature, which, in common, is planted in all mankind, the same with that the heathens and blackamoors have, and the remotest Indians, which know not Christ, nor never heard of him; and they omit the light of the word of the Lord, and the light of God's Spirit, proceeding from the Father, by the word, or holy scriptures. Thus smoke out of the bottomless pit arose, and the locust doctrine came forth, as it is written, Rev. ix. 2, 3, 4.

At this time, Dennis Hollister, a grocer in High Street, being a member of this church, the meeting for conference, on the fifth day of the week, was usually at his house. He was naturally a man of an high spirit, and, Diotrephes-like, loved to have the pre-eminence in the church; and, at that time, had great influence upon the magistrates of the city, and by them was chosen to be a parliament-man for the city of Bristol; that is, one of them called the Little Parliament, in the days of Oliver Cromwell, called Lord Protector; when as God alone was the protector of his people, but we sinned.³

On this occasion, Hollister, staying at London, had sucked in some principles of this upstart locust doctrine, from a sort of people afterwards called quakers; [so] that when that parliament was dissolved by Oliver,⁴ Dennis came home from

³ [Hollister's name appears as one of the persons nominated by Cromwell to sit in the parliament of 1653, as representative for Somersetshire. Burton's Diary, iv. 500. He was also a member of the council of state appointed 9th July; but was omitted in the new council appointed in November. Parl.

Hist. xx. 178, 183, 232. Four days after the dissolution of this parliament, Cromwell was proclaimed lord protector, Dec. 16, 1653. Whitelock, p. 558.]

⁴ [The little parliament resigned its powers into Cromwell's hands on the 12th December; Baxter avers that it

London with his heart full of discontent, and his head full of poisonous new notions, as was discerned by some of the members of the church. And he began to vent himself; and at one meeting of the church, after he came down, he did blasphemously say, the bible was the plague of England. From that time the church would meet no more at his house.

About that time of his notions, there came to Bristol two men of strange principles, and thrust themselves into the meetings of the church, and would put themselves forward to speak in their tone, judging and condemning all that did not as they did—a spirit the church was not acquainted with, nor with their doctrine of devils.⁵ And these persons Dennis received into his house, entertained them, and closed in with their doctrine, and pleaded for them against those that did oppose them, or speak against them as dangerous persons, and walking in a spirit of delusion. Which, at first, were but by few so understood: for they came in such a guise of outward holiness—they so transformed themselves, that, as our Saviour foretold, *if it were possible they would deceive the very elect*, under a pretence of living in the Spirit, and abandoning forms and respect of persons, as Matt. xxiv. 24, 26; saying, *Christ [is] in the secret chambers*: that is, within, only in the heart, the light within:—the finest thread the papist could spin, seeing we would not believe their old doctrine, that Christ and salvation were in the desert, that is, the law, (doing good works from a wrong principle to merit), [for] the

was done at Cromwell's instigation. But in his speech to his second parliament, Cromwell declared that he was ignorant of their intention, and much surprised when the speaker appeared before him with the act of resignation. Whitelocke, p. 558. Baxter's Narrative, p. 70.]

⁵ [“ We will take a turn toward Bris-

tol, to behold the performances of John Audland, and Thomas Airey, who came thither in the month called July, in this year (1654), and going into the meetings of the independents and baptists, they found opportunity to preach truth, and also had occasion to speak to others, so that many received their testimony.” Sewell's Hist. of Friends, i. 142.]

law was given in the desert; therefore, this interpretation of the law [as] the desert, and the secret chamber [as] the heart, which is the secret part of man, and most private chamber, may well be understood. Of this we see our Saviour foretold us, and commanded us not to believe it. And the apostle Paul saith, 2 Cor. xi. 13, 14, 15, that *Satan himself is transformed into an angel of light, therefore it is no great thing if his ministers also be transformed as the ministers of righteousness; whose end shall be according to their works.* Thus they coming as foretold, they were not known; but afterwards they were called by the name of quakers, from people's shaking and quaking that received them and their doctrine, and then they were fixed to their opinion after such a fit upon them.

Thus this damnable doctrine, *even denying the Lord that bought them*, promoted by the Jesuits, and assisted by evil spirits from the devil, was founded. For divers persons were seen in this city, when hearing of them, to be taken in such a concution in their bodies, that they would fall down upon the earth, and wallowing upon the ground, would foam at the mouth, like as we read in Mark ix. 20, and Luke ix. 39; by which their foaming it is evident it was not the Spirit of God, but the spirit of devils that helped the fomenters, Jesuits and papists, in carrying on this work, or false doctrine, to put the professors of England in confusion in matters of doctrine; seeing that, in those Oliverian days of liberty, they had cast off all popery, and the skirts of it, even common prayer, and all unscriptural forms of worship. And [when] the papists saw that abundance of primitive light was in the nation, (and that the people gathered themselves into congregations, [and] preached the gospel only, for salvation by free grace, and works but as the fruit of a lively faith, no merit; and that they practised the ordinances of the New Testament, as they are delivered and recorded in the holy scripture, without

any addition, or detraction from the commands of our Lord Jesus, and the example of the apostles in the primitive churches) they designed with the enemy to come and sow tares among the wheat. For that doctrine of the light within, or Christ only within, and their affected sanctity, manner of speaking, and brutish deportment to civil magistrates, &c. was carried on by the Jesuits, and among those opinions divers doctrines of the papist also; of which many of the simple-hearted among them that followed them, were like Absalom's company, 2 Sam. xv. 11, *They went in their simplicity, and they knew not any thing* thereof, so they were deceived. For many of them to this day *go about deceiving, [and] being deceived*, as it is written, 2 Tim. iii. 13; and do not know *the depths of Satan as they speak*, as Rev. ii. 24. Now that the papists, or Jesuits, carried on their design as aforesaid, among divers other signal and eminent discoveries, in the nation, and in this city of Bristol, these two following may be observed.

ANNO 1654.

The first is this following deposition, taken before the mayor that then was, a copy whereof is as follows:—

Civitas Bristoll. The information of George Cowlishay, of the city of Bristol, ironmonger, taken the 22nd day of January, 1654,—

Who informeth on oath, that in the month of September last, this informer had some discourse in Bristol with one Mr. Coppinger, an Irishman, formerly a schoolfellow of his, that came hither purposely for his passage into Ireland, who told this informer, that he had lived in Rome and Italy eight or nine years, and had taken upon him the order of friar of the Franciscan's company; and he told this informer, that he had been at London lately, for some months, and whilst he was there, he had been at all the churches and meetings, public and private, that he could hear of, and that none came so near him as the quakers. And

being at the meeting of the quakers, he there met with two of his acquaintance in Rome, that were now become chief speakers amongst the quakers, and that he himself had spoken amongst them in London above thirty times, and was well approved of amongst them; the which two afore-mentioned persons were of the same Franciscan order and company. And this informer further saith, that the said Mr. Coppinger asked him, what kind of opinions in religion there were in Bristol? And this informer told him, that they were of several opinions and judgments. And not naming any of the opinion of the quakers, the said Coppinger asked him, whether there had been any quakers in Bristol? And this informer answered him, No. Whereupon the said Mr. Coppinger told him, the said informer, that, if he did love his religion and his soul, he should not hear them. Whereupon this informer told him, he thought none of them would come to Bristol; who presently replied, that if this informer would give him five pounds, he would make it five hundred, if some quakers did not come to Bristol, in three weeks or a month then following. And on the morrow following, the said Coppinger departed from this city for Ireland, his native place. And about eighteen days after, there came to this city two persons that bare the name of quakers.⁶

This is a true copy of the information, part of which was written by old Mr. Haynes, the schoolmaster, before-mentioned in this book, and the other part written by me, at that time, about eighteen years since, Edward Terrill, that writ this. By all which, it is very evident [that] the papists,

⁶ [Hollister, in one of the printed papers to which this affair gave rise, corroborates this, as also Sewell's statement before cited. He says, that in 1654, some of the brethren near Kendall, moved, not by man, nor by the will of man, but by the Lord, to come to Bristol, to which place they were wholly strangers, came on the 12th of the fifth

month, called July, in the evening, and leaving the next day, delivered the word of the Lord to the independent and the baptized churches [the Broadmead and Pithay churches]; the day following they passed unto Plymouth. In September, two others, moved by the Spirit, came also. These were John Audland and John Camm.]

by their emissaries and agents, did promote this error and delusion.⁷

Another discovery in this city, that may not altogether be unworthy of observation, was this, that he that writes these things was an eye and ear-witness of. At that time, he, living with Mr. Haynes, was by him sent to hear them, and to write after them, because he could write characters [short hand], and was directed to the Skinners' Hall, in Lewins' Mead, where the place was first appointed for them to speak in that day; but afterwards it was altered to Captain Bishop's house, in Corn Street, where he then lived. And when I came thither, many people being come together, but the speakers being not come, they were waiting somewhat long, and a particular cluster or knot of men, about half-a-dozen, standing about the middle of the hall, they were talking together; and I, standing by them, heard one of them ask another, whether (naming the proper name of the speaker) he knew whither to come, because he tarried so long? Another of the said cluster answered, Yea; I told him the last night. Now this man that answered thus, I had a great deal of satisfaction in mind that he was an Irishman, being a stranger, and [that] I had frequently seen him walking among and along with the Irishmen, that then were in the city, and reputed papists, and I esteemed him so. Which made me much to wonder, that such a one should be an appointer of the place and time of the Quakers' meeting, and it raised up doubts in me whether he were not a Jesuit. For not long before that, an Irish Jesuit was apprehended in this city, with his trinkets,

⁷ [This information led to the issue of a warrant for the apprehension of several quakers; among them, George Fox and James Nayler, as being suspected to be "some of those that came from Rome." Sewell's Hist. of Friends, i. 143. Many were arrested, and thrown into prison.

Their chief crime appears to have been their frequent and noisy interruption of the services of the church. Among those interrupted was "priest Hazzard," at Nicholas' "steeple house," the husband of Mrs. Hazzard.]

and by the magistrates sent up to the council. But for my further satisfaction, to know what that man was that appointed, as he said, the speaker where to come, there being at that time an Irish papist boy at school with Mr. Haynes, the next day, as the same man passed by with other Irishmen as formerly, I did ask the boy if he knew that man (pointing to him). And the boy answered, He did. Whereupon I inquired of him, what he was? who said, that the man was his countryman. And asking him, what religion the man was? he said, he was a Roman catholic, of his religion. But asking him, whether he was not a Jesuit? he said, he could not tell whether he had taken orders of a priest or friar; he knew not. So that this doth appear, that an Irish papist had a hand in appointing the quakers' meeting at that time, and who knows how many since?

All which did more confirm me in what I had a little before read in those times, in some printed papers that were set forth by some baptized friends,⁸ to caution professors to take heed of that sort of people, called the quakers, because they cried down the holy scriptures, and the instituted ordinances of our Lord and Saviour, and cried up a light within them. Which printed small paper books, further showed that it was the design of Satan, carried on by papist also;⁹ and that

⁸ ["Heart Bleedings for Professors' Abominations . . . discovering some of Satan's wiles, &c. By the churches of Christ in London, baptized into the name of Jesus Christ," &c. 4to. 1650, pp. 16. Signed by Spilsbury, Kiffin, and fourteen others. It was reprinted, with "A Confession of Faith," in 1652. Of the quakers they write, that they "persuade the sons and daughters of men, that what is declared concerning the death of Christ at Jerusalem, and his bearing our iniquities in his own body upon the cross, is but a mere

history and shadow, that the scriptures are but a letter, and the ordinances of God but fleshly forms, thereby labouring to beget in people's minds a contempt and slight esteem of Christ, his word, and ordinances; and that he [Satan] might cheat them to purpose, tells them a God within, and a Christ within, and a Word within," p. 4.]

⁹ [So Baxter. "Many Franciscan friars and other papists, have been proved to be disguised speakers in their (the quakers') assemblies, and to be among them; and its like are the very soul of

there was an evil spirit went along with that doctrine, and had power over some, by their speakers looking on them.

Thus these persons being come, and their dangerous prodigious doctrines beginning to take with some ignorant people, that were not well acquainted with the sound principles of religion, and with some others that had only the notions of religion, and never yielded up themselves to the Lord in his ways, to walk in the power of the truths they heard or knew, Dennis Hollister also, before-mentioned, tampering with them, received and embraced divers of their heterodox opinions. Which suiting with his naturally proud spirit, conceiting well of himself, and judging others, he cleaved unto them, and thought to have drawn away all the congregation after him; as he superbiously did use that word, John xii. 32, *will draw all men unto me*. But the Lord prevented him, having, in mercy, sent Mr. Ewins before-mentioned, to be the church's teacher, as a Joseph sent beforehand, to lead them and keep them together, that they should not all fall with that apostate, and those evil instruments: for with this Dennis, there fell about eighteen or nineteen members more, that rent away from the church. But, through grace, the rest of the church, being the major part, by abundance, they, the church, being near sixty persons left, cleaved to the only Saviour, our crucified Lord Jesus Christ, for life and salvation, singly and alone by him, through faith in his name; and kept close to the holy scripture for the rule of life, and to the ordinances of Christ laid down in that holy word, that the Lord Jesus Christ himself, and the primitive saints, walked in.

After this grand rupture, that so many members did all these horrible delusions." Narrative, part i. p. 77. Bishop Bramhall, in a letter to Archbishop Usher, asserted that in 1646 great numbers were in the army, for the purpose of disseminating errors, and the overthrow of the English church

Cromwell, in his speech to parliament, in 1654, declared "that emissaries of the Jesuits never came in these swarms, as they have done since these things were set on foot." Hanbury's Hist. Mem. iii. 224, 477. Ncal, ii. 424, ed. 1837.]

backslide from that they formerly professed, owned, and joined together in—that Jesus Christ, crucified without the gate at Jerusalem, was the only Messiah: and justification, before or in the sight of God, only by him; and obedience to the commands of God only out of love to God in Christ, not for merit, but as our reasonable service, Rom. xii. 1, for so great mercy bestowed upon us in the gift of God, the Lord Jesus Christ, for eternal life only by him. This, they owning, and when so many fell from them, and [from] this gospel truth, the rest, being the church, kept many days of fasting and prayer.

First, to know the reason why so great a breach was made upon them.

Secondly, and to pray that those of them that were left might be kept sound in the faith, and be enabled to stand fast in this evil and declining day, wherein many turned their backs upon the truth.

Thirdly, to give them wisdom how to carry it towards those fallen, to discharge their duty to God and [to] them.

These three petitions were eminently answered. First, the pastor, or teacher, Mr. Ewins, and the ruling elder that then was, namely, brother Robert Purnell—who, before that apostacy, he was a deacon, but after was chosen an elder, and brother Moone chosen a deacon—I say, those two were pressed in their spirits to take up the ordinance of baptism, of which they were before enlightened; especially brother Purnell, for several years, had been convinced of his duty therein, but omitted the practice thereof. Thus, they being now stirred up to their duty, to glorify God in their day, in owning his commands in the gospel, and [in] laying aside the traditions of man in worship, these two, namely Mr. Ewins and Mr. Purnell, went to London, and took up the ordinance of baptism. And they were accordingly baptized by brother Mr. Henry Jessey, after which they came down, and proceeded in the church and work of the Lord.

Thus there seemed to be hinted why the great breach was made, because they had not walked faithful to their light in the ordinances of God (such kind of fear was upon their spirits); and that they had not kept close to the holy scriptures for the rule of worship, and to the footsteps of the flock, the example or path of the primitive saints, recorded in holy writ; and [they] blamed themselves [in that] they had not rejected all notions of men whatsoever for matters of worship, than what is plainly laid down in the written word. But, for or in matters of doctrine, consequences may, and many times ought, to be allowed;—as to prove the resurrection of our bodies, and our interest in the promises, and God's call to, and covenant with us, poor wretched sinners; and to prove our receiving true grace, our effectual calling and election, and our union with Christ after the new birth, repentance and faith in him; and to prove, as the apostle doth—Rom. iii. 20, 28, and Rom. iv. 4, 9, 23, 25; Rom. v. 1, and Titus iii. 4, 5—salvation to be by free grace, not of works, nor of the will of man, but alone of the mercy of God, Rom. ix. 13—16; for these things of doctrine, and such like, may consequences be used.

But in matters of worship we may not use consequences, but must come to the institutions of Christ, as the apostle doth. When he was instructing them in matters of worship, 1 Cor. xi. 23, 24, he brings them to the first celebration of the ordinance, and so the ordinance of the Lord's supper must be always done. Therefore the ordinance of baptism must be always so administered or done, as at first it was done by the apostles, both as to the subjects to whom they did it, which was to believers, that is, [to] them that had given them a profession of their faith; and the manner how they did it, which was by dipping them in rivers, not sprinkling them.

As to the second petition, they then sought the Lord [for,

it] was graciously answered by him, for now near twenty years since, the Lord hath kept this church that none of them turned quakers. But one woman, a new member, who some time after was received, and her husband was propounded to the church, he desiring to join at the same time with her; but the church, understanding some evils in his conversation, that they found by enquiry [to be true,] they would not receive him, though they did his wife. Not long after, he turned a quaker, and ceased not in endeavours, until he had overcome his wife; who, being of a meek nature, was drawn away by him. Thus the Lord hitherto has kept this church, and divers quakers have been convinced of their errors, and have afterwards been joined to us; but none of the apostates, or those that fell from the church, are yet returned.

As to the third petition they then sought the Lord for, by fasting and prayer, [it] was answered very evidently, by quickening their spirits to oppose and resist that false deluded spirit. For in those times, for the seven years, until the change came, that they were sorely punished by imprisonments and otherwise, as well as we ourselves, they would, that is the quakers would, frequently come into our assemblies, and condemn all but themselves. And so like unto *Jannes and Jambres*, as they *withstood Moses*, so did these also *resist the truth: men of corrupt minds, reprobate concerning the faith*. The good Lord grant they may *proceed no further*, but that *their folly may be manifest*, as *theirs also was*, 2 Tim. iii. 8, 9. And as to those members that at first fell away together, the church was led to send three brethren to them, to admonish them of their evils, in turning their back upon the Lord, and his ways, his truths, and ordinances, [which] they practised formerly.

Which admonition, consisting of five particulars, is as follows:—

[The] first, that they were admonished of, was for leaving

the church; which had three sad consequences: first, the drawing of many away from the faith and ways of Christ in the gospel; secondly, the stumbling of many weak souls; thirdly, the opening of the mouths of many to speak evil of the ways of truth, as 2 Peter ii. 2.

Secondly, their contemning of some, and neglecting of other the ways of Christ, or ordinances recorded in the gospel of Jesus Christ.

Thirdly, their extreme censoriousness, and rash judging, not only of persons abroad, but also of the church, contrary to Matt. vii. 1, Rom. xiv. 3; also their calling the church an harlot.

Fourthly, their asserting in the church doctrines contrary to truth. As first, that we did not know what faith was, and that faith was an eternal thing; secondly, that Christ and faith were all one; thirdly, that Christ is not the object of faith.

Fifthly, their speaking reproachfully of the holy scriptures; affirming they were a blind and a plague to souls; and further, some of them said, they were not the word of God, nor rule of life.

The church, thus according to the order of the gospel, sent to these fallen members to endeavour their recovery, but some of them would not answer; others of them very contemptuously slighting the church, in this their act, with many revilings, as the manner of those people is. After some months' time, the church sent, the second time, an admonition to them, which is as followeth:—

We, the whole church, do again, the second time, according to the scripture rule, Matt. xviii. 15—20, Titus iii. 10, &c. in the name of the Lord Jesus, our Saviour, and in tender bowels of pity and love to your souls, beseech, admonish, and warn you to repent of your sins, and refrain from your evil ways, and to return to the true faith, and ways of the

Lord Jesus Christ, recorded in the gospel ; that if it be possible, the glory of God may be recovered, reproaches, scandals, and stumbling-blocks removed, our souls refreshed, and your souls eternally saved ; which is the desire and end of the church, in the performance of this their duty to the Lord, and service to your souls.

We do also appoint and desire three of our brethren, viz. Robert Simpson, Richard Moone, Robert Purnell, to admonish them ; to whom we shall give the particular things to admonish each person of, &c.

Thus the church having thus far done their duty, did not proceed further to cast them out of the church, or deliver them over to Satan, because it was the advice of some, as Mr. Cradock, that it need not, seeing they did excommunicate themselves, by never coming to the church. So the church did only reject them, by declaring them no members of this church ; though others were of opinion, that by rejection, in Titus iii. 10, *παραιτοῦ*, may be understood, such an excommunication, or avoiding, as amounts to a delivering over to Satan ; as Hymeneus, 2 Tim. ii. 17, 18, denying the resurrection, in the 1 Tim. i. and last [verse], is delivered to Satan.

After this, Satan, in those quakers, being enraged, Dennis Hollister, one of the apostate members, puts forth a book in print against the church, entitled, *The Skirts of the Whore Discovered*.¹

¹ [“The Skirts of the Whore Discovered, and the mingled people in the midst of her. In a letter sent by Dennis Hollister to the independent baptized people, who call themselves a church of Christ, in Bristol, but are found to be a synagogue of Satan. With a letter to

Thomas Ewins, a teacher amongst them, referring to his speaking of having Sarah Latchett, once a member amongst the baptists, sent to Bridewell, and whipped for testifying in their meeting, 2nd day, ninth month, 1655,” &c. 4to. London, 1556.]

ANNO 1657.

In answer to which, the church was fain to put forth another book, printed in the year 1657, entitled, *The Church of Christ, in Bristol, recovering her veil out of the hands of them that had smitten, wounded her, and taken it away.*²

Thus the church proceeded, and kept the ways and ordinances of the Lord; labouring in their generation-work, holding forth the gospel to the world, and conflicting with this new, upstart error of quakerism, began, [no doubt,] by Satan, and carried on by his instruments, popish seminaries, Jesuits, and some apostate professors that had not received the truth of our Lord in the love of it, and by some ignorant, bewitched, and deluded people, that knew not whereof they affirmed. And such quakers, many times, would come into our meetings on the Lord's day, in the open public places, called churches (which we had then liberty to be in, during all the time of Oliver's reign), and in the midst of the minister's sermon, they would, with a loud voice, cry out against them, calling them hirelings and deceivers, and they would say to the people, they must turn to the light within, their teacher; and that, that was Christ within. Thus, with many other railing, judging, and condemning words, they would frequently trouble us—shaking, trembling, or quaking, like persons in a fit of the ague, while they spake with a screaming voice; and would not cease until they were carried forth of the place, pretending they were moved by the Spirit to come and warn us. Thus Satan, transforming himself like an angel of light, strove against the true followers of Jesus Christ.

² [An Answer. *The Church of Christ in Bristol recovering her veil out of the hands of those who have smitten and wounded her, and taken it away.* Being a just and necessary vindication from a false and scandalous imputation cast upon her by Dennis Hollister, formerly

a member of her, but now an apostate and opposer. Likewise a word by Thomas Ewin unto what concerns him in the said pamphlet; and another called *Satan Enthroned in his Chair of Pestilence.* 4to. 1657.]

These against the doctrine of our Lord Jesus, and others against the discipline. As our friends, called presbyterians, those of them that were bitter-spirited, or rigid, they would vilify our ministry, and their call; saying, they were not true ministers, because not called and ordained in their way, by a classical or synodical assembly, and not brought up at the university for such literature.

And because we met in houses, divers times in the week-days, for the church meeting, for to exercise the gifts of the church, by way of conference, or for prayer in preparation to the Lord's supper, once a month, or for prayer on other special or emergent occasions: these things they did not then understand, or less practise, therefore they spake evil of us as seducers. But under all these calumnies, upon the right hand and upon the left, this church bore up with patience, persevering several years, and increased.

ANNO 1658.

Brother Terrill baptized.³

EDWARD TERRILL'S EXPERIENCE.

Laus Deo.

Eben Ezer.

God, who, at sundry times, and in divers manners, spake unto the fathers by the prophets, hath in these last days spoken unto us, and therein to me, by his Son, whom he hath appointed heir of all things, by whom also he made the worlds; who, being the brightness of his glory, and the express image of his person, in holiness, and upholding all things by the word of his power, when he had by himself purged our sins, and therein mine, sat down on the right hand of the Majesty on high.

Seeing the Lord hath, at sundry times, and in divers manners, spoken unto me, I thought it meet for his glory, and the comfort

³ [This is inserted in the margin in the handwriting of Mr. Terrill. His experience, left by himself, is not in the church book, but on a separate paper. He says no more of his baptism than he has written above.]

of my own soul, to record so much as he shall bring to my remembrance. As the apostle saith, by nature I was a child of wrath. I have strong reasons to believe it; first, observing the aptness of my nature to that which was contrary to the divine nature. Secondly, the readiness of my will to assent to the inclination to sin, and to seek opportunities to act it, that visible eyes might not see it, for then I seldom thought of the invisible Eye that beholds all. Calling to mind that which was done by me when I was not five years old, I had both these in me; and although through grace the second be subdued, yet the first is continually following me, which is a burden to me. Through mercy, I find, when that evil is conceived in me, two things follow it: a loathing of it, and an indignation against myself, that ever such a wicked thought should arise in me.

When I was about the age of six years, living with my aunt, I remember, according to my childish understanding, I had inclinations to imitate what was written in the holy scriptures, doubting, like a child, when I went backward towards a place, that I did not do right, and that the Lord would be angry for it—whether I read Jer. vii. 24, or xv. 6, I know not. And so of backbiting, if a man did speak with his face behind another man, I would ask whether it was backbiting. Also, I remember when my aunt, on a time, sent me to the door with victuals to a poor body, that I put my hand behind me, because the scripture saith, *Let not thy left hand know what thy right hand doeth.*

Although these were foolish things, I believe some good was distributed towards me then, in the inclinations; for, as Solomon saith, *A child is known by his doings, whether his work be pure, or whether it be right,* Prov. xx. 11. Also, I remember, that notwithstanding I did fear going with my back towards a place was a sin, yet, so base was the conscience corrupted, that I would sometimes go so, which I conceive was the product of original sin. After these things, being about six years old, and somewhat upwards, I was taken from my aunt, and brought to live in this city of Bristol, with my mother, where, with other children, I was very wicked, according to my age.

Such was my nature till eleven years old, when I went apprentice, and then sometimes I had good thoughts, resolving to pray to the Lord to be my father, (for my father died when I was about four years old;) and would pray in a place by myself every day, but it would not hold long. Then, after a while, would set about the work of praying again, and so continue for a time.

As for any comfort from the scriptures, I remember none, till I had served about five or six years, and then reading in a prayer-book, wherein was a prayer made to Ps. cxvi. 12—the words are these, *What shall I render unto the Lord for all his benefits?*—I remember I was much taken with that scripture, the words being so suitable to what was in my heart. I was very sensible of the Lord's mercies unto me, therefore it was often upon my mind, and I was also affected with the prayer that was made to that verse, insomuch that I wrote it out in characters, and learned it by heart; for I had such a sense of the Lord's goodness to me, that I knew not what to render for his love. This continued for a time, but I lived very wicked and vain for about two years and upwards after.

And then being come to nineteen years of age and a half, the Lord was pleased to begin a work on my soul.

Glory be to Him on high,
 Who was pleased to send
 Jesus Christ, for me to die,
 And eke his help to lend.
 Before that I was made,
 Jesus Christ was sent,
 For a good intent,
 That I might never fade;
 But in his courts to flourish still, and stand,
 And also dwell in his holy land.

Upon the 17th of September, 1654, being Saturday, I was at a neighbour's shop, where one that was there read in one of Aris Evans's books, that though the people of God (meaning the Cavaliers) did suffer for a time, yet that God would revenge, or vindicate them; and, speaking against the puritans, that they were [not] in truth. This made me to fear that I was not in the right way, for

I did usually hear Mr. Ewins, who, I knew by his preaching, did own and hold with the puritans.

At the same time, one told for certain, that there were two prophets put in prison, in France, for prophesying [that] the world would be at an end in 1656, not two years to come ; which struck upon me such fear, by reason [that] the world was so near an end, and I not prepared, that I knew not what to do. And so much the more was my trouble, because I feared I was not in the right way, by reason [that] Aris Evans did speak so much against those I did hear, justifying himself to be a true prophet by many circumstances related in his book;—one was this, that when he was a child, there came a stranger, in the form of a minister, and laid his hands upon him, speaking some words, foretelling what he should be ; and that, according to the scripture, his father was one that did freely entertain strangers, and that the said stranger went away, and they knew not whence he was, nor whither he went. Therefore he so left it, as though it was an angel that did thus appear ; by these words I could not conceive but that he was a true prophet. When I went in that evening, I prayed to the Lord, that he would lead me in the right way.

The next day, being the sabbath, notwithstanding I was doubtful of the way, I went to sermon as formerly, at the usual place, and after the evening sermon I put my bible in my pocket, and had thought to go to the meeting that was usually after sermon in the castle, at the governor's, Colonel Scroope's house. When I came to the door of my master's house, I had a great conflict, whether I should go thither, or down to my mother's, where I did use to go after sermons. At length I followed that motion that would have me go to the meeting, and to the meeting I came. No sooner had I sat down, and beheld the people, but these words darted into my breast, *This is the way, walk in it*, with such joy in my soul, that I could almost have wept for joy, the tears standing in my eyes. Now I did not know that those words were written in scripture, but did conceive it to be an answer from God to me, and so it continued upon my heart.

Sometime after this (five or six weeks), reading in a book of Mr. Purnell's, called *The Way to Heaven Discovered*, I met with those words, Isa. xxx. 21, which when I found I was more confirmed that it was of God, because it was scripture, as the Spirit of God doth usually work according to the written word. This was of great comfort to me. It lay so much upon my heart, that I told it unto one of my familiar acquaintance, a young man, a servant to that neighbour in whose shop I heard those things that the Lord made use of to strike terrors into me; but he, as there was cause to fear, being too much like me, in that carnal state, ministered but little comfort to me. Yet the Lord made it of use to me to draw me nearer unto him; but I was a heavy lump of sin. I followed but very slowly after him, but rather did continue in my former sinful courses, though not so publicly as others, but bad enough secretly. And since I received that mercy, I later have feared I was very foolish and wicked with some maids that lived in the house, often playing together very foolishly, especially with a servant that was a great temptation unto me, that I knew not how to leave off. Nay, though sometimes my heart smote me for speaking such an unbecoming word as I did to her once, which [has] often since troubled my mind, and several times the Lord did touch me when I was in the act of foolish tricks, I would endeavour to put it off, saying it was not sin. Sometimes I was fearful it was sin, yet knew not how to leave it. But horrid wicked thoughts I had, as that *where sin did abound grace did much more abound*. Oh, the riches of God's grace to a rebellious one, that stood out in known sin! Had not the Lord been gracious at that time, I should have fallen into that sin of fornication; but he restrained me. The praise to him! To my shame I write it, that I should be so obdurate, notwithstanding I received such mercy before; for I have many times feared it was since the Lord did begin to work upon me. Shortly after, my mistress and the maid disagreeing, she went away. I was glad she was gone; to the next I kept myself more estranged.

After this, I cannot tell how long, Mr. Ewins preached upon

Rom. iv. 18, which he applied thus:—That every soul should do the like in respect of his soul, seeing God hath said, whosoever believeth shall be saved, we should believe in hope against hope; which words begat a resolution in me to do the like. I resolved to cast myself upon the sure mercies and promises of God. This the Lord made as food unto me, in the strength whereof I walked for a great while, till I began to fear my faith was but presumption; but hearing a minister that was come to the city, and who formerly lived in the city, I was comforted in some measure. For in his teaching he showed, that to believe without obedience was presumption, which did comfort me; for my soul and conscience did witness that there was the obedience of willingness, though not in perfectness.

But to notice time in order—for I think the answer concerning presumption was somewhat later—for about a twelvemonth after, I observed the particular dealings of the Lord unto me. For I do now note it to be a call unto my soul, for which I have cause, and do desire, to praise his name, namely, [on] the eleventh of the sixth month, or August, 1655, being Saturday, my master went away, but did not tell me he would be absent for no longer than a fortnight. The Lord in the meantime put it upon my heart to seek to him, by keeping a day of prayer and fasting, to know his mind touching the ordinance of baptism; by reason a little before, the minister whom I did hear, and minister of that church where the Lord said unto me, *This is the way, walk in it*, and some others, had passed under that ordinance. I resolved to seek for direction in that thing before my master came home, but how to have a day's liberty I knew not, being a servant, and I was to be at my master's business all day. Seeing I could not have a day in the week, I concluded to keep the next Lord's day following, which was the nineteenth.

The day being come, I set about the work, but with abundance of weakness; went to the public ordinance as at other times, but after and between both sermons I prayed and read the scriptures, sometimes reading in one place, and sometimes in another. There arose a desire in me to read the promise of the Lord to

Joshua, in the place where his apostles apply it to other believers. I read until the seventh verse, and [there] stayed, my thoughts giving me that that was an answer unto me what I should do, the words being, *Remember them which have the rule over you, who have spoken unto you the word of God; whose faith follow*, Heb. xiii. 7. I read not much further, taking it as from the Lord that I should follow their faith. Of all thoughts then in my heart, this had most predomination in me, and so did [I] desire to return praise unto the Lord for his mercy in answering my petition so clearly the first time. I was drawn forth by fasting and prayer, which was of great use and encouragement to me for the future to go before the Lord in like manner.

After that day, as I think about three quarters of a year, I was under a great spirit of bondage and fear when I was going to bed, fearing what would become of me when I was dead. I was afraid I should not wake again, and then woe would be unto me. Glad I was, when I did awake in the morning, that I had one day more; but was sore afraid at night again, and durst not venture. At last Rom. x. 9, came into my mind, *That if thou shalt confess with thy mouth the Lord Jesus, and shalt believe in thine heart that God hath raised him from the dead, thou shalt be saved*. And it did much comfort me, and satisfy my troubled spirit; for when I had again and again, upon my knees, confessed Jesus Christ with my mouth unto the Lord, and could say with plainness of heart that I did believe he had raised him from the dead, I had some peace, casting my soul upon the promise of God, and hoped I should be saved if I *did* die that night. A man living not far from my master's house went to bed at nine o'clock, and was dead by eleven. The dying so suddenly was the occasion of my fear; but my sins, and not being prepared, the cause.

Upwards of half a year after this, namely, upon March 16, 1656, upon a Monday, being the day my apprenticeship was ended,⁴ I kept a fast between the Lord and myself; desiring to return praise to him for bringing me to see that day, and that I

[⁴ From which it would appear that E. Terrill was born in 1631 or 1635.]

might enter into his service, and be his servant; and every year after I kept that day. Being in a certain place at prayer [on that day], the Lord, as it were, made me to say I was his servant; only I wanted the seals to my soul—clear evidences and assurance of God's love unto me.

About a week after this, at a lecture sermon of Mr. Ewins, I was more comforted when I heard him name the characters of a Christian, as I think from John i. 12. The characters were these:—

1. He that hath received Christ can remember the time when he was without Christ.

2. He can tell some work of Christ upon his soul, though but little.

3. He hath forsaken something for Christ,—some evil way, idle word, or lust.

4. He is laid very low in himself, in his own eyes.

5. That soul that hath received Christ doth account it a very great work.

6. He hath many longings after Christ, especially for three things:—

1. That the soul might know him more; 2. Might have more communion with him; 3. Might be made more conformable to him.

7. He hath in some measure a heart purified, and a life reformed.

8. He hath received not only a part, but a whole Christ.

9. He will not willingly depart from Christ.

10. He doth give up his soul to Christ.

I was very joyful when I heard these characters, because, through grace, I could say some of them (if not somewhat of all) I could find in me; in the strength whereof I walked for a season, being somewhat cheerful as to the state of my soul; and my judgment being satisfied as to baptism, that it was to be administered to believers, and not to children.

About two months after my time was out, some going to join with the church, I was willing to join also. My desires being tendered

to the church, they appointed a time to speak with me and the rest, to give an account of the work of God on our souls. The time being come, I was resolved not to make the most of it, nor to tell all that I knew was of use and comfort to me, being willing to have the greater testimony in myself if they should admit me. Having done as I intended, they declared that I might have fellowship with them. The time was appointed for our receiving the ordinance of baptism, for so many as desired it; but a day or two before we were to receive it, Providence cast a book before me that spake against it, and a book of Dionysius, the Areopagite, mentioned Acts xvii. 34,⁵ which put me to a stand that I knew not what to do; therefore forbore taking up the ordinance. After this, one lent me a book of Mr. Baxter's, pleading for children's church membership,⁶ and this drove me further from the truth. And so I continued about a year and a half, not satisfied in one or the other. I was so wavering that I could not join with the church in the Lord's supper, although they would have admitted me; as their manner is to receive persons if they conceive the Lord hath wrought a work of grace in them, and not for opinions' sake. But according to the scriptures, a person ought to be baptized before he receive the Lord's supper: now if I could have been satisfied that the sprinkling I received in my infancy was a sufficient baptism, I could have joined, as being already baptized; or if it was not baptism, I would have been baptized. I had no peace when I did think how I stood off from the Lord's people. Sometimes when I should see them break bread, I should weep to see myself shut out.

One time after seeing them partake, I wept; complaining to the Lord in my soul that he kept me off, not satisfying me of his

⁵ [Several spurious works are attributed to this convert of Paul. Among them is one, *De Cœlesti Hierarchia*, in which he confirms the baptism of infants by an ancient tradition. "We declare that," says he, "which our bishops have taught us according to an ancient tradition."—*Du Pin. Bib. Pat. i. p. 33*, edit.

1696. *Wall's History of Infant Baptism*, i. 528. Cotton's edition, Oxford, 1836.]

⁶ [*Plain Scripture Proof of Infants' Church-membership and Baptism, &c.* By Rich. Baxter, 4to. London, 1653, third edition.]

mind. I resolved to seek him, by setting a day apart, by fasting and praying, to know his mind which way I should walk. When the leisure week was come, called Christmas, I appointed the work of that day to be seeking the Lord concerning baptism. Providence directed me to Heb. ii. 14, 15. I had comfort where it is written, *Forasmuch [then] as the children are partakers of flesh and blood, Christ also himself took part of the same; that through death he might destroy him that had the power of death, that is, the devil; and deliver them who through fear of death were all their lifetime subject to bondage.*

Afterwards being desirous to find where it is written, *I am the Lord [thy God] that teacheth thee to profit*, having a concordance in my bible, I found it to be Isa. xlviii. 17. I was desirous to see that place, because some time before discoursing with a Christian about the dealings of God on his soul, he minded these words, relating what use they were to him. The next verse seemed as a voice to me, being, *O that thou hadst hearkened to my commandments! then had thy peace been as a river, and thy righteousness as the waves of the sea.* In my thoughts I could not put it off, being not very desirous, but took it as an answer to my desire, that I should have hearkened to what God had said in my first request concerning baptism, three years and above before, and what I understood by his word several times after, then my peace should have been like a river. I took it as a wonderful thing that the Lord should direct my mind to read such chapters, wherein he would answer my request. By the first, in Hebrews, to strengthen my faith and assurance; and by this second, to show me which was his will; that I could not tell how to put it off, but that I must obey the Lord in his despised command.

Notwithstanding, after this I was fearful that it was not from the Lord, so that I was forced again to seek the Lord, which was the first Wednesday in the first month, March, 1658. The occasion was thus:—My scholars used to have the popish holidays (as they call them, holy). I brake them first from having the whole days, and let them have but the afternoons. Having thus reduced

them for a great while, in December 1658, being the first Wednesday in the month, I gave them that afternoon with this condition, [that] they would leave their holidays, and instead thereof they should have the first Wednesday in every other month. They, like children, agreed; willing [rather] to take one toy in possession than three in reversion. That which moved me to this, was a desire to have some opportunities to hear Mr. Stubbs, who preached at Phillips', in this city, in the afternoon of the first Wednesday of every month. Having this opportunity in March, 1658, as above stated, it was my desire again to seek the Lord for counsel; having set the day apart by fasting, although in the morning I was necessitated to my calling, in the afternoon, being at sermon, I hearkened what word would be spoken concerning my condition, which was known only to God and myself. Behold the next providence of God. Towards the close of the sermon, a child was brought into the meeting place, called the church, to be baptized, and Mr. Stubbs⁷ that preached turned his discourse to the thing he was going to administer; which direct act of Providence to the thing upon my heart, and which that day I besought the Lord to guide me in, was a wonder to me. Now that which he had to say was this:—

1. That baptism came in the room of circumcision.
2. That by the command of God children were to be circumcised.
3. They were so till Christ came.
4. They were so till Christ died.
5. The death of Christ was not a loss, but a privilege; if so, why should not children be baptized?

⁷ [Mr. Hen. Stubbs, M.A., of Wadham College, Oxford, first minister of Phillips', Bristol; he afterwards went to Chew Magna. In 1654 he was at Wells, and an assistant to the Commissioners for the ejection of ignorant and scandalous ministers; but the act of uniformity found him at Dursley. By the connivance of the bishop he, how-

ever, preached for some years in the parish church of Horsley. He died July 7, 1678. Mr. Baxter preached his funeral sermon. "I scarce," says Baxter, "remember the man that ever I knew, that served God with more absolute resignation and devotedness, in simplicity and godly sincerity."—Palmer's Noncon. Mem. i. 539.]

Then he asked the child's father what he did believe, it being the clerk of the place, and told him, that when his child was grown to years, he must come and present him in the congregation as one brought up in the faith, and there to give an account of it, and so commend the child so grown to the congregation. This being ended, I considered what the Lord taught me thereby. That which lay upon my heart most, was, What a sandy foundation this was to build upon. As for those five things he mentioned, it was discovered to me there might be as much said for children to receive the Lord's supper; which they do not allow, as, indeed, they should not. For,

1. If baptism came in the room of circumcision, the Lord's supper came in the room of the passover.

2. Children were to eat of the passover, i. e., such as were able to eat meat.

3. They did eat of it till Christ came.

4. They did eat of it till he died; for Jesus himself when a child went with his parents to eat the passover.

5. Though Christ's death was an unspeakable benefit, yet, if Christ's death did not put an end to that administration, why do they not let children be partakers of the Lord's supper, as some write was a thing practised six hundred years ago, till they saw no warrant for it?

As to that book that stumbled me at first, I was satisfied by providence that brought another book to my hand, called, *The Protestant's Evidence*, that did prove that that book which the papists call *Dionysius*, was written four hundred years after Christ, and therefore none of the *Dionysius the Areopagite*. And as to Mr. Baxter's book, the great drift of his volume is to prove children church members. In the times of my ups and downs, the Lord satisfied me that there was the same repeal for that as for the seventh day sabbath; which is, the example and practice of the apostles and Christians in the primitive time; and where the scripture hath not a mouth to speak, we must not have an ear to hear. What they stretch from the word household is a very uncertain consequence; for in December, 1658, I reckoned

above twenty households in the street where I lived, namely, Corn Street, that had not one child in them, I mean: in the quality of a child, but such as were grown persons.

Praised be the Lord for not letting me any longer stand out against the simplicity of his gospel, that so at the great day of account, when the hearts of all men shall be revealed, my conscience may clear me, that I took up that ordinance only in obedience to his holy will. I found God, which seeth in secret, to reward openly, in giving answer by those that were against that truth, though some I believe to be precious.

Praises to the Lord.

ANNO 1658.

At length, on the third of September, 1658, Oliver Cromwell, that took upon himself the place of Protector of England, died,⁸ and his son Richard was proclaimed Protector.

ANNO 1659.

And on the sixth day of the third month, or May, 1659, he was displaced, and the Commonwealth, or old parliament, that Oliver dissolved, anno 1653, sat again;⁹ during all which time we had peace.

ANNO 1660.

But upon the twenty-ninth day of the third month, anno 1660, when King Charles II. was brought from his

⁸ [Whitelocke, p. 675.]

⁹ [The dismissal of his parliament on the 22nd of April was the last official act of Richard. On the publishing of the Declaration of the 6th of May by the officers of the army, calling

together the remnant of the long parliament, he quietly withdrew into private life, without any formal abdication of his authority.—Burton's Diary, iv. 484. Whitelocke, p. 678.]

exile¹ again, into the nation and to the crown, then Satan stirred up adversaries against us, and our trouble or persecution began. And then our friends of the presbyterian party, were turned out of their public places as well as we. Then those who had preached against us for meeting in private houses, they were fain to meet in private houses as we had, and did do. For then, when our pastor or teacher, Mr. Ewins, was turned out of those public places called Nicolas and Christchurch, (then) we first met every Lord's day at our pastor's house, in the castle, and there we continued a long time; but being straitened for room, we took a large place or hall, towards the end of Broadmead, called the Friars, which formerly had been some chapel; and there we continued, holding forth the gospel of God's free grace by our Lord Jesus Christ.²

And in the tenth month [December], 1660, orders come that all above sixteen years of age must take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy; which many scrupled to do, because of the extensiveness of some words in the oath of allegiance; as the words *whatsoever* and *otherwise*.³ Whereupon the brethren only, of our and brother Hynam's congregation, met together, and discoursed our judgments, and searched the scriptures, concerning our duty and subjection to magistrates; in which we all agreed, [that] concerning civil matters they ought to be revered and obeyed. And to give them some assurance of it, we drew up in writing our sense, and in what terms we could engage ourselves; which was consonant to the scripture, and we did judge it as full as the oath of allegiance; which we sent by two messengers

¹ [The king made his solemn entry into London on the 29th of May, 1660.—Whitelocke, p. 703.]

² [Some remains of an old chapel and dining hall are still standing; they

formerly belonged to the Franciscan friars.]

³ [See Tracts on Liberty of Conscience, pp. 136, 306—308.—Hanserd Knollys Society.]

to the mayor of the city, who then was Sir Henry Creswick. He sent the same writing up to the king and council, and ordered us to be let alone for some time, until he had answer from above; which within a month came, and was, that we must take the oath according to the letter of the law, and not in other words; but Sir Henry telling us, they did not require us to oblige ourselves no further than the scripture did require of us, whereupon divers members of both congregations took it; but some others, though they held an oath for the end of controversy to be lawful, yet were not then satisfied to take a promissory oath; and so in peace we bare one with another, them that did, and them that did not. So that trouble passed over.

Upon the fifteenth of the eleventh month (January, 1660), the mayor, Sir Henry Creswick, sent his eldest serjeant with the king's proclamation,⁴ to our pastor, Mr. Ewins, and forbade him to preach in his own house. So having got the chapel called the Friars, there he preached as aforesaid; and a great number of people came constantly to hear him. Wherefore some time we were quiet, but not without many threats.

ANNO 1661.

And upon the 25th of June, anno 1661, Mr. Ewins was called before the mayor for preaching at the Friars, and charged not to preach. But, as formerly, he continued in the work of the Lord, until the 27th of the fifth month [July] following, [when] he was taken up at the Friars by one Adams, a serjeant of the train-bands to Captain Rich; and so, with a guard of musketeers, was carried away to the marshall's, which then was at Joyners, in

⁴ [The proclamation was published on Venner's arrest.—See Tracts on Liberty the 10th of January, immediately on of Conscience, p. 313.]

Christmas Street, where Mr. Ewins remained until the 12th of August following. Then he was committed to his own house as prisoner; but on the twenty-fifth of the seventh month following, September, he was discharged in open sessions, and then preached as formerly at the Friars again. And during his imprisonment and confinement, the meeting was still carried on by the brethren of the congregation.⁵

And [now] the work of the Lord goes on; the gospel in its purity, without the impositions and inventions of men, is preached; the gospel freely held forth to sinners; some members are added, some the Lord took to himself.

Whereupon the church took it into consideration, to choose some new officers, and to ordain the pastor, Mr. Ewins, by laying on of hands, and the elders and deacons.

ANNO 1662.

After several days for consideration, and election of persons fit for each place, the church met, by appointment, upon the 24th day of the fourth month, or June, anno 1662, for setting apart the persons chosen, by fasting and prayer. Upon which day brother Thomas Ellis was set apart for the work of a ruling elder in the congregation, as added to brother Robert Purnell in the same work; and aged brother Spurgion was set apart to the office of a deacon, as added to brother Simpson; and sister West, a widow woman, was set apart to the office or work of a widow or deaconess in the church. And Mr. Ewins, [who] only before stood as a teacher in the church, was this day, by fasting and prayer, now solemnly set apart as pastor to the congregation. But the ordinance of laying on of hands was not imposed or practised, though intended, through the back-

[⁵ Mr. Terrill took part in teaching at this time.]

wardness of one of the ministers then present, namely, Mr. Blinman,⁶ that somewhat scrupled his call to it in point of order, not being a member with us (though it might have been done by the request of the church for his assistance), which afterward he repented that he obstructed that it was omitted; and so they were all abovesaid set apart only by fasting and prayer. So they were thus set apart at brother Robert Purnell's house, on James' Back, in this city of Bristol. They being thus commended to the Lord, and to the work, and the church again settled in order, as an army with banners, in the work of Christ they proceed; and the gospel is by them still held forth at the same place, called the Friars, publicly every Lord's day; and every fifth day of the week, the church kept on their ancient meeting of conference, which was not carried on by one, but divers members of the congregation spake to a question from some place of scripture.

But Satan, envying the state of the church and [the] progress of the gospel, stirs up his instruments, that not long after, Mr. Ewins was taken up again, on the 26th of October, or the eighth month, anno 1662, by Captain John Floyd, coming to the Friars on a Lord's day, with Lieut. Smart and others, and so again with a guard of musketeers, was led away to the Guildhall,⁷ and from thence sent away to the marshall's, which was then in Wine Street, where he continued a prisoner for the Lord, until the 13th of the ninth month, or November, following, and then was sent home by Mr. Cale, a major.

⁶ [Mr. Richard Blinman had been minister of Chepstow, but whether ejected thence or not is uncertain. He was also the author of a work on infant

baptism, "tending to the issue" of the controversy.—Palmer's Noncon. Mem. ii. 352.]

⁷ [In the MS. *Ill hall.*]

ANNO 1663.

Then the church had again rest; and the gospel preached again by Mr. Ewins as soon as forth of prison; and he continued in the work, in the said public place, the Friars, until Sir John Knight (which like a tyrant began upon us as soon as he) came to be mayor; for the same week that he entered his mayoralty, upon the 3rd of October, 1663, he sent for Mr. Ewins to his house, and charged him not to preach. But Mr. Ewins told him, he must discharge his duty toward the Lord, and therefore in that thing he durst not obey him, but the Lord; and accordingly, the next day, preached as formerly at the Friars. And Sir John Knight, the mayor, sent his serjeants, Jones the sawyer, with others, upon the 4th day of October, anno 1663, and put him in prison by Newgate, and one Mr. Patient,⁶ a minister then in this city, belonging to the other baptized congregation.

In the afternoon, the mayor sent a warrant for brother

⁶ [Mr. Thomas Patient was first a pædobaptist minister in New England. Convinced by reading the scriptures, and by an anxious examination of many authors, that infant baptism is without foundation, he had to suffer much from his brethren, and was obliged to retire to England. He became co-pastor with Mr. Kiffin about 1640. He went to Ireland with General Fleetwood, in 1649, where he successfully prosecuted his great work as a preacher of the gospel, and many were baptized by him. In the following year he addressed a letter to the Lord Lieutenant, which is preserved in Milton's State Papers. In 1654, he calls himself a "Labourer in the Church of Christ at Dublin," on the title page of his "Doctrine of Baptism," published in that year. He usu-

ally preached in the cathedral. In 1657 he united in an address to Cromwell from the baptized Christians of that city. The Restoration probably led to his return to this country, where he appears for a time to have been the assistant of Mr. Hynam. But on the 28th of June, 1666, he was again set apart to the office of elder in the church at Devonshire Square, to act in conjunction with Mr. Kiffin. He died on the following 30th of July, "leaving a blessed savour behind him of his great usefulness and sober conversation."—Crosby, iii. 42. *Doctrine of Baptism, Epistle to the Reader.* 4to. Lond. 1654. Devonshire Square Church Records, MS. B. Milton's State Papers, by Nicholls, pp. 6, 149.]

Edward Terrill, who was then preaching to the people, to bring him and brother Simpson before the mayor; but having notice of their coming with the officers, when they were near, the elders desired [the] said brother Terrill to forbear speaking, and sit down. So he did. And when the officers came in, he went through the people, that the officers found him not. But the next day he was fetched from his house, and brought before the mayor, with Mr. Ewins, Mr. Patient, and brother Simpson; and because they would not give bond to the good behaviour, they were all imprisoned at the then jailer's house, over against Newgate, and there they lay until the sessions, about a quarter of a year after. Only brother Terrill, they released him, after they had kept him in prison a fortnight, taking sureties for his appearance at said next sessions. And they were all indicted of a riot, and then tried, and as the mayor, Sir John, ordered it, were found guilty of a riot at common law, and so fined; Mr. Ewins fined 50*l.*, and brother Simpson fined 50*l.*, but brother Terrill they fined but 5*l.*; which they would not pay, and so were sentenced to lie in prison until they paid it.

But after brother Terrill had lain there awhile, many people of quality in the city cried out against Sir John for his keeping him in prison; but the mayor told them, the reason why they put so little a fine upon brother Terrill was, because he should not go to prison. But he would not pay it, but lay in prison about a quarter of a year; then some friend paid it, and they released him, but kept Mr. Ewins in prison all the time that Sir John was mayor; and then about three days before their time was out, they seemed a little pliable, that if somebody would lay down the 50*l.* for Mr. Ewins, they would be moderate. So Captain Deane and brother Ellis laid it down, and the sheriffs, Bradway and Streamer, took forty shillings of it, and returned the rest.

ANNO 1664.

So that upon the 26th day of September, 1664, Mr. Ewins and brother Simpson were released out of prison. Which long and tedious imprisonment so decayed our pastor, and his straining his voice in prison to preach, which he would every Lord's day, that the people that gathered together under the prison walls might hear, he being about four pair of stairs high from them, that when he came out of prison, after the first sermon he preached abroad, he fainted away, and declined continually, [so] that it hastened his days.

Thus the Lord bare up the church, that they still met, and contented themselves with mean gifts; but by the act of banishment, that came forth in May, 1664, we were so followed and hunted with officers and serjeants, that we could not keep our public place, the Friars, but, by reason thereof, were forced to leave it, and meet more privately. Then we met frequently at brother Ellis's house, every Lord's day. But meeting one Lord's day at one Mr. Yeats's house, a baker, in Maryport Street, the house was beset with the mayor, Mr. Lawford, and Sir John, with other aldermen and officers, being informed of our meeting there by one Tyler, a mealman, in that street. They demanded entrance, but the door being kept fast, they caused iron bars and a sledge to be brought, and so forced open the door; which we understanding, Mr. Ewins, being in exercise, concluded short in prayer, and so ended. And by the people's desire, Mr. Ewins and some other men were desired to go into a back part of the house, and [were] so conveyed into another.

Then the mayor, and Sir John Knight, came up into the room where we met, and sent some to prison; and brother Terrill, with a minister, going forth at a back door, was apprehended, and brought before Sir John, who took his word to appear next day. And when before them, the mayor and

Sir John would have sent him to prison, but brother Terrill put them to prove matter of fact. And their witnesses not being full enough to prove him in the meeting, he got off, and escaped imprisonment, in order to banishment, which act was then in force, and prosecuted.⁷ Sister Fry was sent to prison, at Newgate, for a month, being her first conviction.

Thus we were hunted by the Nimrods, but the Lord hid us many Lord's days at brother Ellis's, in Corn Street, that we had some peace though the meeting was numerous; yet we were assaulted there, many a time by men, but saved by God. One time, upon a week-day meeting, which was likewise there for a long time, a guard of musketeers was sent for to take us into custody, and then, being in the evening, we were conveyed into a cellar under ground, that went into Ballance [Baldwin] Street; and so we escaped, and they [were] disappointed, through the Lord.

Another time, at brother Ellis's, upon a Lord's day, the mayor and aldermen, with officers, beset the house, and at last broke open the back door, and so came in; but, in the meantime, our brother having before contrived, by a great cupboard, to hide a garret door, he sent up most of the men out of the meeting into the said garret, and so we were concealed. But the mayor and Sir John sent away thirty-one of the members and auditors to prison, to Bridewell, for a month, upon their first conviction for banishment.

Another time, at brother Ellis's, we were upon a Lord's day beset with a guard of soldiers, who came to search the house for a meeting, but we were again concealed. And several other times we were assaulted there, and our brother

⁷ [The Conventicle act. "It forbade the nonconformists to frequent any conventicles, or places of worship not of the establishment, and it imposed a scale of punishments ranging from three months' imprisonment to seven years' transport-

ation . . . The close, unwholesome prisons were soon crammed with conscientious victims, with men and women, with old and young." *Pict. Hist. of England*, iii. 694.]

Ellis under great trouble divers times for entertaining of us ; and at last they imprisoned him at Newgate for a month, upon his first conviction for banishment. And the year before, he was imprisoned, with divers other sober good men, and eminent in the city, at the marshall's, in Wine Street ; but the Lord helped him, that he bore up under all, and, like a Gaius and an Obed-edom, he entertained the ark in his house frequently.

For his loving friend, Mr. E. Terrill, dwelling in Corn Street, schoolmaster, these present.⁸

Bristol, Newgate, this 27th, 4th month (June), 1664.

LOVING BROTHER,—My love, to thee worth nothing, worse than nothing, be remembered to thee. Those loves that are substance, in which is moved all, the Lord feasts thy soul with. And oh, that my mentioning of this high and glorious pearl, was not, in the account of God, babbling, swelling words !—I, speaking of it merely by report from others, by the hearing of the ear, as not being able to say, that which I have seen I speak of. Oh ! I stand in need to be taught that lesson, *Be swift to hear, and slow to speak.*

Brother, whilst thou art teaching others, in which useful employment, as God hath put thee in it, so himself make thee more useful than ever ;—as in that, as in other things, he hath made thee a blessing to divers—so bless and praise God for it, that thou dost not labour, and travail in the fire for nothing, which would be a great exercise to thee. But, brother, whilst thou teachest others, the Lord, our great Prophet and Teacher, teach thee, and give thee to listen to what God speaks to thee, in those dictates and motions of his Spirit, by the movings of himself in thee, as thou wouldst have those thou speakest to, and instructest, to listen to thee, which, if they be mindless and careless to do, no proficients are they likely to be.

Grieve not the Spirit. It is divers ways grieved ; and this is one way, by a quenching the motions of it in us. It is good

⁸ [This from Mr. Simpson, and the following letters, were written from prison during this time of tribulation, and are preserved with the records of the church.]

making hay when the sun shines. Take the advantage of a side wind, when you have not a full right gale; and in a calm, when you are so becalmed as that you cannot move forward, wait for a fair gale.—The wind bloweth when and where He, that hath the wind in his fist, pleaseth. Remember, he hath pronounced them blessed that wait for him; and, remember, he hath said, that in those days, the days of the gospel, those latter days that we live in now, *Young men shall see visions, and upon his servants and handmaidens he shall pour out of his Spirit, and they shall prophesy*, [Acts ii. 17, 18.] Make use of the promises that relate to the pouring forth of the Spirit which is promised to the heath ground, the wilderness, the dry ground, the desert, and waste places, Isaiah xli. 17—20.

I bless God, who hath given me, not only by the hearing of the ear, but by what I have seen, to see that young men see visions, whilst some old men scarce dream dreams. The Lord elevate and raise up thy spirit to him, that by a raisedness of spirit to him, thou mayest by that have thy hands lift up for him, and be of an undaunted spirit for him! Oh, of what use it would be now, to us in special, to have Jesus with us, by which we come to be with him, and to witness him shining, as those that come out of the mount; by which both true zeal and valour, and strength, is attained, both to speak and to be silent when we should be. There is a time to speak, that at that time we may not be dumb. The Lord teach his people this, in this day, under which we be, of God's dispensation—which is a day of rebuke by the Lord of hosts, even of his sons and daughters. But in the way of his judgments, under which we be, the Lord help us to wait on him. God is a carrying on his work. Behold our God and King cometh, as a mighty conqueror. Let the daughters rejoice in their King, who is King of Salem, King of peace.

The cause of this my present writing to you is to intreat you to put the several Greek words into the several places, into this I have written out of my copy. I look for to have occasion to send them [the original sheets] away to-morrow. I keep them by me to write another [copy] by, for myself and daughter, and I

send to thee two of my writing, because in one of them the Greek [words] are unwritten by thee. In that in which the Greek words are written, they are written [in] the third page, and twelfth line: and tenth page, the latter end of the page. In that in which the Greek words are not written, [it] is [at] the third page, and seventeenth line: and the ninth page, and ninth line. I pray you send me them both again.

The good will of Him in the bush be with thee. Remember me to thy mother. Thy sapless, juiceless friend; so, in a great measure, but in the root, blessed be God,

ROBERT SIMPSON.

[Letter of Mr. Ewins, No. 1, not dated.]

For the small remnant that meet this afternoon.

DEAR BRETHREN AND SISTERS,—I am in a strait, not knowing what to write unto you. Indeed, the condition of the church is a greater trouble to me than all my imprisonment. I have thought, and do still think, that it would have been much better for you to have continued the public meetings in the usual place, till you had been, some of you, taken up; but I know not what to say, since you, whose place it is to take the care of the church, do withdraw.⁹ The Lord grant it may not be laid to their charge. I cannot tell how to put others upon it, though I should be exceeding glad that some meeting were kept up, if not in that place, yet in some place where a testimony might be borne for the Lord, and the work of his patience, in this day. I acknowledge you have borne a very good testimony hitherto, but I conceive your testimony is not to the full, or it is not finished, Rev. ii. 7.

But when may we say, Our testimony is finished? I answer, when you have witnessed against this late unrighteous act,¹⁰ or law of man, which is so directly and so highly against the prerogative of Jesus Christ; or, when you have suffered the first penalty,

⁹ See back, p. 76.

¹⁰ [The Conventicle act.]

either by fine or imprisonment, then, I conceive, you have borne your testimony, and then you might come to family meetings, as Paul did at Corinth, Acts xviii. 4; xix. 8, 9. Why should any fear, or draw back, upon the account of the first penalty of this act? It is not worth the mentioning. You may redeem yourselves out for a shilling; if not, they will turn you out in a week or two.

But some will say, They will do that but in policy, that they may take us again, and hasten our banishment. I answer, let their ends be what they will, if you be out, you may then confine yourselves to private family meetings, and so escape banishment; having borne your testimony so fully, you may comfortably rest, and leave the work to those that have not yet been taken. Let no one entertain hard thoughts, or heart-burnings, against the elders, because they do not stick to you, as I once thought they would have done;—we must allow all men something. No man can be forced beyond his freedom.¹ Let every man look to his own heart. That which appears to me to be the word of God's patience, in this generation, is the purity of his worship, and the kingly office and authority of Jesus Christ, in opposition to the inventions and usurpations of men therein.

Excuse my scribbling. I have not time to write it out fair. If you conclude on any thing, let me know it; or if one or two choose to come, they may.

The Lord be with you.

¹ [Of the sufferings under this act, Baxter writes thus:—"And now came in the people's trial, as well as the ministers'; while the danger and suffering lay on the ministers alone, the people were very courageous, and exhorted them to stand it out, and preach till they went to prison. But when it came to be their own case, they were as venturous, till they were once surprised and imprisoned, but then their judgments

were much altered . . . they did now think it was better to preach often in secret to a few, than but once or twice in public to many; and that secrecy was no sin, when it tended to the furtherance of the work of the gospel, and to the church's good. But yet their meetings were so ordinary, and so well known, that it greatly tended to the gaolers' commodity." Baxter's Narrative, part ii. p. 436.]

[Letter of Mr. Ewins, No. 2, not dated.]

BROTHER TERRILL,—I have, at present, a little liberty to come to my own house; but I find the keeper so timorous, that I dare not venture to come to see you in the meeting, lest it should be known. Wherefore I write these few lines unto you, first, to salute the congregation, and to entreat them to excuse my not coming in to them, they being so near. But I hope the Lord will be with you, and that is enough. There is one thing I would have proposed this evening in the meeting, that so brother Ellis may be advised with about it; namely, that some day might be thought of to be set apart to seek the Lord for our own souls, for the church of God, and for the nation. We have not been in that work of late, though it be the work of the present day. Now the fair being over,² I suppose our friends may spare time. For the day and place I leave to you and the rest to pitch upon. It may be concluded between this and the first day, that so notice may be given thereof in each meeting. The Lord Jesus be with your spirit.

T. EWINS.

[Letter of Mr. Ewins, No. 3.]

July 23rd, 1664.

BROTHER TERRILL,—Not knowing that I may see you, this is to acquaint you with my thoughts against the first day. I do not think . . . ³ a fit place for some reasons, but incline rather to the old place; only [I] desire you to advise with brother Ellis, whether there be any other place to be had. I leave it to you, desiring the Lord to direct you. And I pray, God strengthen

² [Probably the March fair, which lasted about eight days.]

³ [The place is left blank.]

and direct your spirit to go on and finish your testimony, submitting to the pleasure of God, whether in liberty or bonds.

Let not anything discourage you, either from friends or others. If we follow Christ fully, we must expect to meet with wounds in the house of our friends. It is, indeed, an affliction so to do, but it will be a Christian's crown to break through all, and to be above it.

Brother, a necessity is upon you, to take a little more than ordinary care of the church at this time. You have a providential call to break the bread of life to the poor and hungry. Remember Prov. xi. 24, 26, *There is that scattereth, and yet increaseth; and there is that withholdeth more than is meet, but it tendeth to poverty. The liberal soul shall be made fat, and he that watereth shall be watered also himself. He that withholdeth corn, the people also shall curse him: but blessing shall be on the head of him that selleth it.*

It is a blessed commendation that the Spirit of God gives of Timothy, that he did naturally care for the state of the church at Philippi. Oh, consider that if your liberty be offered up upon the sacrifice and service of the faith of this poor flock of Christ, you will have cause of joy rather than sorrow.

If any say, What call have you? I answer, you have the call of charity and necessity. Suppose in a great family there be many small weak children, not able to cut their bread, and the elder brethren, or servants, be gone from home, is there not a necessity that any one should cut, or break, or deal out, bread to the poor children? and would it not be a breach of the law of nature and charity, to suffer these children to famish, because they that should feed them are not present? It was the childish Pharisees that quarrelled with the disciples, Matt. xii. 2. But mark the answer of Christ; he alleges necessity. By which it appears that necessity is the highest law, or, as we say, *Necessitas non habet leges*. Wherefore, laying aside all objections and exceptions, go on in the fear of the Lord, to feed his flock, till the elder brethren, or servants, come home. Read in Eccles. [x. 1, 2] *Cast thy bread upon the waters, for thou shalt find it after many*

days. Give a portion to seven, and also to eight, for thou knowest not what evil shall be upon the earth, &c.

The Lord be with your spirit. The good Samaritan had only necessity and charity for his call.

T. EWINS.

In this year, 1664, there were three blazing stars seen in England, in four months' space. The first star appeared in the beginning of December, 1664, and continued about fourteen days, and then disappeared. The second appeared in the latter end of December, 1664, and continued till about the latter end of the eleventh month (January) following. The third blazing star appeared in the latter end of the first month (March), 1665, at four of the clock in the morning, and continued till the mornings swallowed it up with day.⁴ This was noted and recorded by Mr. Ewins. Also by Mr. Ewins figuring down which way the tail of each star lay. The first star's tail lay west north-west, by my apprehension; which might point out England, which lieth so off the continent; and God's judgments were sore upon it presently, by the great plague that followed in the anno 1665, and by destroying the metropolitan city by fire, anno 1666,⁵ and by

⁴ ["During the preceding winter the appearance of a large comet became the occasion of much superstitious talk among the people. As the spring advanced, the notion of impending calamity was strengthened by the appearance of a second blazing star, and by the fact that cases of death by the plague were increasing; nor were there wanting those who saw the anger of the Deity figured forth in sword and flame in different quarters of the heavens almost every night." Vaughan's Hist. of England, ii. 628.]

⁵ ["Oh, how is London, the place which God hath honoured with his gospel above all places of the earth, laid low in horrors, and wasted almost to desolation, by the wrath of God, whom England hath contemned;—strange comets, which filled the thoughts and writings of astronomers, did, in the winter and spring, a long time appear before these calamities. Yet, under all these desolations, the wicked are hardened." Baxter's Narrative, part ii. p. 448.]

in 4 Month Space
as Described by Dear Mr Evans.

E. L. S.

The third of air
appeared & lasted
of Nov 27th 1603
continued till day
up at 4 in 8 (mercury)

The second Storm
appeared & lasted
of Nov 26th 1603 and
continued till 1st of
of 23 Dec 1604

The first Storm
of Nov 16th 1603

South

North

approx 1400
of 1850
of continuation

West

war with the Dutch, wherein we, this nation, sustained great loss.⁶

I gather, by said Mr. Ewin's figure of the said stars, that the second star's tail lay east and by north-east, which might point out Holland and Germany. And did not there follow sore desolations upon Holland, and the lower part of the emperor's country?

The third star's tail, I perceive (by as aforesaid), lay south south-east; and doth not that point out France and Spain? but France especially, that it may be the Lord showed us should taste of the third cup, after England and Holland; and by the manner of the third star's appearing and abiding, who knows but it shows that their (viz. France's) trouble shall continue, until the daylight of the protestant interest appear, and break forth, to the daylight of God's fulfilling his glorious promises in the holy scriptures, to a visible manifestation of God's hastening the pulling down of the papal power, and the pope? Amen; so come, Lord Jesus.

But to a brief narration and history of God's leading this church of Christ. So that, by reason of this act for banishment, we were fain to move from house to house; and one Lord's day, of the 11th month (January), anno 1664 [1665], a meeting being at brother Terrill's, then living in Corn Street, the mayor's sergeants came up and dissolved the meeting, carried away one Mr. Zephaniah Smith,⁷ and three or four Londoners, before the mayor. That minister, Mr. Smith, was sent to Newgate prison, and he being a stranger in a manner here, then, the next week, they released him, upon his telling them he was to be gone out of town, and they charging him to depart in few days.

⁶ [See Rapin's Hist. of England, ii. 638—642.]

⁷ [Mr. Z. Smith was an ejected minister. He published "A Guide to Weak Christians in these Distracted

Times," in a sermon at Wickham Market, Suffolk, where he was then minister. Palmer's Noncon. Mem. ii. 444. For an original letter found among the Broadmead papers, see Addenda, note 'D.].

Upon the 7th of the twelfth month, anno 1664, [January, 1665,] at the close of a day of prayer, upon the consideration of several persons in the congregation not walking orderly, some [being] remiss in their duty of assembling with the church, by reason of these troubles, the church appointed a monthly meeting of the brethren only, to consider of persons or things amiss in the congregation; and so appointed the first sixth day of the week, or Friday, that should happen in any month; and afterward it was altered to the first second day in the month.

ANNO 1665.

In the fourth month, 1665, the church ordered that brother Terrill should engross all the members' names in parchment, and that they be called over always at breaking [of] bread, to see who doth omit their duty.

Upon the fourth of the sixth month, 1665, it was resolved and ordered, that once a month, for the future, there should be constantly a select meeting of the members only, to stay after others were departed from the public exercise, which might be that Lord's day fortnight after we break bread. To this end, that there might be an opportunity for the pastor, and for any other brother, to minister a word proper to church members, for information or exhortation to their duty, or reproof, &c., that we might more often see the whole church together.

The third of the ninth month, 1665, it was determined, after dealing, and several months' waiting, that these six members, namely, John Evans, John Hicks and John Harris that went to New England, with sister More, sister Stoaks, and Martha Moggs, be declared no members, and to be looked upon as persons not to have full communion with us; some for neglecting their duty of assembling through fear, some for evils in their conversation, three of them.

In the ninth month, 1665, there came a troop of horse to this city, as reported on purpose to suppress the meetings, and they were very abusive to those meetings they found.

In the eleventh month, 1665, by reason of the decease of one of the deacons, namely, brother Spurgeon, the church chose brother William Dickason to be a deacon, assistant with brother Simpson and brother Thos. Rieves.

In the year 1665 we had many disturbances, and divers imprisoned, but the Lord helped us through it.

ANNO 1666.

In the beginning of this year, 1666, this city of Bristol was visited with that judgment of the Lord, the plague,⁸ which struck terror in the magistrates, and through the moderation of alderman John Willoughby, then mayor, who began a stop to persecution, by which means the Lord ordained us much peace, that many this year were added to the church. And there appeared, seemingly, a spirit of life entering into the people not of the church, more unanimously resolved for meetings separate from the worship of the world, than in some few years past had been. And the Lord dealt very merciful and gracious with the city, that the plague abated and stopped; being not so great as feared and threatened. *Laus Deo.*

Sister Vanatturue, in the fourth month, anno 1666, was proposed, spoken with, and joined to the church.

Brother John Fry, in the sixth month, 1666, was proposed, spoken with, and joined to the congregation.

On the third day of the seventh month, 1666, began that

⁸ [It began at Bedminster, where it raged much, and so likewise at Barton Regis. It entered the city by Lawford's Gate. Some houses in Halliers' Lane

and Redcliffe Street were infected, with some other places. It pleased God, in his wonderful mercy, then to restrain it.]

dreadful fire of London, the metropolis of England, and consumed the greatest part of that city, by the wicked hands of that blood thirsty people called papists, as afterwards it was discovered.⁹ By which means, for want of public places called churches, they being burnt down, the people met in great abundance to hear our friends, called nonconformists; and so their meetings became very public, and have remained so ever since, in London, about these ten years. And because the separatists in London had liberty, many parts of this nation were influenced thereby, that we had also liberty for about four years after, in some good measure, through the Lord's goodness in fulfilling the scriptures and promises to us.¹

Brother Daniel Gwilliam, upon the eighth¹ month, 1666, and brother Jeremiah Courtny, were both proposed, spoken with, and joined to this congregation; and the right hand of fellowship given unto them to be members thereof, as to others.

Brother John Morgan, James Bland, in the ninth month, 1666, with sister Davis, now Saunders, and sister Hughes, were all four proposed, spoken with, and joined to this congregation as members thereof.

Sister Turtle, sister Bridget Hill, sister Judith Watkins, now Morgan, in the tenth month, anno 1666, were pro-

⁹ [It broke out in the middle of the night between the 2nd and 3rd of September. "The pious and religious ascribed it to the just vengeance of heaven on a city where vice and immorality reigned so openly and shamefully; some ascribed it to the malice of the republicans; others to the papists."—Rapin, ii. 643. Burnet's Hist. of his Own Time, i. 399, 8vo edit. Baxter's Narrative, part iii. p. 18. Historians are now generally agreed, that it was the result of accident, aided by the exces-

sive dryness of the timber-built city. The summer had been one of extreme heat.]

¹ ["The churches being burnt, and the parish ministers gone, the nonconformists were more resolved than ever to preach till they were imprisoned; they did keep their meetings very openly, and prepared large rooms, and some of them plain chapels. The independents also set up their meetings more openly than before."—Baxter's Narrative, part iii. p. 19.]

pounded, spoken with, and joined members to this congregation.

Brother Richard Dennis, in the twelfth month, 1666, was propounded, and with brother Thomas Jones, Robert Jones, and William Evans, they were spoken with, and joined to this congregation in the month following; being the first month, 1666 [March, 1667].

On the 24th of the first month, 1666, Mr. Angell Hollard and his wife, formerly members of the church of Weymouth, in New England, were proposed.

Sister Brown, with sister Bird, on the quay, were, on the 24th of the said first month, 1666, being the last day of the year, propounded; and sister Ann Owen, sister Simmonds, propounded on the third month, 26th day, anno 1667; and brother Peice, with sister Margaret Sterry, they propounded on the second of the fourth month, 1667: all which six were spoken with, and joined members to this congregation, in the said fourth month, anno 1667.

Before this time, our brother Purnell, the eldest ruling elder, being in the ninth month last deceased,² the church had several times under consideration, whom to choose and make a ruling elder in his stead. At last, upon the third of the twelfth month, being the Lord's day, anno 1666, two of

² [Mr. Purnell was the author of the following works:—1. Good Tidings for Sinners, Great Joy for Saints, 4to, 1649. 2. The Way to Heaven Discovered, and the Stumbling-blocks Removed, &c. 12mo. 3. A Little Cabinet, richly stored with all sorts of Heavenly Varieties and Soul-reviving Influences, 8vo, 1657, pp. 467. In the preface he says, "Reader, I shall here in this book present thee with all that I have learned, or at least with the sum and substance of all that I have gained this four and twenty years, by reading the scriptures, &c. And for

the compiling of these things together, I have borrowed a little time from my particular calling, and from my sleep and recreation." And to effect this, moreover, he had been turned aside from his purpose "to have written of the kingdom and coming of our Lord Jesus Christ," in order to defend and guard the "first principles of religion," then assaulted by the quakers. At the time of his death Mr. Purnell must, therefore, have been a professed Christian thirty-three years, and not much less than sixty years of age.]

the brethren were proposed, that one of them might be chosen, namely, brother Richard White, and brother Edward Terrill, which were desired to depart; and accordingly they went to their homes. Then it being put to the vote, all the brethren were for brother Terrill, except the two principal, viz., Mr. Ewins, pastor, and brother Ellis, the only ruling elder left. These were for brother White to be chosen; but seeing the election did not go according to their minds, they took hold of a motion that was made by a minister there present, namely, brother William Thomas, pastor of the church of Llantrisant, in Wales,³ that he advised the church should choose both, and to that all the brethren agreed.

Upon that, the next Lord's day following, in another meeting of the brethren, they settled that conclusion, to present two elders to the congregation, to be joined in office with brother Ellis. So upon the 24th of the said twelfth month, 1666 [March, 1667], being two weeks after, brother White and brother Terrill were proposed to the whole congregation, as persons so chosen to the office of ruling elders, if they were minded to concur therein, for to elect and call

³ [See before, pp. 7, 37. Llantrisant sent messengers, for the first time, to a general meeting at Abergavenny in the year 1653, at which place the church settled, in preference to Llanaran. Members of baptist churches had long resided in these places, and appear to have been brought into church order by Mr. Thomas, on the return of the ministers from London in 1646. He was a messenger at the above meeting of the Association, and was appointed to supply Carmarthen occasionally with the means of grace. In 1654 the Association was held at Llantrisant, when the church was recommended to divide into

three parts, each part to sustain its own ministry. From an old manuscript the late Rev. Joshua Thomas procured the following notice of Mr. William Thomas, which completes all that we can learn of this excellent and amiable man:—“William Thomas, a preacher of the true word of God, departed this life the 26th July, 1671, and was buried the 28th at Llantrisant.” Another old manuscript informs us that Mr. Walter Prosser often “preached to Mr. Wm. Thomas's people.”—Hist. of Welsh Association, pp. 8, 9, 12, 19. Thomas's MS. Hist. p. 540.]

them to the said work, to which the whole church agreed. And then they appoint the sixth day of the first month, 1666, following [April, 1667], to be the day to set them apart, by fasting and prayer, to the work of the Lord as ruling elders.

ANNO 1667.

Upon the sixth of the first month, anno 1666 [1667], according to the former conclusion, were these two brethren, Richard White and Edward Terrill, set apart by prayer and fasting to be ruling elders in this church, at least for trial. There were present two ministers besides our pastor. First, the pastor declaring to the congregation the work of the day, it was by him desired that the brethren, with the whole church, would signify their consent, if it were so their minds, by their silence; which they did. Afterwards the pastor declared to the whole church, if any, either brother or sister, were dissatisfied with either of the persons, or any particular in either, it was desired they should show their dissatisfaction by their standing up; which none did. Then it was desired likewise by the pastor, that those two brethren elected would show their acceptance by their standing up; which, after some pause, they did.

Thus being elected for the office, they are recommended to the work in the name of the Lord, by three ministers. The pastor, Mr. Ewins, began the day, and closed it again about the fourth hour; so soon, by reason [that] some were to be baptized that evening—some that propounded to join to the church, and some that were members before, viz:—

Mr. JENNINGS, a minister.⁴

ROBERT JONES.

JOHN FRY.

JEREMIAH COURTNY.

⁴ [Mr. Thomas Jennings was an ejected minister from the rectory of Brimsfield, Gloucestershire. "He signed the testimony of the ministers in this

county, as minister of Matson. He was a moderate baptist."—Palmer's Noncon. Memor. i. 531.]

THOMAS JONES.

JOHN PRITCHARD.

JOHN MORGAN.

WILLIAM EVANS.

RICHARD DENNIS.

JAMES BLAND.

Mrs. DAVIS.

MARGARET WILLIAMS.

JUDITH WATKINS.

Mrs. HILL.

These ten men and four women were all fourteen baptized together, one after another, the sixth day of the first month, 1666 [1667], in the evening, at Baptist Mills, in the river, by Mr. Thomas, minister.

HERE BEHOLD THE MIRACULOUS HAND AND WORK
OF THE LORD.

Most of these persons now baptized, had neglected and omitted their duty, after they were convinced of it, all the winter, for fear of the cold; and then, about the beginning of February, or the twelfth month, it happened to be fine, warm weather; about which time they pitched upon this day to pass under that ordinance. And by reason our pastor, by a fall that he received after he came forth of prison, had a pain that did use to take him, in the nature of a sciatica, it was doubted for him to stand so long in the water might increase his said distemper; therefore the brethren of the church sent for Mr. Thomas, of Wales, pastor of a church at Llantrisant, to be the administrator.

And the Lord in his wise providence so ordered it, that when he came, according to the day appointed, it was such extreme cold weather, the like had not been all that winter before, for exceeding high and sharp piercing wind, frost, and snow; it was very violent, though the snow not very deep. But the wind and frost so much, that one of the women to be baptized, in going to the place through the meadows, her handkerchief received some wet, being about her neck, was frozen; and a distemper upon her in such

abundance, that her maid that waited upon her, being only privy to it, told her, if she went into the water she would not come forth alive. Also another, Mr. Jennings, the minister, [was] pained with the tooth-ache so great, that his face was very much swelled, bound up, and by reason whereof had not been out of his house near a week before, and that day very ill with it. Another of the men about a week before sprained his leg; not able to go, was carried upon a horse to the place. Another man of them that was very weakly, thin, and consumptive, the relations of whom were very averse to the ordinance.

Wherefore some did fear the issue, seeing the terrible sharpness of the season; but the persons themselves that were to pass under the ordinance, acted faith in the Lord; and because the administrator was come so far on purpose, according to appointment, they would not defer it any longer.

And the Lord, to declare his power, did, as it were, work a miracle, to give a precedent to others that should fear the coldness of any season to do his will. The Lord preserved them all; and not so much as one ill, but rather better by it; and are all alive to this day, being about ten years since, to speak of the Lord's then goodness. Though some would fain have been then spectators, but they were afraid to go, by reason it was such extreme piercing weather, and continued so for three days together; that those adversaries that heard of it after it was done, looked upon the people as mad, that they would adventure on such a work at such a season.

Therefore from all, praise, praise, praise, and glory be to the Lord.

NOTES OF A DISCOURSE BY MR. EWINS.⁵

I pray you may be crowned with,

1. An exemplary, adorning crown. 1 Tim. i. 4, 12, to the end. Be thou an example of the believers in word, in conversation, in charity, in spirit, in faith, in purity, &c. Eccles. x. 17, *Blessed art thou, O land, when thy king is the son of nobles, and thy princes eat in due season, for strength, and not for drunkenness.* Rev. xvi. 15, *Blessed is he that watcheth, and keepeth his garments, lest he walk naked, and they see his shame.*

2. With a crown of success in all your labours. Philip. iv. 1, *Therefore, my brethren, dearly beloved and longed for, my joy and crown, so stand fast in the Lord.* 1 Thess. ii. and last, *For ye are our glory and joy.*

3. With the crown of holding fast till I come. Rev. ii. 25, *But that which ye have already hold fast till I come.* Rev. iii. 11, *Behold I come quickly : hold fast that which thou hast, that no man take thy crown.*

[4.] With the crown of righteousness. 1 Tim. iv. 8, *But godliness is profitable unto all things, &c.*

[5.] With the crown of life. James i. 12, *When he is tried he shall receive the crown of life.*

[6.] With the crown of glory. 1 Pet. v. 4, *And when the chief Shepherd shall appear, ye shall receive a crown of glory that fadeth not away.*

Upon the fifth day of the second month, anno 1667, in consideration of our pastor's illness since he came forth of prison, and infirmities increasing upon him, being above fifty years of age, the brethren and pastor moved, that brother Jennings might be chosen a teacher to the congregation, to ease our pastor sometimes, that he might not preach so often as he did, which was sometimes five, and usually four times

⁵ [This sketch of a sermon is in Mr. Ewins's handwriting, and appears to have been the substance of his address to the new elders.]

every week. And Mr. Ewins moved, that brother Jennings, for the aforesaid reasons of his infirmities, might be administrator of the ordinance of baptism to the church, to be ready to the administration of it as often as persons desired it, that they might not be delayed, but admitted orderly.

Upon the seventeenth day of the fourth month, 1667, Mr. Ewins was served with a process to appear at the bishop's court, but went not.

Upon the twentieth of said fourth month, 1667, our pastor, Mr. Ewins, was sent for before the mayor, Sir Thomas Langton, and other deputy lieutenants, about a letter that was directed to be left at his house, which they stopped at the post. And because he would not depart the city, they, through Sir Henry Creswick, sent him to prison, to Lawford's, the marshall, by Frog Lane; where they kept him until the 20th of July, the fifth month, then sent for him, and bound him with sureties to appear at sessions; but never called.

Upon the eighteenth of fifth month, 1667, these members following were baptized by Mr. Thomas, then being in town: namely, brother Daniel Gwilliam, aged brother Peirce, sister Ann Owen, and sister Margaret Sterry.

Through the good hand of the Lord to give us some rest, we again take another public meeting-place, upon the seventh day of the eighth month, 1667, at the Whitson Court, of brother Ellis, whereto he had of late removed his habitation. It being a large warehouse, up one pair of stairs, which our said brother Ellis had made very commodious for the use of the congregation. And there for some years we met, Lord's days and also week days, enjoying pretty much peace; but not without many threats and endeavours of some, one Elsworthy, like Sanballats. But the building of God's house prospered there, until the third month, 1670.

Upon the 22nd day of the tenth month, 1667, sister

Sandy was proposed, and afterwards spoken with, and joined to the congregation.

Upon the second of the twelfth month, 1667, sister Marsh was proposed, spoken with the twenty-third day, and afterwards added to the church.

In this 12th month, 1667, brother Brag and sister Moore, after divers times dealing with them from the church, and long patient waiting their reforming their conversation, and places in the church, they were both ejected, by declaring them no members of this congregation.

ANNO 1668.

Upon the fifteenth of the twelfth month, 1668, aged Mr. Teather was propounded to the church, spoken with the second of first month following, and afterwards baptized in the river Frome, though above eighty years of age, and joined member to this church.

Brother Robert Bodenham, upon the 21st day of the first month, 1668, was proposed, and afterwards spoken with, and baptized, and joined a member to this said congregation.⁶

ANNO 1669.

Sister Martha Griffen, in the third month, anno 1669, proposed to join with the congregation, and thereabout spoken with, and gave a good account for us to hope there was a true work of God on her soul: but she was not then received, for there was little done this year, by reason our pastor, Mr. Ewins, declined very fast. But our public meetings were supplied by other ministers during his weakness, which at last was so great that he kept his house and chamber near five months.

⁶ [This brother continued half a century with the church, and was a bountiful benefactor to it. He was only

eighteen years of age when he professed himself a disciple of Christ.]

ANNO 1670.

Our pastor, brother Ewins, having lain a great while weak, he departed this life in the second month, 1670, having faithfully served his Lord and Master, Jesus Christ, near towards twenty years in this city, in the work of the ministry; preaching clearly the gospel of free grace, by faith in Christ Jesus, wherein he laboured abundantly, in the public [places], and in his particular charge—the congregation; and also would go and preach to the poor people in their almshouses at Michael's Hill, and Lawford's Gate almshouse, once a fortnight, in the morning; and in those times of liberty would, for some convenient seasons, set up a lecture, and preach at Bedminster and other places. And at other times, during the winter long evenings, would keep an expository lecture or meeting at T'Ewins church, and sometimes at Leonard's church, besides his constant public preaching; as he was one of the city lecturers, every third day, Tuesday, at Nicolas church, and every fifth day (Thursday), at the church meeting of conference, and twice every Lord's day constantly: besides many times a word to the church, after that those who were not members were departed, upon the Lord's day, in the evening, at the church's select meeting.

Thus, as one unwearied to serve the Lord Jesus, he took all opportunities, doing good; insomuch that many ministers did admire him for his great, diligent labours, and that he had always variety of matter; which, though he had not the original tongues, yet God did endue him with great grace, and a quick understanding in the things of God, and [in] the gospel of our Lord Jesus, to the winning and converting many souls to Christ, and building and binding up the broken-hearted. He was a man full of self-denial, and subduing his natural temper; so that he walked very lovely and holy in his conversation, showing patience where it

required, and meekness toward all men; visiting all his members carefully, and searching into the state of their souls; and by some ministers that were his familiars [it was] observed and said, they never saw him over merry nor over sad, but given to prayer and almsdeeds.

He was interred in James's Yard, the 29th day of the second month, April, anno Domini, 1670, accompanied with many hundreds to the grave, the like funeral not seen long before in Bristol. He left so good a savour behind for faithfulness to God, and humility towards man, that his very chief persecutor, Sir John Knight, said, He did believe he was gone to heaven.

TO MR. TERRILL, FOR THE CHURCH.⁶

DEAR BROTHER,—Understanding that some friends intend to become suitors at the throne of grace this day on my behalf, I think good to send these few lines for information, to acquaint you that being weak, I cannot conveniently be with you; but hope I shall meet you with some few sighs and groans to Him that heareth prayer: first, that the God of all grace and health will command health and cure to the soul and body, chiefly to that soul of all soul maladies, unbelief, and all the fruits thereof; and also to body, for the cure of those maladies which unfit for work and service, especially melancholy, and the fruits thereof; and that God will, of his infinite riches of grace and merey, bestow a double portion of his blessed Spirit both upon me and upon the whole congregation, that we may obtain more of the blessed spirit of adoption, and all the fruits thereof. Amen. Which is all at present from your weak brother,

THOMAS EWINS.⁷

The Lord give you much of his presence, and grant that his ear may be open to your prayers.

⁶ [This undated letter was written to the church during the last illness of Mr. Ewins; the two church documents suc-

ceeding are likewise in his handwriting.]

⁷ [The following additional information of this excellent man is gleaned

A CHURCH LETTER.

DEARLY BELOVED SISTER,—Your brethren and sisters of this church of Christ in Bristol, of which you are a member, sendeth greeting unto you, wishing a daily increase of all grace, mercy, and peace, from God, even the Father, and from Jesus Christ our Lord, and only Saviour, through the constant supplies of the blessed Spirit of promise.

Dear Sister,—Your brethren, taking into consideration how many of the members of this church are, at present, by the wise disposing providence of God, cast at a great distance from us, at least in habitation, though we trust they are not so in spirit nor affection, it came into our hearts of late to consider which way we might express our love to you, and discharge our duty towards you in a way of service to your soul; and the only way we could pitch upon was this, of writing a few lines severally to each of you. The drift and scope whereof is to this end:—

I. To let you know that though we seldom see you, or hear from you, yet that you are in our hearts to desire and endeavour the eternal welfare of your precious soul, and that we do account and esteem you very dear unto us, as a member of this congregation; hoping that you do so reckon and account of yourself, and not only so, but that you do also endeavour faithfully to approve yourselves living members of Jesus Christ, and of his body, the church. It would be great joy to us to hear sometimes from you, and of the gracious dealing of God with you, and of the spiritual growth and increase of all grace in you, and that you do stand fast in the Lord, and in his ways, notwithstanding all the

from Calamy:—He had been a mechanic, but was sent out to preach by the church meeting at Allhallows, in London, with one Mr. T. Barnes. Although not a scholar, he was a judicious methodical preacher; was very laborious and successful. One sermon upon blind Bartimeus was the means of conversion to many. He was remarkable

for his patience, meekness, and charity, so scrupulous about maintenance, that he would accept no tithes, nor salary, but only free gifts. Upon the restoration he soon quitted the public pulpits; and although courted to conformity by the bishop, refused to comply. Palmer's Noncon. Mem. ii. 351.]

trials and temptations that may have befallen you, as it hath many others of the precious people of the Lord, in this cloudy and dark day.

II. The second end of this our writing is to communicate a few things, in particular, to each of you, for the spiritual advantage of your souls, both to comfort, establish, and exhort you in the Lord.

As first, that you would endeavour to stand fast in the Lord, and in every truth of God, as you have been taught, and that you be not shaken nor removed concerning the great and precious doctrine of free justification by grace, through faith in the blood and righteousness of Jesus Christ, nor from Christ crucified, and the simplicity of the gospel of the grace of God.

Secondly, that you would also endeavour to maintain and keep up the lively actings of faith in Christ the head, as a living branch in the vine always fetching sap and nourishment from him, John xv. 1—4, as knowing that without him, or severed from him, we can do nothing, verse 15.

III. That you strive after the life and power of godliness—reaching after inward purity of heart, and the spirit of holiness—mortifying the inward secret motions of sins, lusts, and passions of the flesh—making and keeping clean the inside of the cup, as Matt. xxiii. 26, that the outside may be clean also.

IV. Let your conversation be as becometh the gospel of peace, in all meekness and sobriety, blameless and harmless, as the children of God, shining as lights in the world, adorning the gospel, and convincing gainsayers; that if there be any near you that be strangers to the ways of God, they may, beholding your good conversation, be brought to think well, and speak well, of the ways of Christ. Oh, read 1 Peter iii. 1—4.

V. We admonish and exhort you in the Lord, that you take heed of any sinful compliance with the evils of the times, either by conforming to any ways of false worship, which Christ never instituted in his churches, or by fashioning yourself according to the sinful modes and customs of the times.

VI. We beseech you, labour to walk with God in your place

and capacity; be much in secret closet duties, as in reading the holy word of God, private prayer, and communion with God; and cry earnestly to God for the blessed Spirit, who only is able to lead you into all truth, to comfort you in all troubles, to strengthen you against all trials, and to make you glad and joyful in the midst of all sorrows and sadness.

VII. Be often minding the coming of the Lord, and daily preparing for the same, having your lamps burning, your loins girded, and oil in your vessels, that so with the wise virgins you may enter in, and possess, and enjoy eternal happiness with God and Christ, saints and angels, for evermore.

Now the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ set home and bless these few lines unto you; and we pray God to bless, preserve, sanctify, and keep your soul, and spirit, and body, blameless unto the appearing of the Lord Jesus Christ, that you and we may meet at that day with joy and comfort. Amen.

In the name and by the appointment of the whole church.

Signed by us, Bristol, the day of the month,
1665.

LETTER OF RECOMMENDATION TO A MEMBER.

Bristol, this 22nd day of the fourth month, June, 1669.

To any of the churches of Jesus Christ where this bearer, our sister, may come. Grace and peace be multiplied unto you, &c.

We do hereby certify that this our beloved sister, Anne Wade, hath been for some time, and still remains, a member in fellowship with this congregation in Bristol, being one that is very dear unto us upon Christ's account. We do, therefore, recommend her unto you, beseeching you to receive her in the Lord, and to admit her into communion and fellowship with you, in all the ordinances and privileges of the house of God. So we remain,

Your brethren in the faith and fellowship of the gospel of Christ,

THOMAS EWINS,	ROBERT SIMPSON,
EDWARD TERRILL,	GEORGE ROBINSON,
THOMAS ELLIS,	WILLIAM DICKASON.

*Letter from a church in London, to the church of Christ walking in the fellowship of the gospel with our beloved brother, Thomas Ewins, in Bristol.*⁸

DEARLY BELOVED BRETHREN,—All grace be to you, and peace from God our Father, and from our Lord Jesus Christ, who gave himself for our sins, and ever lives to plead our cause, in whom we are complete ; to whom be glory for ever in his churches. Amen.

Having heard of your unfeigned love, care, and kindness, towards our beloved brother, John James, we desire to bless the Lord, and acknowledge you for it, being assured you well know that Christ hath given more abundant honour to that member which lacked, that no division might be made in his church, but every member *should have the same care one for another*, 1 Cor. xii. 25 ; and, therefore, do hope the same holy care and love will be enlarged towards him, as towards all the saints of God ; and, therefore, our Lord Jesus exhorts us to grow and abound in it more and more, Phil. i. 9. He that hath called us is love, 1 John iv. 8 ; his Spirit, a Spirit of love, 2 Tim. i. 7 ; his law, a law of love, James ii. 12, 13 ; his followers, a communion of love, 1 Cor. x. 17 ; his ordinances, ordinances of love ; and our vocation, a calling of love ; and ere long, when Christ, our Shepherd, doth appear to make up all his jewels, then shall all his sheep, though of divers colours, be gathered into one fold. Then will he perfect his saints in love, then shall all their sins and errors be taken from them, and righteousness, truth, and glory, be put upon them ; then shall the many accusations among

⁸ [This letter is from the church of which Mr. H. Jessey had been pastor, and with which the Bristol church had subsequently much correspondence on the choice of Mr. Hardcastle for their pastor, who was a member of that London church. It is a letter of thanks for attention given to one of their mem-

bers, and serves to show the spirit and the custom prevalent at that time amongst the churches, when the ties of church membership were more strongly felt, whilst the care of the whole for every one was more feelingly manifested, than is witnessed in our own day.]

brethren cease, and Satan, the accuser of all the brethren, be righteously silenced.

In the meanwhile let us prepare for that day, neither eating nor drinking with the drunkards, nor beating our fellow-servants; pressing after this great mark; judging our own souls, but erecting no throne on earth to judge the hearts and consciences of others, for our Father hath reserved that for his own throne, and the judgment of the last day, 1 Cor. iv. 5, x. 29.

And what is sinful man, subject to more darkness and blindness than his brother, differenced only by the communication of gift, that he should lay his hand upon the Lord's throne? Wherefore, dear brethren, be ye stedfast, immoveable, wax not cold, but strive to abound in the love of the Lord, always abhorring *that which is evil*, Rom. xii. 9; hating the things which God hates, Rev. ii. 6; and the God of all grace, who hath chosen us to be holy in love, Eph. i. 4, and loved us, that we should be holy even as he is holy, give unto you, and unto us (the most unworthy), and unto all his Israel, more of the spirit of love, of wisdom, and of a sound mind, to *approve those things that are excellent*, and disprove things that cause to err; that purging the house of God from old leaven, we *may be sincere, and without offence*, at the coming of our Lord, Phil. i. 10.

Dear brethren, many trials may yet attend us, we have not yet resisted unto blood; wickedness makes more haste for vengeance, than love, humiliation, and holiness, for recompence. The Lord's winnowing and sifting time may yet be more general, and more sharp. We had need see our loins be girt, and our light burning, that no man rob us of our crown. Mount Zion looks not as if all God's work were done upon her; new breaches [are] made and old ones unrepaired, and like to bring upon us more wrath, yet you know who hath said, *For my name's sake will I defer mine anger*, [Isaiah xlvi. 9.]

Now unto the King eternal, immortal, invisible, our Lord Jesus Christ, the only wise God, be honour, glory, and dominion, for ever and for ever. Amen.

Your brethren in the fellowship of the gospel, subscribed by appointment of the church,

MICHAEL DUNWELL,	SAMUEL BUTTALL,
NATHANIEL HALL,	JOHN SMITH,
THOMAS CHAPPLE,	WILLIAM NUTTALL.

London, 21st of the fourth month [July], 1669.

OUR PERSECUTIONS.

The Lord took away our pastor from the evil to come, for a general persecution arose in the next month after he deceased. On the 10th of the third month [May], 1670, the act against conventicles commenced,⁹ which was the forfeiture of twenty pounds to be levied on every one that preached, for any one offence, and twenty pounds for the house or ground where we met; and five shillings the first time, and ten shillings every time after the first conviction for the hearers; to be levied by distress upon the persons convicted, their goods or chattels. Which persecution was general over the church in the nation, especially where any in office was willing to trouble, because there was £100 fine upon the justice of peace, who, upon information brought before him, would not prosecute.

Which trouble was our seventh persecution in Bristol, since king Charles II. returned:—

The first was in Sir Henry Creswick's year, 1660, [when] our persecutions began.

⁹ [The revival of the former act received the royal assent on the 11th April, 1670. It was made more severe than before; "the fault of the mittimus should not disable it; all doubtful clauses in the act should be interpreted, as would favour the suppression of con-

venticles; they that fled, or removed their dwelling into another county, should be pursued by execution." Baxter's Narr. part iii. p. 74. Rapin, ii. 655. For the persecutions endured by baptists in other parts of the country, see Crosby, ii. 244, &c.]

The second persecution was in Alderman Cale's mayoralty, anno 1661, when about a month our pastor was imprisoned.

The third was by the deputy lieutenants: began 26th October, anno 1662.

The fourth persecution, like a violent storm, began upon us in the beginning of Sir John Knight's mayoralty; and in the third month following, the act to banish us came forth.

The fifth persecution was by Alderman Lawford, in his year, 1664; both these coming together were very heavy upon us, for their continuance.

The sixth persecution arose in Sir Thomas Langton's year, anno 1666; so that

This, our seventh persecution, in Sir Robert Yeaman's year, began tenth day, third month, 1670.

The first Lord's day after said tenth of third month, the informers from the bishop (that was then one Ironsides¹) came upon us; and because we did not know which way they would begin upon us, we shut our public meeting-house door when we understood they were coming. Then they fetched constables, and broke open the door, came in, and took our names, for which some of us were brought before the magistrates and convicted. Then, against the next Lord's day, we broke a wall, up on high, for a window, and put the speaker in the next house to stand and preach, whereby we heard him as well as if in the room with us. The bishop's informers come in again, take our names, for which we were again brought

¹ [Gilbert Ironsides the elder, was appointed to the see of Bristol in Dec. 1660, and died in 1671, aged eighty-three. The archbishop of Canterbury, Gilbert Sheldon, by a circular letter, dated May 7, 1670, strongly urged upon all his diocesans the execution of the conventicle act. "It becomes us," said

he, "to endeavour, as much as in us lies, the promoting of so blessed a work, . . . by God's help, and the assistance of the civil power, considering the abundant care and provisions this act contains FOR OUR GREAT ADVANTAGES." Doc. Annals, ii. 276.]

before the mayor, and convicted. So they did the third Lord's day. And the fourth Lord's day, the mayor himself, with his officers and some aldermen, came upon us, and turned us out; but seeing they could not make us refrain our meeting, they raised the train bands every last day of the week, in the evening, one band to keep us out of our places, and nailed up our doors, and put locks upon them; so they kept us out by force and power, that we were fain to meet in the lanes and highways for several months.

Then brother Terrill having moved his habitation from Corn Street, to his garden house, near Lawford's Gate, we had the benefit of being at his house until we had obtained the mercy to have another pastor; and the Lord so ordered it, that Alderman John Knight, of the Sugar-house, being mayor, he did wink at our thus meeting, and was not ready to receive every information; whereby the Lord gave us some rest there, until the sixth month, 1671.

Brother Henry Ford, upon the 15th day of third month, 1670, was proposed to join.

Brother Cornish, upon the 22nd day of third month, 1670, was proposed to join.

In this year, 1670, our pastor being deceased, the church did not break bread until we had another pastor, yet kept up our monthly day of prayer, as we used to do before breaking of bread; and the church, though they had no pastor, yet they did, notwithstanding, deal with members that walked irregular in their conversations, and they cast out some from amongst them, and received in others to be members with them. Thus having ruling elders, by them they carried on and managed the church power, and kept up all their meetings duly, only forbore breaking of bread, that holy ordinance, till they had a pastor, whose proper work it is to administer the same.

One person cast out was Philip Sciphard; who, then being

a member, was [excluded] after divers times dealing with, according to the rule of our Lord, for his scandalous walking in excess of drinking, though he several times covered, evaded, and justified himself for want of due proof. At last, his sin that he lived in found him out; for it happened that two brethren saw him overcome in drink, and therefore at a church meeting, he being present, his evils were laid before him, and by the eldest ruling elder, brother Ellis, at his house, the said Philip Sciphard was cast out of the congregation, in the fifth month, anno Domini, 1670.

This church wanting a pastor, brother Terrill wrote a letter to that eminent and worthy servant of the Lord, Mr. Vavasor Powell, minister of the gospel, who then was in London,² to entreat him to use his endeavour to help us with an able, learned minister, that might be our pastor; telling him he had heard of one Mr. Hardcastle, not long before added to them, Mr. Jessey's people; [inquiring] whether he judged him a fit man for us, and whether he were free, and not set apart to office by them, that is, Mr. Jessey's congregation; whether we might have him, or whether he knew of any other more fit.

Said Mr. Powell returned answer to brother Terrill, that Mr. Hardcastle, he judged, would be very fit for us if we could but obtain him; and that he was not set apart by that church to office as yet, but they had some such intentions, if they liked each other.

[² After more than eight years' imprisonment, in not less than thirteen prisons, for the truth's sake, Mr. Powell was brought to London on, the 22nd October, 1669, under a writ Alias, the writ Habeas Corpus being unheeded by the sheriff. But, although the return was adjudged false and illegal, he was

committed to the Maroon House, the then Fleet Prison, in Lambeth, where, after thirty day's illness, he finished his course on the 27th October, 1670. He was therefore in prison at the date of this correspondence.—Crosby, ii. 230, 381.]

LETTER OF VAVASOR POWELL.

To Mr. Edward Terrill.

MUCH HONOURED AND WORTHY BROTHER,—I received yours by the hand of our dear brother the bearer,³ and, as I have told him, will most readily and really serve you, and the rest of the saints with you, either by improving my interest to procure you a fit person to go before you in the congregation, or any other way I am capable ; although my restraints may prevent in part.

Mr. Hardcastle, that you name, is at present in prison, otherwise he is not perfectly fixed with the church brother Jessey formerly belonged to, though joined to them as a member, *and upon trial* to be their pastor. Yet the church being but small, and having Mr. Abbot among them, it is not impossible, nor altogether improbable, that at your request, and for a more public good, he may be spared by them ; but brother Teague can better satisfy you therein, having had better opportunity to discourse with him and other friends about it. Mr. Hardcastle is my brother-in-law, and if that may influence anything, in case he can be set at liberty, I shall further move in it ; although, indeed, things at present are in such a posture, that it is very hard to know what to do in lesser matters. I shall advise, as I have opportunity, with friends about it, and signify to you what can be done therein.

I rejoice greatly to hear of your courage and care, and of the gracious providence and preservation of Jehovah towards you hitherto. Our safety is in the Lord, and in doing our duty and cleaving close to him. Such have the promise of preservation from the hour of temptation, Rev. iii. 10. We are appointed and commanded to be partakers of the afflictions of the gospel, 1 Thess. iii. 3. To be some of the forwardest therein is an honour, which I perceive God is calling you to ; therefore rejoice, and so much the more as tribulations abound, 2 Cor. vii. 4. Our

³ [The bearer was brother Teague, Terrill's letter to Mr. Powell is not to an elder of Mr. Hynam's church. Mr. be found.]

trials are like to be sharp, but it is to be hoped so much the shorter. However, what are the worst and greatest we can endure here, in comparison of the weight of glory, and crown of righteousness, prepared and reserved for those that continue faithful to the end. An interest in God through Christ, his presence with, power under, Spirit in, and promises to us, are sufficient to carry us comfortably through fire and water; herein let us remember one another, and all the Israel of God, who are in several countries now intended by men to be sheep for the slaughter, though the thought of the Lord may be otherwise.

The letter is stayed for, and therefore I can only add my own and my wife's dear love and service, with thanks for both your kindness, to you and dear Mrs. Terrill. Our respects also to all other friends, C. Ell[is], Mr. R. B., Han. Barnes, &c.,

Your truly affectionate brother,

D. M. Y.

V. P.

6. 4. 70. [June 6th, 1670.]

Whereupon this congregation wrote a letter to Mr. Thos. Hardcastle, signed in the name of the whole church by twelve of the brethren, to come to us upon trial to be our pastor; but then Satan in his instruments raging in London, as well as here, Mr. Hardcastle was taken preaching, and cast into prison in London for six months. We were therefore fain to wait that time out.

Letter from a church of Christ in Bristol to their dearly beloved brother Mr. Thomas Hardcastle, minister of the gospel.

HONOURED SIR,—As personally unknown we salute you in our Lord Jesus Christ, who, as our great Shepherd and King, ordereth all things in his church; to whose divine and unsearchable wisdom it hath seemed good to take from us to himself that worthy instrument, our dear pastor, Mr. Ewins, who, as a candle, for many years he continued in this candlestick, his church. And we, being now in that respect as orphans,

cannot but adore the Lord's gracious providence in preparing one so suitable for us his poor flock as yourself; which makes us hope, that according to our former experiences of the Lord in all his seeming adverse providences towards us his poor unworthy people, we can, through his rich grace, write Eben-ezer.

So now in this particular dispensation of his holy will, we are encouraged to believe he will not leave nor forsake us; but that he doth provide and take care of us, answering our prayers; for we hope this to be one manifestation of it, that you are not fixed nor settled over any other people. Therefore, dear Sir, we earnestly entreat you, as soon as the prison doors shall be opened to you, that you will come to us upon trial, to supply the room of our deceased pastor. We shall provide a house for you against you come, and shall endeavour a comfortable subsistence likewise, hoping to your content.

We should be glad to hear from you during the restraint, supposing it will not be long ere the Lord burst your bonds, if friends with you use their endeavours. In the mean season we commend you into the hands of our ever-blessed Redeemer, who is able to fill you with consolation in the midst of your prison temptations; and for the present we take leave, and remain your brethren in the fellowship of the gospel.

Subscribed by the appointment of the church,

THOMAS ELLIS,
EDWARD TERRILL,
ROBERT SIMPSON,
RICHARD WHITE,
JOHN SHUTER,
WILLIAM DICKASON,

DANIEL GWILLIAM,
JEREMIAH COURTNEY,
JOSEPH FRY,
HENRY PEARCE,
ROBERT BODENHAM,
JOHN MORGAN.

Letter of Mr. Hardcastle⁴ in reply to this church.

These for the church of Christ at Bristol, formerly walking with Mr. Ewins.

DEARLY BELOVED FRIENDS AND BRETHREN,—I received a letter from you some weeks ago, which at once was matter of wonder, comfort, and trouble. That I had such an esteem among you, though unknown and unworthy, did occasion the two former. That I am not in a capacity to serve the Lord and you, according to your desire and expectations, does administer no small grief unto me; and this is the chief reason of my delay in giving you an answer, because I could not do it to your satisfaction. The account I have had of your city, the bottom or ground of your communion, with an open door and opportunity for service, with other circumstances, are such as would have much encouraged me to have come among you.

I am related, as you know, to that church with whom formerly Mr. Jessey walked, as a member and a minister, and upon trial for eldership.⁵

I have acquainted them with your motion, but they seem to be altogether unwilling to hearken to it, or to part with their interest in me; and this answer I was desired by them to return to you, which they would have done by themselves, if the overture had been made to them; so that if I had consented, their [consent]

⁴ [Mr. Hardcastle was born at Barwick-upon-Holm, in Yorkshire, and trained up under Mr. Jackson, of Barwick, a learned divine. He was but a young preacher when the act of Uniformity drove him from the vicarage of Bramham. For several years he was chaplain to Lady Barwick, of Toulston, and most intimate with her son-in-law, Lord Henry Fairfax, who greatly befriended him in his sufferings for Christ.—Palmer's Nonconformist Mem. ii. 557. Hardcastle's Christian Geography, &c., p. 147.]

⁵ [Writing in 1674, Mr. Hardcastle says, "I have a sincere respect to the members of that ancient and honourable society, formerly walking with Mr. Hen. Jessey, where, for some time, I did enjoy comfortable communion, till the providence of God removed me thence." That church was then under the care of Mr. James Fitten, "my old friend and fellow sufferer," and Mr. Henry Forty, who afterwards removed to Abingdon.—Epist. Ded. to Christian Geography, &c.]

must have been procured, or else I could not have been disengaged. They look upon me as so far engaged to them, which is really so, that without mutual consent there can be no parting.

And now, my dear brethren, what advice to give you I am at a loss, though I do as much desire to serve you that way as you can imagine; your affection to me has compelled me to it. The Lord has been pleased to make one considerable breach upon you, by taking away your faithful pastor; and the adversary by his cruelty is daily endeavouring more. Satan's great design, at this day, seems to be against the communion of saints.

And as some said of the gospel in Nero's time, that surely there must be some great excellency in it, because the emperor was so much against it, so we may say concerning Christian assemblies [now], that there is some great good in them, because Satan does so much oppose them by his instruments. For this purpose I have sometimes thought of Heb. x. 23, &c. The way to hold fast our profession, it seems, is to hold firmer our communion; and for the furthering and managing of it, I hope you will pardon my freedom, my love extorts it from me, if I cast in my mite by way of direction.

Let it then be public, pure, peaceable, and perpetual.

First, Public. The fury of the enemy, as the case stands with us, is no argument against it, but for it. That mode which honours God most, which shows our love to the Lord Jesus most, which encourages others and convinces the adversary most, is to be chosen. It is pity we should be a stumbling-stone to others, that any should say they went to hell because of us; if we would have stood, and have suffered imprisonment and spoil for Christ, then they would have believed that there was something in religion and the gospel, and they would have fallen in love with it. It is a shame we should serve our Lord as if he yet were in the grave, or no otherwise risen than by his disciples stealing him away; and not as one who sits at the right hand of God, having all power in heaven and in earth. It is folly to conceive that our spirituals are secured by our temporals, and not rather our temporals are preserved by our spirituals; it is the

meeting which is the safe-guard of the house, and not the house of the meeting.

Trusting God is the best security of soul and body. We never walk so safely as when we follow him closely. If we follow at a great distance, to see what will become of him, the Lord knows what in a little time may become of us. They that *turn aside to crooked paths, the Lord will lead them forth with the workers of iniquity*, [Psalm cxxv. 5.]

Secondly, Let it be pure. That is, not only according to the rule of scripture, but in respect of its influence—making all other communion and your conversations just. If our communion be spiritual, it will draw a line of savouriness, seriousness, and holiness, throughout our whole converse. To worship as saints and walk as men, is not at all becoming the gospel; nor will it afford us any peace of conscience, nor courage in an evil day.

Thirdly, Let it be peaceable.

1. Amongst yourselves, without jealousies, prejudices, or unnecessary dividings. And honour the foundation you stand on—to receive saints as saints. It will hold when all others fail. It is love in the heart, and not soundness of judgment, which does preserve union. One heaven must hold us hereafter, why should not one heart hold us now? The enemy has given us a strong intimation for peace. They have put us all under one condemnation. They make no difference, but persecute us as professors and saints, and merely under that notion; and how uncomely is it for a saint to persecute another saint upon a lesser account. No man has the command of his understanding. We cannot see and believe what we will. It is the Lord that giveth light, and when it comes from him there is no withstanding of it. These two considerations may be sufficient to still all censures, on both hands, and make you walk lovingly together. Take in that text, James iv. 1. If from the corruption of the heart, then not from the conception of the head.

2. Peaceable as to others; I mean to the adversary. You cannot be too active in your testimony, nor too passive in your sufferings. By the activity of your testimony you convince the world,

and are a means to convert it. It is a blessing out of Zion ; and you, likewise, both by that and your patience, hasten the wrath of God upon the enemy, for the fury they use toward you ; and this is the vengeance of the temple. So that by this means you send forth blessings to the world, and vials upon the persecutors ; for then God steps in when their wrath is high, and then is their wrath high when testimony is kept up.

Fourthly. Let it be perpetual, constant, uninterrupted. You say, you want ministers to keep it up, for church communion. I will answer you in the words of holy Mr. Rutherford. "The manner of chiefly conveying my love to your heart," says he, "is not so absolutely dependent even upon lively preaching, as if there was no life of God but that which is tied to a man's lips. The daughters of Jerusalem have done often that which the watchmen could not do. He needeth not us ; howbeit the flock be obliged to seek him in the Shepherd's tents. That is a blessed soul that can leap over a man, and look above a pulpit up to Christ," &c. My dear friends, though I confess we should be found in our duty, yet I fear that saints and churches will find little settlement, for one reason,—this is the beginning of troubles. The Lord fit us for worse and better times ! How great are the sins of professors that have procured such wrath ! Who would have believed that the enemy and the adversary could so have entered the gates of Jerusalem, have made such breaches and spoil upon saints and churches ? What formality, hypocrisy, carnality, worldliness, disunion, &c., is there among professors !

My dear brethren, you will pardon me that I am thus free and prolix with you, being a stranger to you, and, for anything I know, never having seen the face of any one of you. I shall add no more ; but beg your prayers for me, a poor unworthy prisoner of the Lord Jesus. I can speak well of imprisonment. My Master is nothing behind hand with me. I am much indebted to him ; and if ever I come in heaven, shall be the greatest monument of free grace there. I owe him ten thousand talents. The Lord be with your spirits, and preserve you blameless to his heavenly kingdom.

So prayeth, my dear brethren, your most affectionate, faithful, though very unworthy friend and brother in the Lord Jesus.

THOMAS HARDCASTLE.

24th 6th month (August), 1670.

But Mr. Jessey's congregation was much troubled at our sending for him, and would not grant him to us. Whereupon there was much striving and disputing by letters between this congregation and that in London, during all the time of his imprisonment. They laid or charged us with sin for writing to Mr. Hardcastle, to come to us to be our pastor; they argued he was a member with them, and therefore they had a right in him more than we, so that we ought not to endeavour to take him away from them. We, this congregation, argued, [that] seeing he was not as yet set apart to office by them, he was free for us, or for any other church of Christ to call him to office; but if they already had ordained him to office, so that he were set apart by them before, we then had no more to say, nor should endeavour to take him from them; but if they had not, then Mr. Hardcastle was free, if that he had not consented to their motion and declared it, and might go to serve Christ, upon the call of a church, wheresoever he thought he was capable to do most service; and to this effect we argued. The church here set apart, time after time, several days of prayer in that behalf; and the Lord at last granted us that mercy, that they spared Mr. Hardcastle for one month to come down and visit us, and so to return again to them.

Letter of Mr. Vavasor Powell. No. 2.⁶

DEAR AND MUCH HONOURED BROTHER,—I crave your excuse that I did not answer both your letters sooner; when I received

[⁶ This letter was received a few days after the foregoing of Mr. Harcastle's.]

the first, I delivered it to my brother Hardcastle, who desired time to consider it, promising to return me an account; which I received not till your second came, which was opened by one of Mr. Smith's family,⁷ that is a member of the church that brother Hardcastle belongs to; and it seems it was showed the church, or at least the contents thereof communicated to them; which gave occasion to them to debate it, and, it seems, to determine against his coming, and to censure me for endeavouring or intermeddling anything therein. A farther account, I suppose, my brother Hardcastle hath sent you, under his own hand, with which you are to acquiesce; for I find neither he nor they to be inclinable thereto, and it will be very difficult to draw any of the London ministers hence till God doth thrust them out, which truly I believe will be done ere long; for here they eat the fat and sweet in abundance, and consider but little the barrenness and great want of the poor churches in the country, I hope the great Shepherd will provide for you, he having promised to feed both the scattered and slaughtered flock, Ezek. xxxiv. 14, Zech. xi. 7; and he will save the flock of his people, and *they shall be as stones of a crown, lifted up as an ensign upon his land*, Zech. ix. 16. They shall be as precious stones put in the crown of Christ, that he will wear them for honour and dignity, and he will make them appear splendid and glorious as an ensign, yea, as an army with banners. But before this I expect a far greater scattering and breaking, a bringing of us *even to Babylon*, Micah iv. 10; but first, as it is there, *into the field*; that is, to a perfect discovery and view who are and who are not faithful and full followers of the Lamb. We are much broken in counsel and judgment, and shall be in communion. Churches that would not

⁷ [Mr. Hardcastle dedicated his work, entitled "Christian Geography and Arithmetic," 12mo, pp. 188, the substance of some sermons preached in Bristol, in 1674, to his "honoured and worthy friends, Mr. John Smith, and his beloved consort, Mrs. Ann Smith, at Battersea." He attributes the sermons

to "that providence, a dangerous fall through a trap-door," which they met with when last in Bristol, by which they were brought near to "the gates of death." This, he says, "did give conception to the most of these meditations." They are founded on Matt. vi. 34, and Psalm xc. 12.]

be cemented, will be rent, I fear, in pieces; and then, perhaps, out of *all societies and opinions*, the Lord will pick out and gather up such stones as are fit to be put in his new edifice and more spiritual temple; till then we are to do as well as we can. My prayers, since I can be no otherwise serviceable to you, shall be for you; and my advice is, that in case you cannot have such a person in point of judgment as you desire, that you will choose another from among yourselves that may be an assistant; or else be sure you pitch upon one that is very humble, meek, sober, peaceable, and moderate, else better borrow a while, and wait longer in prayer, fasting, and inquiry, till the Lord provide for you. My, and my wife's, dearest love and respect to you and yours, and all the rest, especially brother Ellis, and brother Teague, and their wives.

Your most affectionate brother and servant in the Lord,

V. P.

29 d., 6th m., 70th y. [August, 1670.]

Letter from the church of Jesus Christ in London, that formerly walked with our beloved brother Henry Jessey, now deceased: sends greeting to the church of Christ in Bristol, that formerly walked with our brother Thomas Ewins.

BELOVED AND DEAR BRETHREN,—We have received yours by which you do administer occasion of sorrow and joy;—of sorrow, to mourn that the chariots of Israel are taken up; of joy, to bless God that your candlestick still remains. He that hath taken away your pastor, might as easily and as justly have dismissed you from the service of his house, and rooted up your church state.

We think it no small mercy, when God calls the shepherd to himself, that then the sheep do keep peaceably together, and do not wander abroad into bye and slippery paths. It has been the sin of many churches, and it is a temptation you may meet with, that when their leaders have been called aside to attend their

Master's service elsewhere, then have they begun to make parties, and to bring in errors into the house and worship of God; like Israel of old, that when Moses was kept above in the mount, they had no patience to wait God's leisure, but they must have a leader; and let not this be thought strange of by you, for even Aaron himself, and the sons of Levi, were taken in the same snare.

Dear brethren, all these things are about you, and we beseech you watch against them, and be not weary in waiting upon the Lord. Hath he taken one up to himself? It is but to prepare you all the more for himself. Whilst he lived you would not see those things to be sins, which, peradventure now you do bewail. It may be you were wanting in your esteem of him, care for him, love to him, and now God himself hath taken up all the care. It may be the world had deceived you, and got too near your hearts. It may be you were full, and did undervalue him. It may be you were needy and hungry, and did overvalue him, and gave that to him which you should have given to God. It may be some could receive no truth but from his mouth, nor make one good meal for their souls unless he dressed it. It may be others did look upon all he said but as to a new gospel, and, instead of old wholesome truths, were more apt to desire new revelations, but indeed mere notions;—were grown weary of the sincere milk, and lusted after quails and corrupted wine. It may be you little laid to heart the condition of others of your brethren that are in more want than you be. Oh, dear friends, beware! Bear with us herein; for what hath been your care for a little while, hath been ours for many years, and we must needs acknowledge, to the praise of our Lord and to our own shame, that these things have been too much our temptations; and oh that we were humbled for them at this day! Notwithstanding, we have waited, and God hath heard, and giveth us hope that he will, by our beloved brother Hardecastle, make up some of our breaches. And would you now deprive us of such an answer of prayer, after so long waiting? We beseech you, spare us herein; and let us not be thought unkind if, when God sends us a Matthias, we hold fast

our interest in him, and desire our full of the grace of God conferred upon him.

We suppose you will yourselves conclude [that] we should do very ill to part with such a token of God's good pleasure, as we hope it will prove. God, that hath determined the bounds of our habitation, knew best where to plant him, and where to make him most serviceable for his name and glory; and as he hath given him to us, so he hath many more servants in Jesus Christ for his churches, and, if you patiently wait upon him, we question not but he will seasonably satisfy your soul with bread. You do very Christianly tell us of your need, and, were it convenient, we doubt not we could satisfy you, that if you take him away from us, we have much more need; and, therefore, cannot think you would desire to repair your breaches by making one so great upon your sister church. And as to the interest of Christ, God himself hath decided that, and sent him to us; but nowhere is it, i. e. the interest of Christ, so much engaged as in this city; the influence whereof is dispersed the nation over, and whose example, especially in cowardliness, error, fear, and evil, is too much attempted in other parts. God, by his providence, works as if he intended to make this place his forlorn hope, and where should the gifted and gracious be, such as are called, and chosen, and faithful, but where the enemy is most strong. However, had God been pleased to have favoured us with one to go in and out before us, as your letter doth suggest, then we should have rejoiced at the opportunity to serve you, and the interest of Christ with you.

Many more things might be offered; these, we hope, will suffice, and give you grounds to judge that we do sympathize with you, and are all a little sensible, after long experience, of the providence of God that is upon you; and, therefore, do entreat and exhort, as members of the same head, you would, above all things, watch against a spirit of contention, and keep the unity and purity of the Spirit in the bond of peace. It is God's call, now, especially to you, to live holily, and in love, and learn to bear one another's infirmities. Let none think of himself more

than is meet, and, thereby, make the church of Christ rather a school of controversy than the place of peace;—but wait humbly upon God for his anointing; open your mouths wide, and he will fill. And in the supply of your wants, make not too much haste. Lay hands suddenly on no man. But being confident that you have better weighed those things, we commit you to the Fountain of all grace, desiring also to use what interest we have on your behalf, as with God. So with other churches here in London, and if any be represented to us, we shall not be wanting to recommend them to you.

Finally, brethren, *be ye stedfast, unmoveable, always abounding in the way and work of the Lord*; for you have still the same Father, and as he hath now stopped one voice, so he can easily open another at his pleasure, and will do it in his due time. Therefore, we repeat again, wait patiently upon the Lord, and if God leave *you* to wait longer than *we* have done, yet, think well of him; keep his way; let love abound; hold fast what you have received; and the God of truth and peace be with you, and preserve your souls, spirits, and bodies, blameless, to his coming and kingdom.

Signed, by appointment of the church,

MICHAEL DUNWELL,
WILLIAM NUTTALL,
THOMAS CHAPPLE,

SAMUEL BUTTALL,
NATHANIEL HALL,
JOHN SMITH.

London, 23d. 8m. 1670.

Letter of Mr. Hardcastle. No. 2.

MY DEAR FRIEND AND BROTHER,—I received your last, which is the sixth letter I have had from you^s since mine to you. They now lie all before me. It is some trouble to me that I should be guilty of that to you which I never was to any;—to you, who least of all deserve it from me, and that is not to return

^s [These letters from the church do not appear to have been preserved.]

an answer to yours. I must confess [that] I have been very often setting pen to paper, but still was discouraged, because I could not write what would satisfy you. My silence troubled me too, because it might raise your expectations of that which cannot be granted. I waited a good while for our church's letter to you, which I did think would have put a period to further endeavours in this affair; but I perceive, by your last, it has not had that effect. It is much affliction to me that I am not in a capacity to gratify such an importunity. Alas! I am a stranger to you, and the account you have had of me is much better than I deserve. I should never be able to make good the report, and your expectation of me. Persons and things at a distance usually seem much greater and better than they are. It would be matter of grief to each of us to be brought under such disappointment.

As for coming down to spend three or four Lord's days with you, by way of visit, without further engagement, I would readily close with it, if you can prevail with our church to do it as their act, upon your request to them. For the other, there is no fear that I shall be forward to lay stricter engagements upon myself than I have already. Your many Christian and good letters deserve a more full and exact answer than I can give at this time, being very full of business, which my new condition of liberty, among other things, does procure. My six months were expired last first day, and I was freely discharged upon the second day [Monday]. Bless the Lord with me, and pray for me, that I may have the fulness of the blessing of the gospel attending my work, which is not small now; and the more, because of my long absence from the congregation. My dearest love to the church with you; to brother Teague, to yourself. The Lord bless you; and believe me, I am very, very much, your obliged, endeared friend and brother,

THOMAS HARDCASTLE.

Letter of Mr. Hardcastle. No. 3.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—I have had it in my thoughts and desires a good while to write to you, but still have been prevented. I suppose by this time you have heard of the issue of that meeting of the brethren. Our congregation stood on their right, and therefore the business of usefulness came not under debate, which I much desired. They left the business as they found it, and I presume shortly you will have a letter from the congregation that will be absolutely negative. I must confess to you, ingenuously, that I have spoken to several of the brethren singly, that I went to the meeting with a resolution to submit to what should be determined by them, and waved all selfish considerations, looking at nothing but the service of Christ; and when I saw that nothing was done, I desired it might be moved that I might be sent down by the brethren, the congregation consenting, to Bristol for a month, to visit you—to signify my gratefulness to you, for that love you have manifested to me a stranger, and to understand your state, and what there might seem to be in your long and loud call—what opportunity of service, and what expedient might be found out to promote that blessed principle of union among the saints, as saints, though of different persuasions; to understand where the hinge lay in that late passage of infant baptism, &c.⁹ I must profess, it is far from me to seem to persuade any one to my particular persuasion; but if ever I have entertained an opinion, I must be very well satisfied to relinquish it, and I must reckon myself a little forward in my first entertaining it. This notion of mine, of coming to Bristol, took with some, but others made this objection against it, that since the

⁹ [The question of admitting unbaptized persons to the Lord's table was much agitated at this time among the churches. Mr. Kiffin, to whom reference is presently made, as if in some way connected with the agitation of it in Bristol, published, in 1681, a *Sober Discourse of Right to Church Communion*, to show the unlawfulness of the

practice. This was a reply to John Bunyan, who, in the year 1672, against some reflections by Mr. Kiffin, on his *Confession of Faith*, endeavoured to prove it lawful "to communicate with saints, as saints." *Bunyan's Works*, p. 1203, Mason's edit. *Orme's Life of Kiffin*, p. 128.]

congregation could not quit their right over me as their member, it could be no satisfaction to you to have me only for a month; that it might probably, instead of relieving you, leave you under greater disappointment; that it might be a temptation to me, &c.; so that motion ceased.

Mr. Kiffin has been very ill and out of town, and probably has not writ to you.¹

I have plainly opened my heart to you. I am to go into Leicestershire for a month, to visit some that belong to the congregation; I purpose, God willing, to set forward on the twenty-first of this month. I have only this to add, that if God had set the door open for my coming to you, I do assure you, that self-considerations here of friends, acquaintance, interest, settlement, relations, &c., should not at all have swayed with me, to have shut up my way. Such is that affection I owe you, and that deservedly, for yours to me. Take this advice further:—let the brethren that are for infant baptism clearly see by your carriage that you prefer mutual love before the imposing your persuasion; by this means both affection and truth will be promoted most effectually. I would choose the way to a man's understanding through his heart, especially seeing it is the way which the gospel so much insists on; I have always found it true, that union in hearts had more considerable effect than union in heads. I hope you will take these small hints well from me, seeing they come from pure love and judgment, without respect to any jealousy or information you may think I might have had.

My dear brother, I have exceeded my first intendment, but my affection draws me on. I could be very glad of the happiness to discourse a few hours with you, but I must break off, since Providence seems to have blocked up our way of meeting; we must

¹ [Mr. Kiffin's name does not appear in the records of the Devonshire Square church, as present at the church meetings, between the 2nd of April, 1670, and the 3rd of March, 1672, probably for the reason mentioned in the text. He was not, however, absent from

London during the whole of this period, as will subsequently appear. Mr. Daniel Dyke was co-pastor with him, and the business of the church was presided over by him in the interval. Records, MS. B.]

submit all to God. I am afraid that the Lord is very shortly about to shake all foundations, and to put it to the test whether we will be for Christ or antichrist; whether we have bottomed our faith upon tradition, custom, example, &c., or upon the word of God, realized and imprinted upon our hearts through the Spirit. My dear love to the congregation, jointly and severally, also to brother Teague.

I am your most cordial, obliged brother,

THOMAS HARDCASTLE.

1m. 10d. 1670—1.

Letter of Mr. Hardcastle. No. 4.

To Mr. Terrill.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—I hope you have mine which I writ to you last. Since that I have had yours, which I caused to be read in our congregation, and moved that I might have the liberty to visit you, which was granted as being rational; and, accordingly, they, having prepared a letter to send to you, did add a postscript, signifying their concession in this kind. Now, my dear brother, this may advertise you that I am for Derby next second day, and do hope, if God will, to be with you within a month after I set forward from London. Let me have your fervent prayers that I may come with a gospel blessing, that the providence of God may go before me, I being to cross the country from Derby to Bristol, and a perfect stranger to the ways; but, if I may be found in the Lord's way, I hope difficulties will appear but little.

This is all at present, being not well, and under care.

I am your sincere friend and brother, in the best bonds,

THOMAS HARDCASTLE.

1m. 14d. 1670—1.

Letter from the Church in London, directed to Mr. E. Terrill.

BELOVED BRETHREN,—We would gladly manifest our love to you, or any church of Christ, so far as it stands with gospel rule, and the honour and interest of Christ. But if you judge that brother Harcastle, not being called to office amongst us, is as free for another church to elect as for us, we hope you will excuse us if we humbly conceive the contrary, and if you so judge, *you need not ask our leave*; however, without showing us a gospel rule, we shall not suffer ourselves to be dismembered. Nor do we find that any prudential judges are of your mind, unless it had been supposed we had given up our right, which we did not; but said, if your call for him, at this time, in the state he stands with us, be according to the truth of the gospel, and that it is more for the honour and interest of Christ to be with you than with us, we would submit that, as a question, to judicial [judicious] persons to judge of, and so we should have done had he been an officer among us.

We, therefore, beseech you, not to judge us insensible of your wants, or that we do not earnestly desire that you may be supplied; but as to our own need, we, next unto Christ, should be most sensible, if not as competent judges thereof as you. But we unfeignedly desire the Lord of the harvest may thrust out a faithful labourer for you, and supply all your wants by riches of grace in Christ, and subscribe ourselves, your brethren, that desire your good as our own. Signed, by the appointment of the congregation, this 14th of the first month (March), 1670—1,

THOMAS DAWSON.

NATHANIEL HALL.

THOMAS CHAPPLE.

P.S. Notwithstanding you have our sense, yet we are willing our brother Harcastle should visit you, and know your state, and acquaint you with ours, that we may maintain brotherly love, and a right understanding between us.

*Letter of Mr. Robert Browne.*² No. 1.

To my much esteemed brother, Mr. Terrill, at his house in Bristol. To be left with Mr. Mitchell, near the Post Office.

Worcester, 15d. 1m. 1670—1.

DEAR BROTHER,—Your cordial love and extraordinary kindness to me when with you, command a thankful acknowledgment from me, and will not be forgotten in the day of the Lord; my prayers to whom, on your behalf, together with the remnant of the Lamb's followers with you (to whom pray give my Christian love and respects, as occasion offers) are, that you may stand complete in the whole will of God; and, being filled with the Spirit, may abound more and more, in all holiness and knowledge, to the praise of his exceeding superabounding grace in Christ Jesus. Oh, how little is our stature, how slow our progress in divine things! What need have we to be daily wailing, groaning for the fresh springs, the renewed supplies of the Spirit; that forgetting what is behind, we may walk with divine vigour and alacrity, be pressing towards the mark, and grow up daily more into the fulness of the stature of Christ Jesus.

Great and inconceivably glorious is the love of the Father, Son, and Spirit, to worthless mortals, and great are its demands and requirements. Oh that we were more studying them, and answering them! Can we love like him? Can we live up to them? However, let us take heed that we decline not in our affections to him, nor give him cause to complain of us, that we have forsaken our first love, and the more he loves the less he is beloved. I must say it while I live, to the praise of matchless grace—and I believe, and am sure that you, and others with you, do harmonize with me in the experience—that the time I spent

² [The following letters would seem to show that Mr. Terrill, not over sanguine as to obtaining Mr. Hardcastle, directed his attention to Mr. R. Browne, who had been supplying the church. Mr. Browne was ejected from a living

in Worcestershire. He wrote a work of some learning, entitled "Jerubbaal," against hearing the parish ministers, and was reputed by Dr. Walker a fifth monarchist. Palmer's Noncon. Mem. ii. 548.]

with you was a time of much sweetness and power unto my soul. The very remembrance of loves then displayed is still dulce and comfortable, savoury and refreshing. Oh help with your groans, that the seed then sown, by the most unworthy of the Lord's seedsmen, may thrive and prosper to the good of many. It would be more to me than all the treasure of Bristol, or the whole world, if I could hear but of one soul truly brought to the foot of Jesus, and indeed translated from darkness to light, and the power of Satan unto God, by the word of the gospel of the grace of God then dispensed.

I should be glad to receive a few lines from you, to understand of your welfare, and would be always bearing you and yours upon my heart, with all the children of our Father, when nearest the throne of grace; that the best of blessings may be multiplied upon you, and that you may do worthily for the Lord in your day, and at last, as victors, sit down with Christ upon his throne, and be made to inherit all things in the kingdom of your Father, where I should be glad to meet you (which I long for) with all the saints. My very dear love to yourself, your good wife, and mother. I am your unworthy brother, in the kingdom and patience of Jesus,

ROBERT BROWNE.

My cordial love and respects to Mr. Teague and his wife, with thanks for their love. Tell him I am his debtor for a letter. I am forced to send now by the way of London.

Letter of Mr. Browne. No. 2.

To my respected friend, Mr. Terrill, at his house in Bristol. To be left with Mr. Teague, at the Dolphin, in Bristol.

London, 13d. 2m. (April) 1671.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—I hope you have received both mine, that one sent by the way of London, the other by the Trow from Worcester. I have, after some stay there, visited the saints in

the country, where I find a good spirit, and endeared affections to our best Beloved. The good Lord heighten them! I am now at London, where I shall reside, if the Lord will, at least a fortnight, and shall be glad to receive now and then a few lines from you to know your affairs. That savour of the goodness of the Lord I experimented amongst you hath endeared my heart to you, and makes me to long after you. Oh that you might greatly flourish, and experience a choice spring upon your spirits, that the name of your assemblies may be the Lord's delight!

You are, I know, waiting for His presence, and that will cause the spices of the garden to flow forth. All the difficulty is, when we have the Lord, to keep him with us; neglect of, or want of skill in which, many times causeth us to cry out, Our leanness, our leanness. Oh that we were more wise! Why should any thing divert us so far as to lead us to cast off our precious Lord? one so good, so sweet, so filling, so satisfying, that there is none like him—I write to one who I am confident knows these things—nor any thing on this side heaven that is desirable or lovely as he. Oh that we could watch always, and sit down under his shadow! Distance from him is always dangerous, exposing the soul to many snares and temptations, but we never had more need than now to keep near him, for, alas, if he be not at hand, our defender, where shall we find rest in the dreadful convulsions and shakings that are coming upon the world?

Here are, amongst many, fears of the French; it is said armies are still drawing down to Dunkirk; they have a great fleet. They have sent to the king, that in case of storm they may have liberty to put in at our harbours, which is granted them.³

When you write to me, direct yours to me at Mr. Timothy

³ [Contrary to the obligations imposed by the "triple alliance," king Charles and his ministry perfidiously resolved to unite with France in a war upon the Dutch, and the dismemberment of their territory. "It was agreed that the king should have 350,000*l.* a year during the war, together with a fleet from

France. England was to attack by sea, while the king of France should invade them by land with a mighty army." Burnet's *Own Times*, i. 529, Oxf. ed. 1823. At the same time a cruel persecution of the nonconformists was carried on.]

Clare's, a tobacconist, at the sign of the Tobacco Roll, in Bartholomew Close, London. My cordial love to self, wife, mother: all friends, as if named.

In haste, in our dear Lord,

ROBERT BROWNE.

Letter of Mr. Hardcastle. No. 5.

For Mr. Edward Terrill, writing-master, in Bristol.

18d. 2m. (April) 1671.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—I am now returned to London, upon a special occasion, contrary to my first purpose and resolution, which was to cross the country (from Derby) to Bristol. Our congregation declare much readiness for my coming down to Bristol for a little season, to understand your affairs, and whether things be really so, as they are represented, that there is that necessity and opportunity of service. They do declare that they will deny themselves in anything for the honour of God, and good of souls; but before they will quit their interest and title, and a known usefulness, they will be very well informed, by good reason, of a greater and more prevailing interest for Christ.

My dear brother, I was in hopes to have had a line from you in this time. I purpose, God willing, to set forward for Bristol on the first of May: something has fallen out that I cannot come sooner. Pray let me have a line from you, or else I shall be in suspense whether this or the former have reached you, or whether you may not be supplied, so that my coming may be prevented. The Lord keep you. My dear love to all friends; and I am ever your truly affectionate friend and brother, in the best bonds,

THOMAS HARDCASTLE.

P. S. I hope you had the letter of the church, in which they made concession of a month.

*Letter of Mr. Browne.*⁴ No. 3.

These for my respected friend Mr. Terrill, at his house in Bristol. Leave this with Mr. Teague, at his house in Bristol.

London.

MUCH ESTEEMED BROTHER,—Yours, per post, I yesterday received; but that you mention, sent by your trow to Worcester, I presume arrived since my departure thence; I have not had the least account of it. I am here in a city of stirs and noises, and whether the Lord may not cast my lot here I cannot yet say. There is a good people at Wapping, about a mile off,⁵ of the same complexion and constitution, as to their church state, with you, that by letter earnestly importuned my coming to them; which, though sent into the country, I received not till I came here, and some of them have since been with me about it here.⁶ I want prayers and counsel from God. Oh, that I knew more perfectly my work, and where I may most serve him!

Alas, my brother, I live too much below, too little in the mount with my dear Lord; and that is the reason I am sometimes so bewildered. But my heart, through rich grace, which I wonder at, and must do for eternity, is towards the Lord, and I would gladly ascend to the highest pitch of believing and spirituality, that I might always live with my lovely Jesus, in the mount of spices, and [in] that intimate communion with him that fills [the soul] with ravishment. Oh, how precious is his love—

⁴ [This letter is without date.]

⁵ [From Bartholomew Close, where Mr. Browne was staying.]

⁶ [This church met in Broad Street, Old Gravel Lane. The people who established it had been members of the pædobaptist church, under Mr. John Lathorp, but seceded in 1633. "In that society, several persons, finding that the church kept not its first principles of separation, and being also convinced that baptism was not to be administered to infants, but to such as professed faith in Christ, desired that

they might be dismissed from that communion, and allowed to form a distinct congregation, in such order as was most agreeable to their own sentiments." This was amicably consented to, and the new church chose Mr. John Spilsbury for their pastor. He appears to have deceased soon after the restoration. Mr. John Norcott succeeded him, but not until after the date of these letters of Mr. Browne, by which it appears that at that time the church was destitute of a pastor. See Ivicey's Hist. of Eng. Baptists, iii. 293.]

one drop of it! Oh, how good to dwell under the shadow of this well-beloved! Why should we turn our eyes off so lovely, so altogether desirable an object as he, to the poor, perishing, dirty things of this cold world, and [to] the dying pleasures and contentments thereof; to go from the fountain to the cistern, where, at the best, the water is dead, mixed, muddy, and sometimes none at all? what folly, madness is it.

O Lord, let my soul live in thee, for thou art my rest! A few acts of faith bring him near us, and give us such a prospect of his glory that empties the whole world, and fills with augmented desires after him, and contentment with him, though stripped of all beside. 'O Lord, increase our faith,' is the believer's groan; and never more need than now, when such dismal darkness is coming upon the world.

For news I refer you to my good friend Mr. Richardson, to whom I impart what I have. My heart is enlarged towards you, but my occasions call me off. The Lord fill you with joy and peace in believing. The *opening of the seal*⁷ I must, for good reasons, as you will say, reserve till I see you. My cordial love and respects to Captain Ellis, brother Teague, all friends as if particularly named, your wife, and mother. In haste.

Yours sincerely,

ROBERT BROWNE.

ANNO 1671.

So that in the third month, anno 1671, he [Mr. Hardcastle] came down to us, and abode a month, preaching to the congregation; the church greatly liking his gift.

Letter of Mr. Browne. No. 4.⁸

These for my valued friend Mr. Terrill, at his house, Bristol. Leave this with Mr. Teague, at the Dolphin, in Bristol.

MY ENDEARED BROTHER,—Yours, with the church's, I re-

⁷ [Apparently some topic of prophecy, Rev. vi.]

⁸ [Just before Mr. Hardcastle came, Mr. Terrill and the church were

ceived; to which I had before this given you a return, had not my leaving the city for a few days prevented me. I am to-morrow also for the country, till seventh day next, when I return hither again, if the Lord please; so that I have not time to give that particular answer as I could wish to the church. With you, I confess that which you urge is momentous; and as I cannot but account it a marvel of grace that the Lord should so far favour me, one so altogether worthless, as to give me the least room in the hearts of his children, and to own me to do any service anywhere for him, so I assure you it shall not be passed over without deep consideration. The people of Wapping are very earnest and pressing with me to continue here; and, indeed, there is a great door of service, and they are unanimous in their desire.

This I can say, through rich love, that it is nothing of this world that will, I hope, have the least influence upon me; but where God saith I may most serve him, there would I be found. I am in a strait. My affections are much towards you, having tasted and felt so much of the goodness and power of God with you. My request to you is, that you solemnly seek the Lord on my behalf, that I may be directed the right way. My soul cries, If thy presence go not with me, lead me not from hence. If I come to you upon the wing of faith and prayer, it will be a blessing to us all. I intend shortly to write to the church, whom I salute in the Lord, more at large. I am now in great haste. I commend you to the Lord, in whom I am

Your most cordial brother,

ROBERT BROWNE.

I suppose I may see you about a fortnight hence, if the Lord say so too.

London, 3rd day, 3rd month [May], 1671.

arranging with Mr. Browne to come and supply them, with a view to his settlement, should Mr. Hardcastle refuse, as the following letter shows by

its date of the 3rd of May, just about the time, or the same day, that Mr. Hardcastle came down.]

*Letter of Mr. Browne.*⁹ No. 5.

These for my respected friend Mr. Terrill, at his house in Bristol.

London, 23rd day, 3rd month [May], 1671.

DEAR BROTHER,—I received yours, and am glad to hear of your welfare. I should have written before, but that I proposed to see you, and speak with you face to face; which purpose, by the will of the Lord, we begin to prosecute next fifth day, and shall, if the Lord favour us, be with you on seventh day (Saturday so called) next. Pray for me that I may have a prosperous journey to you. I know not how things stand with you; I leave myself to your, and Mr. Richardson's disposal (with whom advise), for next Lord's day. I have made very diligent search for the Greek Testament you mention, but it is not to be had. As to news there is none. My very dear love and respects to yourself, wife, mother: all friends as if named. Excuse my haste. I am yours to serve you in the great concern,

ROBERT BROWNE.

Just as he [Mr. Harcastle] was going away, upon the 29th day of the third month [May], anno 1671, the elders, with the brethren, appointed a day of prayer, and desired Mr. Harcastle to be with the church that day, some part of it.

The congregation being on said day gathered together, wholly, except those out of town, it was proposed to them by the elders, whether the brethren for the most part did think him fit to be their pastor, and could sit down under his ministry. Now, whether the rest, with the whole church, were so minded; to which all the brethren and sisters declared their consentaneous agreement, and their desires to elect and call him, the said Mr. Thomas Harcastle, to be their minister and pastor. After some time spent in discourse about it, and finding no opposition, then, to know the

⁹ [In reply to a letter inviting him to supply after Mr. Harcastle's return.]

mind of every individual member, by an elder it was desired that every member would make use of their Christian liberty, that if any one did dissent from the election, that they should speak, every brother for himself: every sister might speak to some brother to declare for her, or them, their dislike and their reasons. But if none did so manifest their dissent, but were all agreed, we should know it by their silence; which for a good space they were, and so we concluded that. Then our brother Terrill drew a writing for all the members to sign to, as their call, to be delivered to Mr. Hardcastle; which is in the following page.

Memorandum. Brother Cornish, brother Henry Ford, and brother Francis Whitehead, and sister Martha Griffen, before spoken with, were all joined the 21st day of this third month, 1671.

A copy of this church's call to Mr. Thomas Hardcastle.

We, whose names are underwritten, together with the rest of that church of Christ of which Mr. Thomas Ewins, lately deceased, was formerly pastor, being assembled together, after seeking the Lord by prayer, have unanimously elected and chosen you, our honoured and dearly beloved brother in the Lord, Mr. Thomas Hardcastle, to be our minister and pastor, under our great Shepherd, the Lord Jesus Christ, according to his holy command in sacred scripture; to administer his word and gospel ordinances unto us, to the end we may yield all sincere obedience to our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, who died at Jerusalem, and hath redeemed us to God by his blood, that in love we might serve him, without fear, in holiness and righteousness all the days of our life. And therefore we, through infinite and rich grace, having obtained that wonderful mercy to be a church of Christ, and by him alone preserved unto this day, and conscious of our duty recorded in 2 Cor. vi. 16—18, Matt. xviii. 20; xxviii. 18, 19; Acts ii. 41, 42; with Eph. iv. 3—16; 1 Cor. xii. 28;

Titus i. 5; with Acts xiv. 23; vi. 5; and xiii. 2, 3—now, in pursuance of this our duty and privilege, we do hereby testify and declare our joint and solemn call to you, our dearly beloved brother, Mr. Thomas Hardecastle aforesaid, to be our pastor.

Given under our hands the 29th of the third month, anno Domini 1671.

Thomas Ellis, elder.

Edward Terrill, elder.

Robert Simpson, deacon.

William Dickason, deacon.

Richard Teather.

Jeremy Courtny.

Henry Pierce.

William Evans.

Henry Ford.

Robert Cornish.

John Fry.

Richard Dennis.

Daniell Gwilliam.

Robert Jones.

Dorothy Hazzard.

Joan Ewins.

Ann Ellis, sen.

Martha Griffen.

Mary Baldwin.

Elizabeth Tanner.

Sarah Willett.

Ann Hughes.

Margaret Webb.

Sybble Marsh.

Jane Fry.

Martha Tilly.

Mary Jennings.

Mary Bird.

Ann Jones, jun.

Richard White, elder.

Thomas Rieves, deacon.

Richard King.

Edward Ekley.

Robert Bodenham.

Nathaniel Evans.

John Morgan.

George Robinson.

Francis Whitehead.

John James.

Thomas Jenings.

Thomas Jones.

Elizabeth Stephens.

Sarah Evans.

Abigail Robinson.

Jane Robinson.

Margaret Shaell.

Martha Spurgin.

Mabell Turtle.

Joan Walton.

Grace Price.

Elizabeth Dayos.

Joan Evans.

Katherine Evans.

Joan Rawlins.

Deborah Loverine.

Silvester Saunders.

Judith Morgan.

Joan Munday.

Margaret Williams.	Margery Symons.
Margaret Sterry.	Elizabeth Watkins.
Prudence Jarvis.	Elizabeth Williams.
Elizabeth Gough.	Dorothy Smith.
Ann Sterne.	Susanna Sandy.
Elizabeth Lux.	Ann Ellis, jun.
Susanna Vanatturue.	Mary West, the deaconess.
Susanna Baily.	Mary Shuter.
Mary James.	Elinor Brookes.
Joan White.	Rose Teage.
Hannah Symmons.	Judith Maynard.
Cicilo Whittington.	Elizabeth Browne.
Sarah Popwell.	Sarah Young.
Ann Jones, sen.	Elizabeth Shute.
Bridgett Hill, sen.	Ann Ekly.
Bridgett Hill, jun.	Elizabeth Burd, Key.
Elizabeth Betterton.	Mary Webb.
Susanna Davis.	Elizabeth Williamson.
Alice Cornish.	Martha Bryan.
Joan Dickason.	Bridgett Webber.

These all subscribed by themselves present, or by their substitutes, the number of which are ninety-eight; and there were but two members more that we could not then know their minds, viz., brother James Bland, coming home from sea, and sister Morgan, of Barton Regis, not there.¹ So that there were in all just one hundred actual members when Mr. Hardcastle came. But there were many other members besides that had removed their habitations, some in the country, and some to London, doubtful whether they would return again.

After this was done, Mr. Hardcastle being somewhat

¹ [In the original paper there are one hundred signatures, two of which, his own wife, Dorothy Terrill, and Jane Courtney, Mr. Terrill has omitted in the

above copy inserted in the church book; perhaps Mrs. Terrill continued to be nominally a member of Mr. Hynam's church.]

before come to the house where the meeting was, which was our old pastor's house in the castle, the church sent a brother to pray him to come into that room where the church met; who being come in, one of the elders declares to Mr. Hardcastle what the church had that morning been doing:—That they had unanimously chosen or elected him for their pastor, and, therefore, did hope he would not refuse the Lord's voice in it to him, but that he would accept of our call; and so presented him with the foregoing paper—the church's call under their hands. And, withal, to let him see visibly that what the church had subscribed and delivered him was their very act and deed, the church was desired by one of the elders, our brother Ellis, to manifest their earnest desires by every member lifting up their right hand to the Lord; which immediately was done. And that very act, to see so many score hands lifted up together in a room at once, in that solemn manner to the Lord, struck some impress upon Mr. Hardcastle's spirit, that he could not deny the church, though then he would not promise positively to come to them again, but would leave it with the Lord, that orders and limits the bounds of our habitation, being willing to be where he might do most service for Christ.²

Letter of Mr. Hardcastle. No. 6.

[Post mark, June 6th or 8th.]

MY DEAR BROTHER,—I got to London, through mercy, yesterday, having stayed at Battersea with Mrs. Smith³ from Friday. I am not well, from a cold I got riding in the wet without boots, which was not well done. I return you my hearty thanks for

[² Mr. Browne would appear to have supplied the church for a fortnight at this time, and to have arrived before Mr. Hardcastle left. In a short note from Mr. John Teague, dated London,

May 22nd, 1671, and preserved among the papers, it is said, "Mr. Browne intends, if the Lord will, to see you this week."]

³ [See before note, p. 116.]

your great kindness to me. I have not yet had an opportunity to acquaint the congregation with the concern, and I dare scarce tell you what some of my friends say of your call. Pray return my dear love to the church for their affection to me. If the providence of God open a door for me to come to Bristol, I hope the Lord will make us happy in one another. I cannot say much at present; my desire is, to hearken to the call of God, and to be employed by him where I may be most useful, and to follow him where he leads me; and dare believe that he will not leave nor suffer me to miscarry.

I was affected with the solemnity of that day (in Bristol). If God say amen to your prayers and endeavours, I must say so too; and if the Lord bring me to you, I find my heart inclined to as much affection for you as any that I have been joined to. I hoped for a letter from you ere this, both to me and the congregation; for the business will need managing here, wherein you have been defective all along.

My dear love to all friends, jointly and severally, to my dear companions, to Bath. To brother King I could say something if I were near him. Pray for me, as I doubt not you will; for whatever advantage you may reckon of from me, must be the fruit of prayer. You have experienced, I hope, the efficacy of it. My dear love to sister Terrill, brother Teague, brother Ellis, and his family.

I am, yours,

THOMAS HARDCASTLE.

*Letter from the church in London.*⁴

[June 6th or 8th, by the post mark.]

DEARLY BELOVED BRETHREN IN OUR LORD JESUS,—We have received yours, wherein you are pleased to crave our pardon that you cannot take our letter for a denial, and use arguments to

⁴ [There are no copies of the letters sent to London.]

reinforce the coming of brother Harcastle unto you ; which, had we been in a capacity of complying with your importunity, yet the grounds you lay down for it seem to us to be rather against it. As,

1. If the major part of you had taken up the sacred ordinance of baptism, only so as that they [have] cause to fear, if a man be set over them that is not baptized, that they shall be guilty of a partial, if not a total backsliding :—we beseech you to consider, Received you the truth upon man's testimony, or upon God's ? If of men, it will come to nought ; but if of God, men cannot overthrow it. But, beloved, we are persuaded better things of you, and that accompany salvation, though you thus speak.

2. The second ground you build upon is, your former practice, —not scriptural rules. Nor can your precedent at all parallel the present case. He whom you had was a man⁵ the church could spare, sent out by them to see where in the vineyard he might be serviceable ; but this is one kept in the church that hath need of him, if the Lord will make him serviceable.

3. Your third ground is, that it will gain good men to the truth to see such men esteemed, and sent for to be set over a people where they may have comfortable maintenance. Indeed, we have not olive yards and vineyards to entice them, and if we had, we should be very fearful to receive such good men that money moveth to embrace the truth, lest they should in some things come short of Simon Magus ; though we think that they that serve at the altar should live of the altar.

4. Your fourth ground of leaning, is a need not only of yours, but of other congregations. It doth answer itself ; and there is much more need here than with you, if out of selfishness we mistake not.

5. Your fifth ground. You say you are informed that it was your pastor's desire Mr. Harcastle should succeed him. We suppose, had he known what you do, he would not have desired it of one otherwise engaged.

⁵ [Mr. Ewins. See before, note, p. 99.]

6. For your sixth ground, which is for the truth's sake, and the honour and interest of Christ: we say, if your call for Mr. Hardcastle at this time, in the state he stands with us, be according to the truth of the gospel, and that it is more for the honour and interest of Christ for him to be with you than with us, we will submit, if you desire it, that question to judicious persons to judge of, that it may appear to you we keep nothing back which the Lord calls for, upon a selfish interest.

For the rest of your letter, we will not judge your prudence in writing of it; and we hope you will not blame us for not answering it. We unfeignedly desire you may stand fast, and hold the tradition you have been taught, whether by word or epistle. Now our Lord Jesus Christ himself, and God, even our Father, which loved us, and hath given us everlasting consolation and good hope through grace, comfort your hearts, and stablish you in every good word and work, to the coming of our Lord.

RICHARD WOOLLASTON.

NATHANAEL CRABB.

MICHAEL DUNWELL.

JOHN CUSHMASTER.

THOMAS CHAPPLE.

THOMAS DAWSON.

JOHN ABBOT.

Letter of Mr. Browne. No. 6.

Worcester, 12th day, 4th month (June), 1671.

To my much esteemed friend Mr. Terrill, at his house.

DEAR BROTHER,—Many thanks for your great kindness when with you. The good Lord hath, through abundant mercy, brought us safe to Worcester, where we are waiting at the foot of the Lord to know his will, that we may be found in the path of his own choosing. There, and there alone, can we expect the royal presence, and the best of blessings. I hope your soul is much resigned to God, and to his conduct, who leads in green pastures, by the still waters, and communicates that life, peace,

good, comfort, that transcends all. Ah, who that knows him can choose but admire him, and delight to dwell near him! Oh, how great are our losses through departures from him! When we have him, we can say, It is good for us to be here: far better than to sit upon thrones, and enjoy the glittering glories and crowns of the world. But fools as we are, we cannot dwell as we would under the shadow of our Beloved, and eat of his fruit. Hence it is that we excel not, and there is no more growth to be found upon us into the divine will, and the fulness of the stature of Christ. Oh, when will the fixed state be introduced, when we shall be made as pillars in the house of the Lord, and always see his face, and be filled with his company, being ever with him! Do we not long for that day? Oh, but are we ready for it? Where is the bride's attire? Have we it on? Oh, let us watch and keep our garments! A sense of our justification by Christ, and interest in his righteousness, will make us glad in the worst of states, and valiant for our Lord and his truth upon the earth. My true love and respects to yourself, Mrs. Terrill, your mother, &c., and

I am yours, in the best bonds,

ROBERT BROWNE.

Letter of Mr. Hardcastle. No. 7.

These for Mr. Edward Terrill, writing-master, Bristol.

June 15th, 1671.

DEAR BROTHER,—I had yours, both of them; one of which, in that to the congregation, I thank you for your kindness expressed in it. I hope I shall not run into the same error twice. I have not yet recovered my journey.

I have been thinking much of the pressing importunity which has been used by you for above this twelvemonth, and how little inclination I found in myself to come to Bristol, till I saw you, and understood your call. Now has God inclined my heart

toward you in a wonderful manner. I long to see next Tuesday over; you will see more of it in brother King's letter. You must perfect by prayer what you have thus far made progress in. There want not endeavours to dissuade from Bristol, and all that can be invented to alienate me; but these things do not much move me. Let my call appear clear, and I hope I should make no dispute, whatever discouragements may be laid before me. The Lord Jesus does not use to call his servants to work, but he bears their charges, and carries them through all hardships. I have no reason to think that that love and affection you all showed was feigned, nor will I believe it will be inconstant till I see it; and that I hope I shall never do.

Our good women are at prayer hard together this week to keep me here; our men deeply consulting what to do. I have truly represented the whole circumstances of your case and invitation to all I converse with. Persons tell me they have lost their opportunity, for they were about to call me before I came up; that there is a clear hand and voice of God in it; that this delay, for some groundless motives, has brought this upon them, for all but two or three were for choosing me a year ago. Though I should not have accepted it, for I did not see my call clear whilst one person hesitated, even though the scruple was without ground at all.

They seem resolved not to give me a dismissal. I see a great discovery of their affections, which troubles me much; but the voice of God must first be hearkened unto. I shall be troubled to leave them without leave. I could have wished that expression had been out of your letter, of taking me by force; that will not down with them. Though I think that office and service supercedes membership, I think it may be advisable for you (pardon my readiness to give you advice, for now conscience puts me upon that which before I was kept from) to write to the seven ministers whom you writ to before; for I believe some of them will be called in on Tuesday to our people's advice, wherein you may state your case, &c. If I were not a little your solicitor and friend here, or rather did my duty to search out the mind of God,

that I might follow it, the business would stick very much. Your call has made me look about me, and you prevail with God to make hearts and solicitors for you. Oh, how good is it to be upright and succeed with God, to keep his way, to love his name, his interest, his family, &c.; to have no reserve, to aim at his glory, to keep humble, to think meanly of ourselves, &c.

My true love to all the brethren and sisters, not one left out; to dear sister and brother Teague's family. Pray, pray hard for me. Your constant love engages and enlarges my heart towards you. You see something of the fruits of importunity with God and men. The Lord bless you, and in due time send us a comfortable meeting. I have pressing business calling me into Yorkshire, upon the death of a near relation, which causes a great alteration of affairs in our family; besides the longing desires of all my friends there,⁶ and other business; but my thoughts at present are so taken up, that I know not what answer to give.

I am your very affectionate, obliged brother,

THOMAS HARDCASTLE.

Write next post.

Letter of Mr. Hardcastle. No. 8.

These for Mr. Edward Terrill, writing master, in Bristol.

[June 22^d, by post mark.]

MY DEAR BROTHER,—I received yours of the 17th, which did much surprise me, in that it did not mention the receipt of mine, which I writ by the same post which brought that to brother King. I writ largely to you in that, and if it be lost I shall be

⁶ ["I had many friends in Yorkshire, where I drew my first natural and spiritual breath, for whom I have endeared affections, and whom I have daily in my remembrance; the first

fruits of my ministry were sown among them—the Lord having made my poor endeavours useful to some."—Epistle Ded. to Christian Geography.]

very much troubled; for I did fully open my heart to you in it, as likewise I did in that to brother King. Pray inquire after it. I directed it as I used to do.

As to the state of affairs here, I shall give you this account. Our people did not meet on the third day as they intended, but put it off for a fortnight longer. I suppose the design is this, to fortify themselves against the assault which you have made. I must confess I cannot but take notice of the passage: it seems to be a further clearing up of Providence. I much desire to hear how the Lord dealt with you at your last meeting. Some say you have lorded it over our church, and taken them at an advantage; that when they have been in treaty so long, and ready to perfect the matter, you should come and take it out of their hands. They endeavour to lay you under sin; but I must needs say, that though some things might have admitted of correction, yet taking in your necessity and opportunity, I do not see how wise and indifferent persons can lay you under much blame. Indeed, those that are parties may be angry. As I have told you often, I have been waiting, without casting anything into the balance but the interest of Christ, whatever the issue of this business might be. Ready and resolved, by the strength of Christ, to follow his call and footsteps of providence, I must needs declare, that so far as I see at present my call is to Bristol. I must tell you, I cannot but stand admiring at the wonderful providence of God in this business; I have not observed a more remarkable passage of this kind. What prevalency has importunity with God, where sincerity is at the bottom! How good is it to be willing to be where our God would have us; to let him choose the bounds of our habitation! How comfortable to be willing to follow him, step by step, though we cannot see the length of the journey! Much of our work lies hid till you come upon the place. Pray hard for me, that I may come to you in the fulness of the blessing of the gospel; for, by the help of God, I have now taken up this resolution. I came to a full point yesterday, that I will strike through all difficulties, God assisting, that men or Satan can lay in my way; and make all the convenient haste I can to you,

leaving my wife to come after, if she cannot come with me. Remember her condition.

I intend to desire my dismissal shortly, and if I cannot have it, I must take it. I dare not tell my friends here my resolution as yet, for fear of their cries and clamours; for some of them have a hope that I shall stay. I must keep my own counsel till I can bring my business to a ripeness. I hope, by God's blessing, to be with you in less than a month; but let not this be made much public. I am persuaded my satisfaction has come much from your prayers. My spirit is calm, my heart is much knit to you. Tell the church I am yours.

My dear love to all, to sister Terrill, brother Teague; he was the first mover in this business, and the first Bristol man I knew. I shall write to brother Ellis and brother White by the next post. My dear wife remembers you all affectionately, though she has had no mind to leave London, having lived in it so long. Yet the Lord has wonderfully wrought her spirit to submission to his will, and I hope she will have no cause to repent it, but to bless God. For other matters, I refer you to brother King's letter, which comes down with this, because I would forbear writing the same things twice.⁷

Letter of Mr. Browne. No. 7.

These for my respected friend, Mr. Edward Terrill, at his house, near Lawford's Gate, Bristol.

Worcester, 26th day, 4th month, 1671.

DEAR BROTHER,—Yours of the 16th of the 4th month, with our brother Courtney's of the 22nd of the same, I received. The former acquaints me that you have no account of our brother Hardeastle's intendment. Since then, I perceive by the latter,

⁷ [This letter is without signature.]

you have a kind of denial, and jealousies of non-enjoying so great a mercy, after so long waiting, are increased; which I am truly sorry for. You remember that, from first to last, I never made any promise to you of coming amongst you, and that I told you, as I did Captain Ellis, when by the order of the church he proposed the question to me, the day before they gave brother Harcastle the opportunity of a church meeting, the ground of their importunity, as you intimated, and proceeds at that season, my coming was very uncertain; partly because I presumed our friends here, at Worcester, would be unwilling to part with me; and partly by reason of the great importunity of the people at Wapping, and the importance of the service there. That which I directed you to was Christian and suitable,—that both you and I might be waiting at the foot of God for counsel and direction in so weighty a case. This we have done, as the Lord hath holpen us.

I have also taken notice of the great affection of some with you towards me, and their desires of me; which I wonder at, being more worthless than any can conceive; which your encouragement you give in several of your letters (as our brother doth in his last, for which I give you and him both my hearty thanks) to me of residing amongst you. If I have done any service there, or been of the least use, if I have any interest there, it is no more I but the free grace of God. I would be more vile in my own eyes, and in the humility of my soul be bowing down before the footstool of the throne, for greater supplies of the Spirit, that I may be holpen (for without these we can do nothing) to do God yet greater and farther service. What an honour will it be to have God bearing this testimony concerning us, that we have served our generation according to his will before we fell asleep. Pray hard for me, my dear brother, that I may do so.

As touching the matter so long in agitation, the utmost result, I humbly conceive, I am brought to by the Lord, after solemn and frequent seeking to him for counsel, is a perfect resolution either to continue with our friends here, at Worcester, where I am not, through grace, altogether undesired, or to go to Wapping, from whence I have received several letters since I saw you, impor-

tuning my speedy coming to them. The reasons of this resolve are too many to be here inserted; they are such as abundantly satisfy me, and will you, I presume, when you hear them. Of it I was willing to give you a speedy account, lest you should (as you intimated the church would) take an easier answer from our brother Hardcastle, in case I would promise to come, and so injure yourselves, and the work of the Lord with you; which my groans are and shall be, that the Lord would make to prosper greatly in the midst of you.

Many thanks to yourself and wife for your great kindness when with you, to whom my dear love and respects. Pray give the same to your mother, and all friends that inquire after me, particularly to brother Teague and his wife.

I am, dear brother,

Your brother in the fellowship of the gospel,

ROBERT BROWNE.

Letter of Mr. Hardcastle. No. 9.

These for Mr. Terrill, writing-master, in Bristol.

3rd day. [June 27th post mark, written the day before.]

MY DEAR BROTHER,—I propose to have writ to brother King, brother Ellis, and brother White this post, but am so exceedingly hurried with business. It is now ten o'clock. This day has been a perplexing day; our congregation met, and have elected me pastor. The next third day [Tuesday the 3rd of July] I am to give in my answer, and then there will be several brethren of other congregations present. My resolution is fixed; you know what it is; but pray for me, for it will be the most difficult thing to get off that ever I met with. I am under considerable trouble by solicitations and arguments, which, though they do not turn me, yet they trouble me. Our people lay you under sin, that

when they in kindness send a messenger to visit you, you in injustice take him from them.

They begin to charge me, among other things, that I did incline to you more than to them; which how true that is, you can all attest how little you discovered of that whilst I was with you at Bristol before your call.

A little before I received your letter, I had been with Dr. Owen and Mr. Collins,⁸ who are the most loving friends I have in London. Dr. Owen used this expression to me, Good Mr. Hardcastle, by that love that I bear to you, let me beg of you to go to Bristol, for there is your work. Mr. Collins the like. I know that meeting in London of ministers very well, and go to it as occasion serves. Mr. Loder⁹ I know very well. I am glad you have made use of these men, for none more kind in London than they to me. I would gladly get a dismissal from our people; it would be worth while for your and my satisfaction, and for the honour of the gospel, though it cost me a month's stay longer from you to get it. We must study things of good report, and consider if it were your own case, as it was a while ago. Desire the church to pray for me. Let me hear from you. Get the church to write a fair letter to them, to desire this dismissal of me, and recommendation; and own it as a kindness from them, that the consideration of a greater usefulness will make them to deny themselves, &c.

My wishes to all as if named.

I am yours,

THOMAS HARDCASTLE.

⁸ [The celebrated Dr. John Owen, and probably the Rev. John Collins, who had been chaplain to General Monk, and succeeded Mr. Mallery as pastor of an independent church in Lime Street. He was chosen, with Dr. Owen, to lecture at Pinner's Hall, in 1672, on the establishment of the Mer-

chant's Lecture in that place.—Wilson's Diss. Ch. i. 226.]

⁹ [The Rev. John Loder was an ejected minister, assistant and successor to the celebrated Philip Nye, the pastor of an independent church, meeting in Silver Street, London. Mr. Loder died in 1673.—Wilson's Diss. Ch. iii. 78.]

Letter of Mr. Harcastle. No. 10.

These for Mr. Edward Terrill, in Bristol.

[July 3rd, 1671.]

DEAR BROTHER,—Though late and very weary, I could not but give you an account of this day's work. We have had a sore tug; brother Kiffin and brother Harrison¹ were wonderful hearty for you, though they could not justify your call as regular in all things, yet they judge the mind of God to be in it; your necessity putting you upon it might plead a little for you, and that, therefore, you should be dealt with tenderly. Others there did conclude it absolutely sinful. I declared before the congregation and the rest, that in conscience I did look upon it as that which did carry the mind of God in it thus far, that my work at present lay there, and that I should sin if I should refuse this call, and that it was so upon my heart, that all earthly considerations could not keep me from answering it. This did startle them all. Some told me that the first step taken was sinful,—that not a blessing, but a curse would attend me, &c. I told them I did not use to be frightened by great words, and that no man's conscience should be the rule of mine. Many good women weeping about me, I told them it was not want of affection, but sense of duty drew me away, &c. I cannot enlarge. I shall now prosecute a dismission with all the fairness I can. I must not leave them abruptly, but see them a little calmed. Pray for me. Let me hear from you. My love to you as if named. I had brother King's letter. My love to Mr. Barnes; thank him from me for his kindness to my charge; tell him I will mind his and brother

¹ [Mr. Edward Harrison was a clergyman, who, during the Commonwealth, became a baptist, and pastor or elder of a church in London (probably that in Petty France), his name being signed to the third edition of the Confession of

Faith, next after Mr. Kiffin's. On two occasions he assisted in setting apart the colleagues of Mr. Kiffin, at Devonshire Square—Mr. Patient, and Mr. Dyke.—Ivimey, ii. 407. Devonshire Square Records, MS. B.]

Robinson's concerns here.² I have been twice with Dr. Owen and others about our business. Dear love to sister Terrill.

I am yours,

THOMAS HARDCASTLE.

Letter of Mr. Browne. No. 8.

These for my respected friend and brother Mr. Edward Terrill, at his house, in Bristol.

Worcester, 10th day, 5th month [July], 1671.

DEAR BROTHER,—Though I have time but for a line or two, I would not neglect the opportunity offered of writing to you, whose prosperity every way my soul longs after, and breathes for before the throne. May we be counted worthy to live under the dews and influences of the new covenant, the Sun of Righteousness; we shall then be bringing forth much fruit to Jehovah's praise, who, by our abounding therein, is glorified. Alas, what dead, dry, sapless ones are we, for want of the waters of life, the fountain of the gardens, which makes the spices to flow forth. How little of the primitive spirit—the spirit, power, life of Christianity, is there to be found amongst the professing children of the Lord; which, degenerating into the form of things, and as the issue of that censuring, backbiting, &c., all that differ from us, or we surmise do so, in any small matter, is visible in many places at this day! How little true love, plain-heartedness, and holy zeal for the Lord, becoming his redeemed ones, is there shining amongst us! I write not thus as if I were not persuaded better things of you, my dear brother, which I am; but that the remembrance of these might beget new groans, fresh tears, as there is cause,

² [Mr. Barnes resided near Magor, in Caerleon. He was sent from the church at Allhallows, London, in 1646, to preach the gospel in Wales, where he laboured amid much suffering and self-denial. Silenced for nonconformity, he became

pastor of a church about Magor, which met in various places for the convenience of its members. Mr. Robinson was an ejected minister from the vicarage of Caerleon.—Palmer's Noncon. Mem. ii. 629.]

before the throne : with holy wrestlings for the pouring down of the Spirit, as shall create new glory, beauty, loveliness upon the assemblies of Zion, and make us ashamed of what we now may think (through our own fire, darkness, shortness) we have no cause to be troubled, humbled for.

Oh, how my soul longs for that day ! Is not the cry increased among the sincere remnant, Come, Lord Jesus, in the spirit and power of Elias, to turn the hearts of the fathers to the children, by the burning up of the dross, filth, carnality, that is in us, and upon us, and the hearts of the children to the fathers, and to prepare a way for the kingdom of our Lord, and his exaltment in the world ? When shall we be like men that wait for that state ?

Yesterday I received yours of the 24th of the 4th month [June], and, as touching the business of Mr. Harcastle, am perfectly unconcerned, any further than to beg the Lord it may succeed to his honour, and your comfort. Of my resolutions of non-residing in Bristol, I have given you an intimation in my last ; though I confess there are several of you that I have a dear love of the Lord for, as is meet, and shall be ready to serve when Providence orders my company at any time with you by way of visit. As touching the brethren you mention, with respect to any thing formerly discoursed of, there is no need of holding any correspondence with them, because of the resolve but now mentioned. I was a little sensible of brother Ellis's strangeness when there, and since have received some further intimations ; but as I know not any occasions administered by me, so I shall not lay any law of disquietment upon my spirit touching it. *Graviora tui.* The good Lord fill us with his Spirit, and enable us to do worthily for him in our day.

My very Christian and cordial love to yourself, wife, mother ; and shall very gladly hold Christian correspondence with yourself, because I am

Your much endeared and obliged brother,

ROBERT BROWNE.³

³ [Mr. Browne continued for some years the pastor of a church at Worcester, when, in March, 1687, he received an invitation from the baptist church at

Letter of Mr. Hardcastle. No. 11.

These for Mr. Edward Terrill, in Bristol.

11th day, 5th month [July], 1671.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—I had yours, but it was very short. You lie very near me. The Lord has been pleased to lay his hand upon me. On first day I was overheated with preaching, and got a surfeit with cold drink, which has put me into a violent vomiting, &c., ever since, night and day. I am very much out of order. Pray for me.

I could not slip this post, though I am so faint I can scarce write. Mr. Collins came to see me just now, and is hearty for you. I saw Dr. Owen yesterday, who is absolute in approving my way, and would not have me stand on a dismission, for all the elders will clear me in this case, and will justify your call; though our people are vehement in laying you under sin, and me also in accepting it, and in so many words tell me we shall be crossed, nay, even cursed in one another. I am troubled to see such spirits working. They would now stay me by all the art they have, but I am resolved; since they are so uncharitable and unchristian, I will vindicate myself and you to the utmost. They

Plymouth, which had enjoyed the services of that martyred saint, Abraham Cheare. After but a few month's labour, his excessive preaching brought him to the grave.—Ivimey, ii. 118. From his tombstone, now attached to

the wall of the vestry of the new chapel recently erected by this church, we learn that he died on the 22nd Feb. 1687 [1688], aged fifty-four. His epitaph is as follows:—

“The king of terrors hath entombed my dust
 But till the resurrection of the just,
 When crowned saints with crowned Christ, their King,
 At the last trump shall hallelujah sing.
 Needs must this vessel break, frail nature yield,
 The treasure was so rich wherewith 't was filled;
 More fit to feast with perfect saints above,
 Where measures feel no pain, in matchless love.
 My glass is run, thine doth whilst looking on,
 Haste, do thy work, or thou wilt be undone.”

Communicated by the Rev. Samuel Nicholson, pastor of the church.]

are even wrathful to see how they are overreached. I must profess it is pure conscience binds me; and I dare not refuse what I think to be the call of God. And now Mr. and Mrs. Smith are so convinced, that as the case stands they are free you should have me; and Mrs. Smith, who before was so much against it, is now your perpetual advocate, and is resolved to stand by my going to you, and hastens me.

Those that censure you are those that have been the cause of others forfeiting their opportunity; and there [is] such a feud between those few and the major part, that though the few now stickle so hard, yet they, i. e. the major part, see it is not in so candid a way, and they do confess ingenuously that the Bristol friends have carried it by minding their business; and though they love me better than those that stickle so hard for my stay, and are so ready to charge you with sin, yet they profess they cannot charge you for what they themselves would have done long since, had they not been obstructed. Pray hard for me. I make all the haste I can; it will not be a month, I hope, before I am with you. Mr. Harrison is for Bath next week. If any of you would step over to him, and procure his help, you might have it; he is your friend very much. I did not think I could have held out writing so long, but my heart is in the work. Excuse me to brother White and brother King that I write not. I am tired out with business, and I will endeavour to make it up when I come.

My true love to the congregation. Brother Terrill, you are very dear to yours,

THOMAS HARDCASTLE.

Letter from the church in London.

For Mr. Edward Terrill, in Bristol. This for the congregation.

DEARLY BELOVED IN THE LORD,—You have greatly grieved us, while we were expressing our brotherly love to you in sending

brother Hardcastle, as the church's messenger, to visit you, and to acquaint you with our state, and how things were with us, and also to represent yours to us. But finding you made that use of our kindness, to tell us, as we conceive uncharitably, you doubted we did not pity your condition, and therefore you were constrained to take him by force; which force without a rule, is for good men to do as Eli's bad sons did. For if men would by force take the kingdom of heaven, or anything relating to it, it must be by rule. *A man is not crowned, except he strive lawfully.*

We, therefore, desire you, for Christ's sake, that you produce rule for what you have done, or give testimony of your unfeigned repentance for what you have done, and not think we should justify your action because it is done, by giving our brother a dismissal to an irregular call of yours, as we apprehend it. It is not enough for you in your last letter to say, The Lord led you to call Mr. Hardcastle, and that you were at a great loss, until at last you heard a great voice from the cherubim, in the multitude of the disciples, within and without, as if you had got a revelation, &c., instead of a rule. But go *unto the law and the testimony; if any speak not according to that rule, it is because there is no morning in them*; for in doing to others as you would have others do unto you, it is the law and the prophets.

And, we pray you, be not so bold as to say, what you did 'God did.' No: do not make the voice of the people that were ignorant of things, some of which you knew, to be the voice of God. We beseech you, do not speak so high, and act so low, that a person who was set apart by the church with us, and by his own consent, for the approbation of the church whereof he is a member, and who was sent in much love to you as a messenger of the church, to acquaint you how things were with us; and for you then to think to take him by force, and to sweeten your so doing, to exhort and warn us, in the Lord's name, to beware of the great temptation of schism by rending, and to watch against the prodigious sin of division and schism, when you have tempted us thereunto, and laid the foundation for it by what you have done, if the Lord of his goodness prevent it not. We desire the

Lord to open your eyes to see what you have done, and give you repentance, and hearts to obey according to the rules of the gospel, that neither those without may be misled by you, to the dishonour of Christ, and ill example of others.

We hope we shall not cease to pray for you to our dear Lord and faithful Shepherd, that, we are persuaded, will not leave us, though we are as unworthy as any that are his sheep, neither to divide nor rend. We desire his rod and staff may conduct, correct, and comfort you; to whom we commend you, and remain your fellow servants.

Signed by appointment of the congregation this 18th of the fifth month, 1671.

MICHAEL DUNWELL,

JOHN ———

NATHANIELL CRABB,

THOMAS DAWSON,

THOMAS CHAPPELL.⁴

Letter of Mr. Hardcastle. No. 12.

These for Mr. Edward Terrill, Bristol.

20th or 21st, 5th month [July], 1671.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—I have yours, and should have answered it the last post, but had been a little out of town, in the air, because of my distemper, which, through the rich mercy of God, is now quite over. I was at Newington, at my Lord Fleetwood's, with Dr. Owen, where our business was thoroughly discoursed. My lord is of Dr. Owen's church; my lady is of ours. Both Lord and Lady Fleetwood⁵ seemed to be under very great disturbance

⁴ [This letter is endorsed by Mr. Terrill, "The church in London's letter. Not answered. Those walking with Mr. Abbott." Mr. Abbot is mentioned by Crosby as a man of learning,

who left the established church and joined the baptists, iv. 251.]

⁵ [Lord Charles Fleetwood was a son-in-law of Cromwell, having married Bridget, the widow of Henry Ireton,

and dissatisfaction upon my going to Bristol, and would lay me under blame. The doctor and I laboured to satisfy them, but could effect little; if they see success then they will believe it a call. A gentleman at table asked my lord, whether, if he and his family were to remove to Bristol, he would be against my going thither? My lord would not give him an answer.

You must pardon brevity, for you may easily imagine I am much hurried, and purpose, if God will, to set forward for Bristol on Monday come se'nnight, and shall be much straitened to do it; but I long to be with you now the business is determined. I shall waive my needful journey into Yorkshire till I see you a little settled, as preferring the interest of Christ before relationals or personals. Thank brother Teague for his letter; his daughter was with me, and I have promised her to take care of her, and provide her room with us, and do for her as carefully as if she were my own child. My kind love to all friends as if named. I would most gladly have been there at the fair, but I cannot possibly attain it. Many here think I make too much haste from London, and break off too abruptly from the congregation; but I must break away both from them and my friends in London, for to take formal leave would be sadly and troublesome, and therefore I must incur a great deal of censure. My kind love to sister Terrill, brethren Ellis, King, White, Dickason, &c.

I am yours,

THOMAS HARDCASTLE.

Blood and Parrot are at full liberty, and, some say, without prejudice to any honest man done or to be done.⁶

and eldest daughter of the Protector. "He obtained favour after the Restoration, and lived privately, for the most part, at Stoke Newington, where he died soon after the Revolution." He suffered much for his nonconformity by fines. A close intimacy subsisted between him and Dr. Owen.—Orme's *Life of Owen*, p. 365. The widow of Henry Cromwell was likewise at this time a

member of the baptist church in Devonshire Square. She was a granddaughter of Mr. Kiffin.—Records, MS. A.]

⁶ [The infamous villain, robber, and assassin, Blood, was not only pardoned after his attempt to steal the crown and regalia from the tower, but land of the value of £500 a year was settled upon him. Parrot was an accomplice.—Rapin, ii. 661.]

Letter of Mr. Hardcastle. No. 13.

These for Mr. Terrill, Bristol.

28th [or 29th] July, 1671.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—These are only to acquaint you that I purpose to set forward on second day next, which would be July 31st, according to my first resolution. I am in a great hurry, and therefore cannot enlarge. I never met with so much difficulty in parting from a place. It will be fifth day of the week before I get to Bristol, for my wife's condition is such, that it will be too far to travel from Marlborough to Bristol in one day, especially the way being so rough will be incommodious to her. My dear love to all friends. Pray hard for me that God would make my way prosperous, and bring with the gospel blessing a full blessing. I hear of a letter which came to you from a part of our congregation, but I never saw it, nor do I know what is in it; but I suppose there will be no great occasion for a speedy answer before I come. The Lord be with you.

I am your faithful brother,

THOMAS HARDCASTLE.

But ⁷ we understand since, the reason why he [Mr. Hardcastle] would not promise was, because he had not given his denial to the church in London, and so was not regularly clear from them, therefore he would not promise. But his heart was so altered by the Lord, that, when he came to London, he gave the church there a negative answer to their motion of choosing him to office with them, and then sent us word he would come to us; but wished us to write to the said church in London, to grant him a letter to us of commendation or dismissal from them; which we did. But

⁷ [The narrative in the church book, here resumed, it will be seen alludes to several of the facts already presented in

the above series of letters, which it was thought best not to interrupt.]

they were so greatly offended and troubled with us, that they would not grant him any letter, but still charged us with sin for so doing, to take him from them; and to this day, which is near five years, we cannot get any letter of dismissal from them. Now, because that we understood our aforesaid call preceded his denial to them, we, therefore, when he came down again to us, we gave him a new call, upon the eighth day of the sixth month [August] following, anno 1671, and signing it as before at a church-meeting, then [held] for a day of prayer, and commending him, the said Mr. Hardcastle, to the work of the Lord, upon trial for the office of a pastor to this congregation, signing it as before, for order sake, and to silence them, the church in London, for peace sake on our part to them. For the case of this church, or any other, without a pastor, being as if a virgin was going to marry a man that was in league with, and not clear from, another woman, which ought to be, before he contract upon liking with any other.

Thus, through the grace and goodness of our Lord Jesus, our great Shepherd, that takes care of his church universal, and so of every garden or church of his individual, having obtained the mercy to have another pastor over us, under him, upon trial, the church considered of getting a public meeting-place again for that at the Whitson Court, we being, as aforesaid,⁸ driven out. It was in those troubles let out for a warehouse again, so we could not have it. Whereupon we took the meeting-house at the lower end of Broadmead, where the heretics called quakers had formerly used to meet; it being four great rooms made into one square room, about sixteen yards long, and fifteen yards broad, which we took the 12th day of the sixth month, and fitted it up against the 20th day of the said sixth month, August, anno 1671, which was the

⁸ [See before, p. 106.]

first Lord's day we met in it; where, through the Lord's help, we have remained ever since; now towards five years [hath] the church held forth the gospel to poor sinners there.⁹

But at our first entrance, appearing so public again, we had some trouble by many threats; but our new pastor, being a man of great courage in the Lord, was not moved. Then the mayor and council, upon some great and urgent complaints for our so meeting, before a lord of the land from London, then here, debated to send for our pastor, Mr. Harcastle, but then it was waived, and only they determined to send for brother Terrill before the mayor; who, after the serjeant came for him, went to the mayor, who was then Alderman Knight, of the sugar-house, whom God had changed, and made very moderate towards us, so that he favoured us, and had connived at us all the year before. But now, through the complaints, as we after understood, of one old Mr. Wright, that had been sheriff, that said he could hear us sing psalms from our meeting-place, at his house in Hallier's Lane; who, with some other, like Tobijah and Sanballat, forward to prosecute us, endeavoured our disturbance. But brother Terrill gave the mayor's worship thanks that, through his wisdom and moderation, we had most of his time been so quiet, and prayed his worship to continue such his favour the remainder of his time, which was so near expired; knowing his worship had wisdom enough to know how to avoid and waive the complaints of such persons that would be troublesome for the rest of his year. And so the mayor dismissed brother Terrill, and the Lord gave us rest. Thus the Lord favoured us with a peaceable beginning for our new pastor and new meeting-place.

Thus God having graciously given us a new pastor, the

⁹ [This is the site of the present chapel. Mr. Terrill wrote this part of his narrative in 1676.]

church, before he came down from London the second time (which should have been noted the side before), after several debates of the duty of a church towards a pastor, not only for their own good to call him, but to take care that he may have a comfortable subsistence yearly coming in, for the maintenance of him and his family, it was concluded that less than eighty pounds per annum would not for him comfortably defray all charges, according to his duty, Titus i. 7, 8, and as things were now in the city; and that it lay upon the church to take care about those carnal things, and he about spiritual things.

But then it was considered how to raise the said sum, to discharge our duty. Some, weakly, would have it left alone to the liberty of every person, to give him as they could, and when their minds were disposed; and that they judged to be the gospel way. But the rest of the members were otherwise minded, and they judged the gospel way was a way of regularity, as well as of liberty; which could not be to leave a minister's mind in bondage, every now and then, not knowing where to have food. Therefore, [they] said, it was rational and scriptural for every one to engage what they would do freely and yearly; that so we might know our duty, in some measure, was performed,—that he had so much as reasonably might support him; that he might not be to seek sometimes for his bread, and then must be forced to beg or borrow, and not know when or how to pay it again. Wherefore it was proved from scripture, that though whatever any one did do they must do it freely, like the gospel, and not [be] compelled, but from force of reason and conscious of duty, yet they must do every one according to his ability, somewhat constantly or duly, as well as freely.

From the evangelical rule of record, 1 Cor. ix. 7—14, *God hath ordained, that they which preach the gospel should live of the gospel; as he that feeds the flock should eat the milk*

of the flock. So that this, of constantly or yearly communicating to the maintenance of a pastor or minister, is as eminent an ordinance of God as any other ordinance whatsoever in the gospel; and that every one ought to make as much conscience in the performance thereof as any other. And, moreover, it was proved, that every one should tie himself yearly to pay to the service of the house of God; having not only the reason of the former scripture, with Gal. vi. 6, and divers others in the gospel, but also that plain precedent that the church of God that then was did so do, in Neh. x. 32; where it is said, *They made ordinances to charge themselves yearly with the third part of a shekel for the service of the house of our God.*

This duty being proved so plainly, that it must be done heartily, freely, and yearly, we did likewise make by agreement an ordinance or writing what they would do certainly. And if God did bless any one with more ability, this should not hinder them from handing what they would more, by themselves, to the pastor privately, so not to be seen of men; but the brethren and elders must know that every one doth their duty, and that there be a competency. Therefore, that every one of us should subscribe what he or she would give, freely and yearly, towards the pastor's maintenance. Which writing or ordinance, a copy thereof is as follows:—

We, whose names are underwritten, being, through rich grace and infinite love, called out of darkness into the marvellous light of the Lord, and into gospel order, according to the commands of our only Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, in 2 Cor. vi. 17, 18, Matt. xviii. 18, 19, and Heb. x. 23—25; and thus of the Lord's own magnified mercy and good will, chosen out, and set forth in the world, to be one of his churches, or a candlestick of the Lord's, Rev. i. 20; our duty being to have a candle or minister therein, Luke viii. 16, Acts xiv. 23, that we may hold forth a light to the world, as well as for our own edification and privilege, left us by

our Lord at his ascension, Eph. iv. 8, 11 : therefore, according to our duty, 1 Cor. ix. 7—14, and according to the example of the church of God of old, recorded in Neh. x. 32, for the service of the house of our God, we have considered, also consented and agreed, to charge ourselves to pay yearly these our several voluntary and free subscriptions, for the comfortable maintaining of a pastor for this congregation ; and it is concluded upon, that we will pay what we have severally engaged by equal proportion quarterly. This being the unanimous act and order of this church in their solemn assembly ; ratified and confirmed this thirteenth day of the fourth month, anno Christi 1671.¹

To this the members, upon the said day the ordinance is dated, they subscribed, every one according to their ability, what they would give yearly. And the manner we took for subscribing, that every one might act freely and privately, was thus:—When the church was come together for prayer, and in the close of the day for settling of this business, being all together in one room, we ordered one of the elders, with another grave brother, to go into another room of the house with the said writing ; and the other elder that stayed in the meeting called over the names of the church, and sent them in, one by one, into that room where the said elder and brother were, for to write down what they did, with them privately and freely, offer and promise, or charge themselves withal, to give yearly, and by them to be brought in quarterly to one of the brethren appointed on purpose, as treasurer, to take care of that business ; and by him, with the elders, to be delivered, £20 each quarter, to the said pastor, Mr. Hardcastle. And that it might be so duly paid, it was ordered that every person bring in their quarterage a month

¹ [The paper containing the subscriptions, in Mr. Terrill's handwriting, was kept private ; but is yet preserved, and copied in the Addenda to this volume,

Note E. The support essentially needed for the pastor, was sought for and supplied by the church only.]

before every usual quarter day of the year. And so they all that could give came one after another into the said room, and told what they were of themselves free to pay, and then straightway returned out of the room into the meeting again.

Now to raise this said sum yearly, there were but about fifty persons that could give anything, though there were as many members again; but some had wives in the church, some had children, and divers poor that made up the number. Yet it pleased the Lord to stir up their hearts to raise the said sum of £80 per annum; for some servants subscribed ten shillings per year, other servants six shillings; other members, mean in the world, but rich in grace, gave ten shillings, others twenty shillings, some thirty shillings, some others forty shillings, some fifty shillings, some three pounds, some four pounds per annum, one five pounds, and another six pounds per annum.

Of those that subscribed to the pastor's maintenance there is to be observed the grace of God in some. One aged brother, named Henry Pierce, a very mean poor man to appearance, in person and habit, and by profession or trade but a journeyman shoemaker, that lived up in a cock-loft; yet his heart was so enlarged for and by the Lord, that he would subscribe, and did pay, not less than twenty shillings per annum. And one other member, a sister, named Margaret Webb, that had two children to maintain, that lived very mean, and took great care to carry the world about, to live therein honestly towards all, and laboured very hard so to do; yet she would subscribe towards the carrying on of the gospel, and did pay forty shillings per year. Which examples did provoke, if not shame many others.²

Brother Thomas Child was proposed the 23rd day of the

² [The entire sum subscribed was £89 1s.]

fifth month, 1671; spoken with the 20th day of the sixth month following; before the whole church he then declared the work of regeneration upon his soul, at our public meeting-place in Broadmead, the first day we met there, with which his declaration the church was satisfied. Thereupon, the eighth of the seventh month, he was baptized; and at breaking of bread he was admitted a member of this congregation, upon the 10th day of the seventh month, anno 1671.

Upon the 20th day of the sixth month, anno 1671, this congregation signed a *second call* to Mr. Thomas Harcastle, worded as the former, to be pastor to this church.³

Brother John Ford, tanner, sister Ford his wife, brother Henry Fieldhurst, with sister Messenger, and sister Bowles, having before been proposed and spoken with, before the whole congregation gave their declaration; they were, the 13th day of the eighth month, baptized; and those, with sister Hill, they were all six admitted members of this congregation, upon the 15th day of the eighth month, anno Domini 1671.

Twenty-ninth of eighth month, sister Margery Simmonds, a maid, deceased, about eighty-three years of age, and left by will to the congregation five pounds, for a stock to be begun.

Sister Murray having formerly, been proposed and spoken with, and satisfaction received by the church, she was baptized in the river, as all others are, into the name of the Father, the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, upon the fifth day of the eleventh month, anno 1671; and upon seventh of

³ [On the 8th of October Mr. Harcastle commenced a series of expositions on the Assembly's Catechism, which were continued at intervals of a week or fortnight, till the 6th of October in the year following. They were thirty-five in number, and were carefully written

out, as if for publication, by some one who heard them, not improbably from the short-hand notes of Mr. Terrill. These excellent and valuable catechetical lectures, addressed to the young, are preserved in the library of the Bristol Academy.]

said month, she, with sister Gwilliam, who before was also spoken with, and they were both together admitted members of this congregation, at breaking bread on the said seventh [day] of eleventh month, 1671 [i. e. January, 1672].

Sister Lane, now Ford, and sister Clark, having been proposed formerly, declared the work of the Lord upon their hearts to their conversion, on the 20th of the twelfth month. The church having received satisfaction, those two with sister Hill, who was added about four months before, were baptized upon the 23rd day of twelfth month, 1671-2, and upon the 25th day following, sister Lane, or Ford, with sister Clark, were admitted members.

ANNO 1672.

Brother Richard Towne, on the 17th of the first month proposed; on the 25th day, ditto, he gave an account of the change upon his soul, and how he came to be convinced of the damnable principles of the quakers, having been one of them many years. He was, with aged sister Papewell, an ancient member, baptized the 12th day of the second month, and added a member upon the 14th of said second month, April, anno Domini 1672.

Sister Pope, an aged widow, and professor with our friends called the presbyterians, propounded to join with the church, third of the first month last; she was spoken with before the whole church, the eleventh, ditto; they receiving satisfaction to receive her into communion, she was baptized the 26th of the second month following, and received a member the 10th day of the third month [May] after, anno 1672.

Upon the seventh day of third month, 1672, being a day of fasting and prayer, in order to receiving the Lord's supper, the church took into consideration the several members belonging to this congregation that, by God's providence,

were removed to remote habitations ; some in Ireland, some in Nevis Island, some to London, some to the west countries of England, and other parts. It was ordered that a general letter should be writ, and a copy thereof signed by the brethren in the name of the whole, and so a letter sent to every one of those scattered members, to inquire into the state of their souls, and to know whether they did keep close to their duty in walking with some church, and with whom ? that so if they had not, nor will not hearken to exhortation therein, that they should be cast out of this church. And, accordingly, there were letters sent to each, and we had answers from them.

A general letter to absent members, after Mr. Hardcastle came to us.

From a church of Christ in Bristol, formerly walking with our deceased teacher Mr. Ewins, and now walking with our beloved brother and pastor, Mr. Thomas Hardcastle, to our

DEARLY BELOVED (brother or sister) IN OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST,
—All grace and peace be multiplied to you abundantly, through the riches of grace held forth in the gospel and word of truth. Beloved, the Lord having made a breach upon us, by taking to himself above three years' since our honoured brother Ewins, his faithful servant, that was so eminent for self-denial, patience, holiness, and humility, with unwearied, great, and constant labours for near twenty years with us, the last ten years of which he endured from without frequent imprisonments, one whereof lasted a whole year, wanting but one week. In the mean season, the Lord helped us in our measure to keep to our duty in assembling, through not a few difficulties, to attend upon the Lord, in the exercise of those mean gifts amongst us that were at any time left us and not *imprisoned*, or when they were released from thence ; and thus, through his grace and strength, we remain to this day a congregation. Oh, that we may be to his eternal praise, your comfort and ours, in the day of his appearing, when

we must stand before the Son of man to give our account, that it may be with joy, and not with grief.

And further, we thought good to signify to you the goodness of the Lord, though we are exceeding unworthy; yet he hath not forsaken us, but hath still owned us, and stood by us, as evidently has been seen, in the several vicissitudes of his providence towards us, and in his gracious making up our breach, and supplying our great loss by giving us another teacher, that honoured and learned minister from London abovenamed. And we trust he is a pastor after God's own heart, that doth *feed us with knowledge and understanding*, according to his promise, Jer. iii. 15. And though by death we have lost divers members, yet through his grace, according to his promise, we do multiply and increase in number. Oh, that it may be also in the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ! that we may no more say, The ark of the covenant [Ps. l. 16]: that is, rest in privileges, but amend our ways and our doings, and not cry, The temple of the Lord, the temple of the Lord, and be *at ease in Zion*, and so sinners therein, Amos. vi. 1, Jer. xxxiii. 14; but that we may be worshippers who *rejoice in Christ Jesus, and have no confidence in the flesh*, Phil. iii. 3; not loving our pleasures, *having a form of godliness, but denying the power thereof*, as 2 Tim. iii. 5. Now, that we may not be such chaff to be burnt, but true wheat, and vessels meet for the Lord's use, and so to continue to the end, let us have your prayers.

And, beloved, these are also to acquaint you, that this church is taking an account of all her absent members, that are distant from her by habitation, in discharge of her duty, and in faithfulness to their souls.

First, Therefore, forasmuch as we have not, for a long time, heard from you, that is, no letter to the church,

1. We first desire to know how it is with you. And to that end, desire that you would send an account of your state to the church, that is, of the condition Providence hath brought you into, as to the inward and outward man.

2. In respect of gospel order, we desire to know with whom you walk in church fellowship, as to the participation of the

sealing ordinances our Lord Jesus hath left as privileges to his saints, as well as their duty to wait upon him till he come.

3. By reason we remember not whether you had any letter of recommendation from us, we desire to know whether you had any such letter, and to whom, and the date thereof.

Secondly, To the discharge of our duty to you, in regard you were first planted into this church, as a sign and seal of your giving up yourselves to Christ: and thereby you made a profession, in the presence of God the Father, and Christ Jesus the Son, our alone Saviour and Redeemer, and in the presence of the Holy Ghost, angels, and men (some of his professed saints and people), that you had renounced Satan and all his works, and that you were born again by the Holy Spirit, and crucified, dead, and buried with Christ, and risen also with him to live, not after the flesh, but after the spirit; and not to walk as other Gentiles walk, in the vanity of their minds, but in newness of spirit; to follow the Lamb wheresoever he goes:—

1. We say, you thus having implicitly professed, by your joining, with whatsoever else is implied in the command of our Lord Jesus Christ, recorded in the holy scriptures, of which this church is your witness, and will be a testimony for or against you in the day of our Lord, and we, as well as you, being bound to watch one over another:—in pursuance of which duty, we, taking it into consideration, do, in love and tenderness to your eternal state, warn and beseech you in the Lord, that you keep yourselves from the pollutions and sins of the time and generation in which you live; that you watch and keep your garments, Rev. xvi. 15, not only from those sins which ought not to be named among saints, and are reigning sins at this day, for which we ought to mourn and weep before the Lord, but, namely, [from] the pride, covetousness, drunkenness, uncleanness, profaneness, and superstition, &c., of the time we live in, with the vain modes of apparel and fashions of the world. Be not found in them; but deny yourselves, and cross your humour after those things that adorn not the soul, 1 Pet. i. 14, 15, *not fashioning yourselves according to the former lusts in your ignorance*, 1 Pet. iii. 3—5.

2. *Furthermore, we beseech you, dear (brother or sister), and exhort you by the Lord Jesus, that as you have received how you ought to walk and to please God, so you would abound more and more; that you may know how to possess your vessel in sanctification and honour, not as the Gentiles who know not God. He, therefore, that despiseth, despiseth not man, but God; as saith the apostle, 1 Thess. iv. 1—8.*

3. To read often, or meditate daily in the holy scriptures, especially in these erring days; and keep close to it as the standing rule that God hath given to all generations, and so to us, to regulate ourselves by in our general and in our special or particular callings, *which are able to make you wise unto salvation, through faith which is in Christ Jesus, 2 Tim. iii. 15; which sacred writings are the cabinet of exceeding great and precious promises of peace, and the storehouses for examples of God's severity and mercy. For whatsoever things were written aforetime were written for our learning, that we, through patience and comfort of the scripture, might have hope, Rom. xv. 4, 1 Cor. x. 6—12, Isa. viii. 20, and Luke xvi. 29.*

4. To take heed you do not forsake the assembling yourselves together with those that love the Lord, Heb. x. 25; and to keep a conscientious, strict observation of the Lord's day, which carries with it many blessings, being under many promises; and look upon that day as not yours, but the Lord's in a [more] peculiar manner than the other six days, because for a peculiar end the Lord hath reserved one day out of seven, that you may more especially attend upon him therein, and not on the world or its pleasures, Acts xx. 7, Isa. v. 8, 15.

5. To take heed of an indifferency of spirit, in neglecting or slighting the instituted ordinances of Christ, Rev. ii. 24, 25, lest you should thereby *judge yourselves unworthy of eternal life, Acts. xiii. 46.* For the Lord doth seal redemption and remission to his living stones in those ordinances, 2 Cor. i. 19, 22, Eph. i. 13, iv. 30, Matt. xxvi. 28; and they are appointed to quicken us when our faith is dying, and our hope decaying, Ps. cxix. 37, lxxxv. 8, 13, and to give consolation when we are at the door of

desperation, Job xxii. 21, 29, Jonah ii. 4, 7—9. If you attend at all wisdom's posts, and wait at all her gates, Prov. viii. 2, 32 to the end, and be found in every watch, for we know not at what gate, or at what watch, the Lord will come, and seal or speak peace to our souls, Matt. xxv. 13.

6. To take heed of omitting private and family duties; as closet and family prayer, examination of ourselves and family, whether they be in the faith or not, 2 Cor. xiii. 5; bringing up such under you *in the nurture and admonition of the Lord*, Eph. vi. 4; manifesting yourselves to be the children of Abraham, the father of the faithful, by doing the deeds of Abraham, Gen. xviii. 19. Private walking with God, and heart-searching, keep up life and heat in the soul. Family duties declare a designation of us and ours to God, with a separation from, and a witness to the world in our habitations, as well as by our profession, that in sincerity, with Joshua, we may say, *I and my house will serve the Lord*, Josh. xxiv. 15.

[7. To beware of the two grand snares of this life, those rocks upon which most souls do split; that is, that their hearts be not overcharged with the pleasures and cares of this life, *and so that notable day of the Lord come upon you unawares*, Luke xxi. 34, 36, either by sudden affliction, sickness, or death; and so the lamp of profession being not trimmed with the graces that appertain to it, you come short of salvation through unbelief, not watching and keeping in exercise the graces suitable to each condition. 1. In a state of prosperity, humility: with liberality and holy fear. 2. In adversity, content: with diligence in business, and fervency of spirit, from a sight of invisible glory and treasure in heaven.

8. To be willing patiently to take up the cross for Christ; enduring affliction, whether reproach or otherwise; remembering Luke vi. 26, *woe unto you when the world or wicked men speak well of you*; for remember 2 Tim. iii. 12, *they that will live godly in Christ Jesus shall suffer persecution*. Therefore, be followers of those who through faith and patience inherit and overcome, Heb. vi. 12; and stand fast, striving in the faith of the gospel;

and in nothing terrified by your adversaries, which to them is an evident token of perdition, but to you of salvation, Phil. i. 28, 2 Thess. i. 4, 5. Wait upon the Lord, and keep his way, Ps. xxxvii. 34; and be immovable, always abounding in the work of the Lord until your change come, knowing your labour shall not be in vain in the Lord, 1 Cor. xv. to the last.

9. To beware of false doctrines and hypocrisy, Matt. xvi. 6, 11, 12, Luke xii. 1, Acts xxiii. Take heed of seeming to be godly before or with sincere professors, but are not so in secret, in your families and conversation; for there hypocrites can allow their corruptions to reign, and among bad company can be like them vile or vain, Ps. cxxv. 4, 5, Matt. xxiii. 29. Oh, labour to be good and sincere rather than seem to be so, Ps. xxxix. 1; that you may answer the end of God in your holy vocation, to be lights in the world, Matt. v. 16, Luke v. 8, 11; and that you may be found witnesses for God in the place or among the people where you dwell, Rev. xi. 3, 11, Luke xxi. 13.

10. Lastly, watch against backslidings, and the beginnings thereof; as deadness in duties, a superficial outside performance thereof, in private or public attendance upon God, and content therein; as indifferency of spirit toward the things of God, or not so much care about them as for the things of this life. Thereby growing cold, you draw back, and so come under the sentence written Luke ix. last; that having put the hand to the plough, and looking back, should not be fit for the kingdom of God. For it had been better for you not to have known the way of righteousness, than, after you have known it, to turn from the holy commandment, 2 Pet. ii. 20, 21. But you have not only known, but entered and joined in church fellowship and the way of righteousness; therefore keep close to God in your holy profession and duty, which, in the end, will bring an exceeding great reward, Matt. v. 12; minding this, beloved, the time is but short, 1 Cor. vii. 29. And remember this word of our Lord, *If any man draw back, my soul shall have no pleasure in him, Heb. x. 38, 39.*

Thus, dearly beloved, we have endeavoured to put you in mind

of your duty, hoping, and partly knowing, that you are not ignorant of it; but we are *jealous over you with a godly jealousy*, and fear, *lest by any means, as the serpent beguiled Eve through his subtlety, so your minds should be corrupted from the sincerity and the simplicity that is in Christ*, 2 Cor. xi. 2; and so profess to know God, but in works deny him, Tit. i. 16. And *seeing you know these things before, beware lest ye also, being led away with the error of the wicked, fall from your own steadfastness*, 2 Pet. iii. 17; and thereby manifest your minds and consciences to be defiled, and not to be of them that rightly received and learned the truth as it is in Jesus, Eph. iv. 21, Col. ii. 6, 7. But see that *ye grow in grace, and in the knowledge of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ; to whom be glory, both now and for ever. Amen.*

The church desires to hear from you, in answer hereunto, as speedily as you can. So commending *you to God, and to the word of his grace, which is able to build you up, and to give you an inheritance among all them which are sanctified*, we remain your brethren and sisters in the Lord, whilst *you continue in the faith, and are not removed away from the hope of the gospel, which ye have heard*, Col. i. 23, John viii. 31, 35.

Signed in the name of the whole, at the appointment of the church, by

EDWARD TERRILL,
THOMAS HARDCASTLE,
THOMAS ELLIS,
RICHARD TEATHER,

JOHN FORD,
RICHARD WHITE,
WILLIAM DICKASON.

Moreover,⁴ dear sisters, give us leave to be plain with you; pray bear with us, for it is in love and faithfulness to yourselves, and to your souls' eternal welfare, and to discharge ourselves towards you according to our duty, Ezek. iii. 17, 20, 21; hoping the Lord will not leave us to ourselves, but that we should be willing to hearken in gospel duty to you. Therefore, let us tell

⁴ This latter part to be added for two sisters in particular, Ann Virgin and

Mary Dennis, immediately after the word amen in the letter.

you, it hath been declared unto us of you, dear sisters, such things which we are not willing as much as partly to believe; for we mourn under the thoughts of declaring it to you; because we durst not but judge you were sincere in your declarations of the new birth, or work of God upon your heart, when you gave up yourselves to this church. Neither did we observe or hear but that you did, with all endeavour, walk as became your holy profession during your abode with us. But now sad tidings are come to the ears of the church concerning you; and it is reported that you walk, in your conversation and family, vain and carnal, like the world, as though you never professed a separation from the world and its worship, being seldom or never seen at any Christian meetings. And further, that which is an addition of grief, that you go to the public worship of the world, as though you never professed the Lord Jesus Christ, and a subjection to his commands in the holy scriptures. Now, if these things are so, dear sisters, in the name and words of the Lord we warn you to repent, to turn from it, *and do the first works*; lest you be found to be foolish virgins, not having oil, or true grace in the heart, and so be shut out; having a name that you live, but are dead, *Be watchful, and strengthen the things that remain, that are ready to die*, lest God find your work not perfect or sincere before him. *Remember, therefore, how ye have received and heard; hold fast, and repent. If, therefore, you shall not watch*, Christ saith, *he will come on you as a thief, that you shall not know what hour he will come*; for your tribulation, sickness, death, or judgment may be sudden. These words are the counsel of the Holy Ghost, Rev. iii. 1—3. Wherefore, as the apostle saith, 2 Cor. xiii. 10, *we write these things being absent, lest being present we should use sharpness, according to the power which the Lord hath given unto us to edification, not unto destruction*. But we hope you are not of them who draw back unto perdition, but of them that believe to the saving of the soul.

Letter⁵ of Anne Virgin to Mr. Hardcastle.

SIR,—I have taken the boldness to direct this enclosed to you, though unknown, and desire, as you were pleased to appear in signing that from my friends to me, so you will let such as you think fit to see my answer. It is extraordinary restraint keeps me that I cannot come to enjoy one week's society amongst you; for then I believe I should much better satisfy my friends. But hoping that we shall one day meet each other in a place where envy cannot interrupt our joy, nor suspicion of guile at all damp our free communion with each other,

I do remain,

Your assured friend to serve you,

ANNE VIRGIN.

From Charleville,⁶ this 25th Feb. 1672-3.

Letter of sister Virgin's, accompanying the former, in answer to the church's letter, from Charleville. Dated the 25th of Feb. or twelfth month, 1672-3.

MY DEAR BRETHREN IN OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST,—Yours I have received, reading it with joyful tears, and accepted it as a token of love from my gracious God, seeing his people so mindful of, and concerned for me, a poor creature, altogether unworthy. I formerly heard of the Lord's goodness to you, in sending such a worthy and painful labourer into his vineyard, and have often wished myself among you, to partake with you of your mercy therein. I heartily thank you for all the loving, Christian advice you give me in the fore part of your letter, as also for your good

⁵ [The following letters are the replies, preserved, to the above circular letter. They are here placed together, and exhibit an interesting picture of the inter-

nal order and piety of this church of Christ.]

⁶ [Cork County, Ireland.]

admonitions in the latter, proceeding from your godly jealousy towards me. But I think you have been somewhat misinformed concerning me; for, I assure you, I have, ever since I was a wife, been a woman much acquainted with sorrows. Instead of living vain or loosely, I think I have taken too much care and pains for to please my husband, and help to free him from the many troubles which he hath, unadvisedly, brought on us both. And although no affliction is joyous, yet I trust it will work the peaceful fruits of righteousness; for I have much cause to praise the Lord, because he has heaped up my way with thorns, suffering me to find no comfort therein. Surely in very faithfulness I am afflicted. I now very clearly see the justice of God in my suffering, and the great mercy that I was not cut off in sickness, wherein I was near death about three years past; also since I received your letter, I feared I should not live to write an answer of it.

But now [that] (the Lord be praised) I am indifferent well recovered, I do not only see the error of my way, but do very heartily repent my exceeding great folly, in spending so many years pursuing shadows, which fled the faster from me because I followed them; for the more I have strived to gain my husband's faithful love to me, observing his temper, and studying every way I could to humour and please him, still the more unnatural he appears to me. For he hath seemed, hitherto, not at all to regard me and my five small children, in comparison of his brother and sister, and several kindred, together with two sons he had by a former wife; all which hath occasioned our loss of above fourteen hundred pounds, besides great sorrow to me, very hard to bear. God hath not suffered me to rest upon the lees of sin and corruption, yet I am wonderfully supported by a secret power, to the admiration of some that know my condition; for I am verily persuaded my gracious God will, in the end, make all work for my good. And what though my way be rough and troublesome, heaven and eternal happiness will make amends for all.

And now, as for my going to the public worship, since it is of the same God which we serve, and the same gospel is preached,

I do not find that I am so much warned whom, as now, I hear ; but I do not find in my heart a freedom to commune among them, neither have I, to my great grief, since I left Bristol. I had thought to show my letter, which I had with me, [her letter of recommendation] to Mr. Woods, but he left Cork soon after my coming ; and now I hope to receive the ordinance of Mr. Daniel Burgess,⁷ before he leaves Charleville, where I now live. I have found much comfort in his Christian society, but he intends now to dwell in Dublin ; and my God, I trust, will make up from himself the want of outward means. I wish I may never more have expectation from, or dependence upon any creature ; but look wholly to the fountain of all true comfort for happiness, though I know his usual conveyance of it to us is through the use of means ; therefore I find it every way very hard to keep in the straight, middle part ; but my God can, and will, I trust, lead me in the perfect way for all this. And that I may be supported under, and, when the Lord sees me fit for freedom, delivered out of all my troubles, I heartily beg your prayers.

Now that we may all so live, that after death we may all meet where sorrow shall be no more remembered, is the hearty desire of her that is resolved, with all my heart, to serve the Lord in sincerity all the days of my life ; for I find therein the greatest freedom and comfort on this side heaven. And that I might hold out to the end, so running that I might obtain the prize, let me be still upon your hearts when you approach the throne of mercy. I am very willing to serve you all, or any of you. I think, in this six weeks, I shall come again to live in Cork ; and remain,

Your affectionate friend and sister,

ANNE VIRGIN.

Pray do not believe all flying reports of me ; consider there is

⁷ [Mr. Daniel Burgess, subsequently pastor of an independent church in London, was at this time head master of a school at Charleville, set up by the Earl of Orrery, Lord President of Mun-

ster, to strengthen the protestant interest in that kingdom. After this he became chaplain to the lady Mervin, near Dublin, where he was ordained.—Wilson's Diss. Ch. iii. 496.]

none alive that all speak well of. But I take it very kindly that you warn me of what you feared. Pray let me hear often from you, for it is a refreshing to my troubled heart; and excuse the confusedness of this, for, because of some hard trials I am exercised under, my thoughts are very discomposed. Farewell.

A. V.

*Letter of sister Mary Croker, in answer to the church's letter.
March 31st, 1673.*

To a church of Christ in Bristol, beloved of God, called to be saints. Grace and peace be multiplied to you.

Barnstaple, 31st 1st m. 1673.

DEARLY BELOVED BRETHREN,—I kindly salute you in our Lord Jesus Christ, much longing for your daily growth and increase in grace, and that you *might be filled with the knowledge of the will of the Lord, in all wisdom and spiritual understanding*; to the end you may *walk worthy of the Lord unto all well pleasing, being fruitful in every good work, increasing in the knowledge of God*; and that you may be strengthened by the almighty power of the Lord, against all sufferings whatsoever; and that you may patiently and quietly submit unto the will of the Lord, in all states and conditions.

Oh, dear brethren, how are we exceedingly bound to give thanks unto our Lord, who hath made us meet to be partakers of the inheritance of the saints in light! Oh, precious and unspeakable mercy, that the Lord should call such guilty and unworthy creatures out of the power of darkness, and translate us into his marvellous light!

Surely, brethren, if we consider [1st], what we were before the Lord called us,—poor creatures, posting downwards to the chambers of darkness, running headlong to eternal destruction; 2nd, who it is that hath called us,—none other but Him that hath shed

his precious blood for us, by the powerful operation of his Spirit, in the ministry of his word; 3rd, how long he waited upon us, that so he might have entertainment in our souls:—oh, that the King of glory should stand knocking at the door of our hearts, till his locks were wet with the dew of the night, that he might make us partakers of the riches of his grace! 4th, from what he hath called us,—from sin, which doth separate the Lord and poor souls, and from Satan, whose daily endeavour is to enslave poor souls, and to undo them eternally; from the world, with its pleasures, profits, and preferments, that cheat poor souls; from the customs and traditions of men, to walk in obedience to the written commands of our God; 5th, unto what,—to the light of his most blessed gospel, to an inheritance incorruptible. Oh, dear and precious brethren, how should these considerations teach us to what end the Lord hath called us,—even that we should show forth the praises of our Lord Jesus Christ! Oh that it might be the earnest desire of our souls to answer these ends of the Lord in the dispensations of his graces and mercy towards us!

Dearly beloved, I have received your epistle to me, which gives me sufficient cause to adore the continued discoveries of the unchangeable love of God to such a poor worm as I am, in moving the hearts of his people to make inquiries after, and send good and necessary counsel to me. I desire my soul may receive suitable impressions from it; and [I] return you my hearty acknowledgments for your care and love to me-ward.

In answer to your several desires:—These near fifteen or sixteen years past (Providence bringing me, and my marriage settling me, in these parts), in order to my being joined in church communion with a baptized church in this town, I had a letter testimonial from you; but through the death of several brethren, and the many distractions of the times, at present it cannot be found. But upon that letter I was received as a member of, and still, through the grace of God, walk in company with, this church; though, as to the enjoyment of those precious sealing ordinances you write of, we may say, like Israel of old touching

the ark, our hearts lament after them, having for many years been debarred them, especially through our wanting a he-goat to go in and out before us. As to my inward state, though I have cause to own it, that my house is not so with God, yet the consideration of the unchangeable love of God, revealed and made known to me in the everlasting covenant, through Jesus Christ, is that, through the rich grace of God, which keeps me from sinking under the many sad discouragements I meet with, both from within and without. Blessed be the name of God, though I am made to cry out, Woe is me, I dwell in the tents of Kedar, and sojourn in Mesech! [Ps. cxx. 5.]

As to my outward state, I am married to a member of this church, by whom I have had several children; four of them the Lord is still pleased to lend me. And, blessed be the Lord, though we do not abound, yet we are in a pretty comfortable state.

I desire with you to rejoice in the Lord, for his gracious supply of your late sad breach. The Lord make him of advantage both to saints and sinners! I should be glad to hear as oft as you can. Committing you to the Lord,

I remain,

Your unworthy sister, through grace,

MARY CROKER.

Letter of sister Anne Wade, in answer to the church's letter.

July 22nd, 1673.

HONOURED, DEAR, AND BELOVED BRETHERN AND SISTERS IN OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST, OUR HOPE,—In whom I heartily salute you, and through whom I wish all health, peace, and prosperity to your souls and bodies, with an increase of grace and comfort by the Spirit of holiness; which I desire the Lord may pour upon you daily, more and more, filling you with all joy and peace,

that you may abound in all graces, to his own praise, and our everlasting consolation, through Jesus Christ our Lord.

Beloved, I have received yours of the 27th of the month past, accompanied with the blessed relation of God's gracious dealings with us, in issuing his depriving us of our late blessed pastor, with the rest of his various dispensations towards us, into a calm settlement, under the conduct of another of his faithful servants; for which I desire with you ever to bless and praise his name, and trust he will enable us to improve this our summer of enjoyments, so as to lay up such a stock of strength and holy courage, as may carry us through what future winter of trial and tribulation he may please to bring over us.

In answer to what you desire, relating to the condition God by his providence has cast me in,—

1. I may say from experience that his compassions fail not, but his mercies are renewed every morning; and that, although he has cast my lot so as that I sojourn, as it were, in Mesech, and dwell in the tents of Kedar, he does not leave me without such refreshings and supplies of strength from his Holy Spirit, and by means of his servants, whom his providence sometimes conducts to our habitation, whereby he has hitherto enabled me to persevere in, and hold fast, that profession of faith of which you are witnesses.

2. As to my participation of those ordinances Christ has instituted for our remembrance of him till his second appearing, as often as distance of place and infirmity of body have permitted me, I have had the enjoyment of them, with that church of Christ in Gloucester, walking with Mr. Forbes,⁸ to whom our deceased pastor did, by word of mouth, commend me, as you also did, by the original of the enclosed copy.

⁸ [Mr. James Forbes, M.A., was excluded from the cathedral of Gloucester, where he preached with great success, by the Act of Uniformity. He gathered a church after his ejection, over which he presided till his death in 1712, at the age of eighty-three. He was fined more than once; excommunicated and impri-

soned for his nonconformity. He was a holy, humble, serious, and learned man, full of good works. His library he bequeathed to his congregation; it is of considerable value, and still in existence.—Palmer's Noncon. Mem. i. 545. Murch's Hist. of Presb. p. 11.]

So, my beloved fellow-labourers, I bless God who has stirred you up to afford me so large testimonies of your Christian care and watchfulness over me, although absent in body from you; and beg you, that you would add to your consolations and godly admonitions, your prayers to the Almighty for me, that he would sanctify them to the use you have intended them, and that he would keep me stedfast to the end, through Jesus Christ our Lord; to whom I commend your souls and bodies, and in whom I will ever send up my requests, that we may be found at his coming those that earnestly longed for and loved his appearing.

I remain,

Your unworthy sister in the Lord,

ANNE WADE.

To the church of Christ in Bristol, walking with Mr. Thomas Hardcastle.

Letter of sister Sylvester Collins, in answer to the church's letter.

Oct. 24, 1673.

To the church of Christ in Bristol, over which that watchful and faithful minister of the gospel, Mr. Thomas Ewins, lately deceased, was overseer, and of which Mr. Thomas Hardcastle, his successor, is present pastor.

Blessed be God! that hath not left you destitute of a pious and able teacher, nor of godly and constant minds to follow his doctrine, in love to the truth, and care of the members; which is abundantly manifested by treading in the steps of the faithful, who have always had a longing desire to know the affairs of God's people absent, either to mourn for their affliction, or to rejoice for their prosperous state, Neh. i. 2—4. Nehemiah was inquisitive about the Jews that had escaped, and concerning Jerusalem; and understanding their great affliction and reproach, wept, mourned, fasted, and prayed before the God of heaven. Paul, Eph. vi. 21, 22, knew that his good condition would afford comfort to the brethren at Ephesus, and therefore of purpose sent

Tychicus to acquaint them therewith ; neither could he forbear, but sent to know the faith of the Thessalonians, lest by some means, 1 Thess. iii. 5—7, the tempter should have tempted them, and his labour be in vain. And when Timothy brought him good tidings of their faith and charity, what comfort received he in his afflictions thereby. And doubtless St. John, third epistle, second verse, would have been as glad to hear of Gaius, his health of body and prosperity of soul, as he was ready to wish it.

You are, brethren, of like spirit. In answer, therefore, to your Christian expectation, I am bound to thank God, that though with Naomi, Ruth i. 1, 2, I parted from the city and brethren for sustentation of myself and family, and so, through mercy, have, and still do, accordingly find great friendship both to me and mine, yet my case exceeded hers, in that I came not from the worshippers of the true God to infidels and heathenish idolators, but, as I suppose, to such as worship God according to his word, and not as the servants of men ; where the word is purely preached, not as by time-servers ; and where the Lord's supper is often administered, and not superstitiously. So that I have not forborne to join in the participation thereof, as well as hearing, as nothing doubting to be one in such an assembly, under such a ministry. And as touching letters of recommendation from you, I received none.

And, lastly, as to your godly and holy cautions, exhortations, directions, and admonitions, I do humbly embrace and accept them, with all thankfulness ; intending and resolving, by God's grace, to pursue and follow them to the utmost of my endeavour ; desiring the help and assistance of your fervent prayers, to further me in the knowledge and life of the gospel, and that I may carefully watch against backsliding into deadness and dulness of affection, into error of judgment, and looseness of life and conversation ; and so be kept blameless till the coming of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ ; to whom be glory, both now and for ever. Amen.

Your faithful sister in the Lord,

SYLVESTER COLLINS.

Sherstone, Oct. 24, 1673.

Letter of sister Alice Adams, formerly Simmonds, in answer to the church's letter.

FROM NEVIS, 12th Feb. 1673-4.

DEAR AND REVEREND PASTOR, BRETHREN, AND SISTERS, IN THE LORD,—I received your epistle, which did much rejoice and refresh my soul, through the good hand of God setting it home. Those choice counsels which you have laid before me, have been, through grace, as so many cordials to cheer up and quicken my soul. Truly I have been much grieved in spirit many times, that I have not [had] one line from any of you, since I parted from you. Sometimes I have been tempted to fear that I was cast out of your hearts, who are, through free grace, the visible church on earth; that I was cast out of the invisible church; and many sad temptations, like to this, which would be too tedious to write here. I may truly, with the prophet David, say, that my soul shall praise the Lord, and that all that is within me shall praise his holy name; for, indeed, he alone hath wrought deliverances for me. When the enemies of my soul and body, sometimes together, have come in like a flood, the Lord has been pleased to set his standard against them; for He to whom I have committed the keeping of my soul and body hath delivered me, and does deliver me, and I trust will deliver. For I have precious promises, oh blessed be his name! that he will carry on that good work which he hath begun, and he will never leave nor forsake them that put their trust in him. Therefore I mind not what the black mouths of the world can say against me; for though I have no strength of my own, yet, through the mighty power of God, I have been kept from those abominable sins which are laid to my charge, for I do abhor such cursed practices, and those that use them. I can say, through grace, my soul doth mourn and grieve for the wickedness of others; much more I abhor to run with them to the same excess of riot.

Dear friends, I have not a capacity to write, but according to my poor gift I shall endeavour to answer your desires:—as, first,

for that report which you hear, that I keep not up my holy profession in my family and neighbourhood. I hope, in some measure, as the Lord doth enable me, I do make a conscience of that duty, or else I know my condemnation to be just. And also for sanctifying the sabbath, I desire, with my soul, to keep [it] holy to the Lord. As for my assembling myself amongst those whom you judge do separate from others, I know none such here, who do keep up those lively ordinances of the Lord; for Edward Barnes, who you name, I have often asked him whether any friends did assemble there? He replied, He only kept up family duty in his own house. So, through grace, the Lord doth enable me, in some measure, to do my duty in my own family, though a weak worm; I can do nothing as I ought. I rejoice to hear that the Lord hath been pleased to give you a pastor after his own heart. The Lord sanctify that mercy to you!

I have one request to beg of you all, that so often as you assemble before the Lord, you would spread my condition before him, as to my living in this barren wilderness place; that he would be pleased, in his own time, to bring me once more amongst the assemblies of his saints, where I was wont to enjoy his gracious presence, to the refreshing and comfort of my soul; and whilst I am here, that he would keep me from the pollutions of this place, and the lash of tongues, which do oftentimes sadden my soul. I desire to be remembered to you all, and return you many thanks for all your labours of love showed to me when with you; and the good Lord reward you doublefold, and keep you in your holy profession, till we all meet in that mansion of glory which our Lord Jesus hath prepared for them that love him. Thus I commit you to the word of his grace, and

But one of the meanest of the flock of Christ,

ALICE ADAMS.

*Letter of Mr. West, as answer for sister Rachel Browne,
formerly Dighton.*

London, April 6th, 1674.

WORTHY SIR,—Some few days since, Mrs. Browne communicated to me a letter from yourself and some brethren, in the name of the society joined with you, directed unto her as formerly walking with you; wherein are several heads of pious counsel, for which she, and I in behalf of her, do thank you; hoping they will have their due weight with her. Some inquiry, also, I find made after her, which further speaks your Christian care of her, and love to her; as to which I make bold to return an answer in her behalf, partly in regard of her modesty, as she is a woman, and partly for a testimony to you, as I am a minister.

As for her outward state, by the blessing of God, I judge it prosperous in respect of the relation to whom God has joined her, and the accommodation he has mercifully afforded to her. On this account you may rejoice with her.

Her inward man I also hope the like of, by better arguments than I could hope to draw from her own mouth; *videl.*, her blameless conversation, and undaunted profession amidst no small difficulties, whereon I reckon her, with some others, my joy and crown of rejoicing, hoping she will also so prove and appear at the coming of Christ, whereto your continued prayers may confer much.

Your other query, relating to the minister and society she walks with, as to the participation of the sealing ordinances: it has been for these seven years last past, and upward, with myself, such as I am by the measure of God's gift and grace. As for any formal letter of recommendation, I learn not that she had any; but, by the providence of God, being removed beyond possibility of actual communion with you, with the approbation of Mr. Ewins, she first entered into fellowship with Mr. Humphreys,⁹ and upon his death in the sickness, with divers others of

⁹ [Mr. Humphreys was probably pastor of a presbyterian congregation in St. Martin's Lanc.—Wilson's Diss. Ch. iv. 20.]

that society she sat down with me ; who reckon myself in present circumstances charged with her, as one that must give account of her. And do you pray that I may do it with joy.

What you, for form's sake, may think good, as yet [to] do by way of recommendation, I leave to you ; though as to our satisfaction, after so long acquaintance, I may say of her, as the apostle of himself, That she needs not, as some others, letters of recommendation. With kind [acknowledgments] of your joint care of her, in my own and her behalf I salute all of you in the Lord.

Your fellow-servant in the kingdom and patience of Christ,

EDWARD WEST.¹

London, April 6, [16]74.

Letter of sister Elizabeth Hasler.

DEAR AND WELL-BELOVED BROTHER IN THE LORD JESUS CHRIST, —I have been lately under much inward trouble, and was four months bound by Satan, under very dreadful temptations, and sad conclusions against myself ; but, through the riches of the grace of God, I am now delivered out of that state, and have a fuller manifestation of the love of God through Christ to my soul than ever I had before. I entreat and beg of you to praise the Lord for his wonderful goodness towards me ; who, though he leads me through various conditions, and causes me to taste of all waters, also gives me experience of manifold deliverances.

I am in some measure of health, though very weak, and full of pain in my limbs ; but, through the help of crutches, I can

¹ [Mr. Edward West, M.A., was ejected from Long Wittenham, in Berkshire ; he withdrew to London, and gathered a congregation of independents, "being in high value," says Wood, "for his edifying preaching

among the brethren in conventicles." He died suddenly, in the night, after preaching twice on the preceding day, January 30th, 1675. He was a man full of holy zeal and fervour, and very useful.—Wilson, Diss. Ch. ii. 534.]

go to hear the word, and, blessed be the Lord! I do rather abound than want. I had a letter from you the summer after I came, which I received the very month and year the king came into England; but, suddenly, after the coming of it, I was bereaved of my senses, and was cast into Bethlehem, where I remained eighteen months; and at my first restoration from that state, I was taken lame, so that I could neither go nor stand, and continued so for two years. After that, it pleased the Lord to take away my sight; and, suddenly, after I began to recover of my lameness, I was struck sick of the plague, and had an ulcer, by reason of which I was sent to the hospital, and was one year under the chirurgeon's hand, having my thigh laid open, and my condition very deplorable. As soon as I began to recover of this sore malady, I was again deprived of my senses, and sent to the place aforesaid, where I remained thirteen months. And then the fire came to London. I have been freed from thence these seven years, but afterwards continued lame three years, so that I could neither go nor stand.

For these reasons I was hindered from joining with any people; but as soon as I was able to go out with crutches, I did join with, and still remain amongst, the Lord's people walking with Mr. John Gosnold,² whose ministry the Lord hath abundantly blessed to my soul. My dear friends, I have been much pressed in spirit to come and spend one week among you, that I might impart unto you what the Lord hath done for me, and also to receive from you what he hath delivered unto you; but being under subjection to the parish that pays for my living, I cannot do it without their consent, lest there may be danger in it. I acquaint you with my thankfulness to you all, for your former readiness towards me in my necessity.

ELIZABETH HASLER.

May 4th, 1674.

I live with Mr. Townsend, in Honeysuckle Court, in Grub Street.

² [A man of great learning and piety. After his ejection from the establishment, he became pastor of a baptist church in the Barbican, where he minis-

tered to a very large congregation, usually computed at three thousand. He died in 1678, and was buried in Bunhill Fields.—Crosby, iii. 62.]

Brother Nathanael Sneed, and sister Sneed, his wife, and sister Rachel Clark, their servant, were proposed to the congregation, as their desire to join, upon the fifth day, the third month, 1672; and on the seventh day following, being the church's monthly day, they made their declaration before the congregation of their conversion, or work of God upon their souls; with which the church being satisfied, they were baptized upon the tenth day of the third month, 1672. So that then we saw (and had experience of), A WHOLE HOUSEHOLD was BAPTIZED at one time together: namely, himself, his wife, and maid, which was all the family. So that it may be said (according to the judgment of charity, they having declared their conversion, their faith, and repentance), as it was said of the jailer, Acts xvi. 34, He believed in God with all his house. SO THAT HERE IS A LIVING PRECEDENT, that a man and all his (or a whole) household, may be baptized, and have no child in it; as many more may be, if the Lord please to change them, and grace them with faith, repentance, and desires of the ordinance, as these did, according to the practice of Christ and the apostles.

Sister Dawson was propounded upon the 12th day of the third month, 1672;³ she gave a declaration of the work of grace upon her heart, on the sixth day, sixth month following, and was received into fellowship the eleventh day, sixth month, 1672.

Upon the said eleventh of the sixth month, 1672, the church took into consideration their meeting of conference, which, for some time, they had omitted, through the sickness and decease of their late pastor, and through the persecution

³ [Mr. Hardcastle's Catechetical Lectures were this day interrupted, by the preaching of a sermon on Eccles. xii. 1; "because," he says at the commencement, "being to take a journey, if God will, at some considerable distance, I

am willing to leave something on the spirits of young ones that may make some impression." The course of lectures was not resumed till the 21st of July. This sermon is preserved in the manuscript volume already alluded to.]

that began upon them on the 10th of May, 1670; being by force and arms kept out of our meeting place. So that the church kept up but one of the two week-day meetings, besides the Lord's day, during these troubles. And now enjoying some peace, the church orders, That our said meeting of conference be again set up, for the exercise of the young brethren's gifts, that according to 1 Cor. xiv. from 24, 29—32, all may speak:—That any member may propose a question from scripture, and so their doubts may be resolved; and that this meeting be kept every second day in the week, at five of the clock, at the meeting house.

Sister Mary Field, widow, and sister Mary Skinker, being propounded upon the third of the ninth month, 1672;⁴ sister Field only gave an account of the work of God upon her soul, on the fifth day ditto, at a day of prayer.

Brother Henry Davis, and sister Mary Young, with sister Bathsheba Sulmer, and sister Elizabeth Jordan, were propounded together, upon the 29th of the tenth month, anno 1672.

Brother Nicolas Gregory was propounded upon the 7th of the 11th month, 1672; and then, together with those proposed before, namely, brother Davis, sister Skinker, sister Mary Young, sister Bathsheba Sulmer, Sister Elizabeth Jordan, these five gave an account of the work of God upon their souls, before the whole congregation. Three of which the church received then satisfaction to receive them; but two of the brethren desired further time to discourse [with] Mary Skinker about her principles: whether she was sound in the doctrine of the gospel, concerning the person and

⁴ [Mr. Hardcastle finished his lectures on the Assembly's Catechism on the 6th of October, and on this day, the 3rd November, commenced an exposition of the epistle to the Colossians. Nine of

these discourses are preserved in the manuscript volume before mentioned, when they abruptly terminate, the last of them appearing to be incomplete.]

human nature of Christ our Lord : and time to discourse [with] Elizabeth Jordan somewhat further, for their satisfaction concerning the truth of the work of grace upon her soul ; so these were all made to wait a month longer, till satisfaction received.

Brother Robert Lewis, and sister Elizabeth Willis, with sister Ship, of Woolland, where our brother Jennings used to preach, were propounded on the fourth day of the first month, 1672 [1673] ; and it being a day of prayer, they were then spoken with, and they gave an account of the work of grace upon their hearts ; with which three, the church, after they were sent away, declared their satisfaction.

Upon the ninth day of the first month, 1672 [1673], nine of these persons above, namely, brother Henry Davis, brother Nicolas Gregory, brother Robert Lewis, sister Mary Field, sister Mary Young, sister Elizabeth Willis, sister Elizabeth Jordan, sister Bathsheba Sulmer, being persons the church had received satisfaction in, were admitted members of this congregation, at the Lord's supper ; having been baptized, all nine together, upon the seventh day of the said first month beforementioned.

Upon the fourth day of said first month, 1672 [1673], the church sent two brethren, namely, brother Reeves and brother Courtney, to one sister Evans, without Lawford's Gate, to admonish her to keep her place, and if not, they would deal further with her for hearing the quakers. She, with her husband, had communion with us for some time, but were not members with us ; but of some church near Gloucester, of the free will judgment, kin to quakers.

ANNO 1673.

Sister Mary Skinker was, after further speaking with her, and satisfaction received, added to this congregation on the sixth day of second month, 1673.

Sister Bird, on the Key, deceased 22nd of second month, 1673, and left by will, to one of the brethren, five pounds, towards stock for the congregation.

Upon the 23rd day of this second month, 1673, a sad providence fell out to this congregation, which was this:— Our brother John Fry, a bachelor, fell distracted. First it came upon him in a way of despairing, that he was lost and damned; then he brake out in bad language to all the brethren that came near him, calling them very bad names, and immodest expressions to some women, raving and striking them that came near to hold him; and when they were forced to bind him on the bed, he would spit at some, and use such vile and grievous words, it was consternation of spirit to all that knew him, it being so directly opposite and contrary to the whole frame of his former way and temper.

And being thus sorely assaulted and pressed by the devil, as all that beheld and heard him could not otherwise judge, he did also (and that which is worse than all) break forth into such dreadful and horrible expressions, against the whole Deity, at some times with such blasphemous words, that it made the hearts of all that heard it to ache, and the hair of their heads, as it were, to stand on end: and their spirits to be so pressed thereby, hardly able to contain, or to be in the room to hear it, being so astonished at what the Lord had suffered to befall this brother; that had the testimony of all, good and bad, that he had a very lovely, humble conversation, and judged that he walked close with God, as was attested by a godly, judicious doctor of physic,⁵ a member of

⁵ [Dr. Ichabod Chauncey had been chaplain to Sir Edward Harley's regiment, at Dunkirk, but on the passing of the Act of Uniformity became a phy-

another congregation in this city, that had lived several years tabled in the house with him, having a grave woman to his mother-in-law that kept his house, she being a sister named Fry, in fellowship with us. This doctor whilst he tabled there, observed him all along to be a very sober, practical Christian; reading and praying after the work of his outward calling (when his journeymen were departed, and his servants had left work), until the tenth and the eleventh hour most nights.

His distraction broke in upon him upon the fourth day of the week (called Wednesday), and grew higher and higher, into great raging, as aforesaid. Physical means were used, but all in vain. Most persuaded he should be carried into the country for help. But some of the brethren desired the church might seek the Lord, by fasting and prayer to the Lord, to heal and deliver him.

Whereupon, the second day following, being the 28th day of the month, the congregation kept a day of prayer, in our brother Fry's house, and in the room where he was in the bed bound; but his raging was so great in the beginning of the day, that we thought we should not have been able to have continued in the room. Yet, notwithstanding, a brother began the work of the day by him, and the day was, by the Lord's assistance, carried on, and a gracious answer of prayer was given by the Lord, as we did seem to apprehend, inso-much that the spirit of rage left him in a great measure, that it ceased by the evening of that day, before we parted from him. Praise only be to the Lord!

Upon that day sevensnight, being the 5th of the third month following, the church came together again into the same place, and kept another day of prayer to the Lord for him.

sician in Bristol. He was prosecuted in 1686.—Palmer's Noncon. Mem. ii. under the 35 Eliz. and banished the 352.] realm in 1684, but returned to Bristol

For, although the Lord did so graciously answer the church's former prayers, that in a great measure the spirit of raging left him, yet a great spirit of fear remained in him. But on this day also, the Lord did mercifully incline towards us, and gave a gracious answer to his people's seeking him in his own way; so that very observably the spirit of fear left him, that he was not so much in horror and frightful apprehensions as he had been. And means were used physically for his recovery, as bleeding, purging, and leeching, to draw the distemper from his head; according to our prayers, that if the Lord pleased to have us use outward means, that he would direct to it, and bless the means: which he compassionately answered.

But when he began to come to himself, and his poor thin body, that had been plucked down, began to receive some refreshment, we had great fears his distemper would have come on again with its former violence. For though those his fits ceased for above a month, yet he could not arrive to any comfort or faith, and could hardly be prevailed with to go to prayer himself; he lay under such despairing thoughts still, that it was all in vain, no promise did belong to him, nor consolation for him, &c. But he lay under reflection upon himself, what a wretch he was for what he had in or by fits uttered against, or of, the Lord. By which we perceived he remembered much, if not all; so that he was filled with such shame, that he would hide his face from every one that came to see him, or hang down his head, or not speak. He was so filled with a spirit of shame, after the spirit of rage and spirit of fear had left him, that they could not yet prevail with him to go but to a near neighbour, nor hardly to see a person that came in.

Therefore the church appointed another day of prayer for him, and so came together again, upon the ninth day of the fourth month following, anno 1673, at his house, to seek the Lord, as it were to perfect the work of his recovery, to take

the spirit of shame from him, that he might go about his lawful calling forth of doors. To which the Lord gave a gracious answer of prayer also, to admiration. For the very next day after this, he was emboldened to go forth about his business in the city, as he did formerly; yea, he went from house to house, about his occasions, to his customers, for the space of four or five hours, and returned. Thus the Lord cast, as it were, three spirits, visible, to be seen, out of him: viz., a spirit of uncleanness for rage and blasphemy; secondly, a spirit of horror and fear; and thirdly, a spirit of shame, and, as it were, dumbness. Oh, the condescension, mercy, grace, favour, and faithfulness of the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, that he should answer prayer, and hear such poor, vile, and unworthy ones as we were! Oh, nothing in us, nothing in us! Not for our sakes did he this wonderful thing in our day, but for his own name's sake; having engaged himself to do for us whatsoever we ask in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ. *Laus Deo. Sola Deo gloria.* Whom, to this day, near three years since he recovered, the Lord hath kept in his former gracious frame of spirit; and he usually exercises in prayer, in the congregation, on fast days, as formerly, and hath been very well ever since in his body. Magnified be the Lord!

This brings to our remembrance to record, to the glory and praise of the Lord, somewhat of the like goodness of the Lord to this congregation about twenty years since. One of the members of the congregation, sister Tylly by name, had a daughter, then about ——— years of age, that was bewitched, as [it is] termed; but the child was very much changed, and had strange fits, and, as it were, haunted by an evil spirit, that it would say such a woman was in the room; though they carried it to Bath. The whole church put apart a day for it to seek the Lord by fasting and prayer, when brother Jessey was here, and the child was restored well as before,

and [continues well] to this day. The glory only be given to our God!

Upon the second of the fifth month, anno 1673, by reason of the age, and then sickness, of brother Simpson, near unto death, not [being] capable to perform the deacon's work, and by reason of the decease of sister West, the widow or deaconness of the church, they took into consideration to elect two other; whereupon, the said day, at our pastor's house, it being a day of prayer, the congregation chose brother Mr. John Ford to be a deacon, and sister Murray to be a widow or deaconness to the church; thus being elected, and set apart, by prayer they are recommended to the work upon trial.

Brother Thomas Jacob, brother Edward Willis, sister Mary Hawkins, and sister Mary Evans, being before proposed, and spoken with, and the church [having] received satisfaction concerning the work of grace, which, in charity, according to their several declarations, is hoped to be in truth, they were all four baptized in the river Frome, upon the fourth of fifth month, 1673, by Mr. Thomas Jennings, minister, and the church's administrator for the ordinance of baptism; and they were all four admitted members of this congregation, upon the sixth day of the said fifth month, anno 1673, at breaking of bread.

Sister Francis Hill was proposed the sixth day of the sixth month, 1673, and then spoken with to the satisfaction of the church; she was baptized into the faith the 19th of the seventh month, anno 1673, and admitted a member of this congregation, by the pastor, on the suffrage of the whole church; who, by their sign (when the person hath passed their former approbation, and [is] presented for admission), being silent for some space, declare their satisfaction, in charity, of her conversion and suitable conversation; and so she was

admitted into the congregation, the 21st day of the seventh month, anno 1673.

Upon the first of the ninth month, 1673, the church kept a day of thanksgiving for the mercy bestowed in brother Fry's restoration; wherein he himself prayed, as the mouth of the church, in the after part of the day; and in the close joined with them in singing a psalm of praise.

The fifth of ninth month, 1673, sister Bryan, an aged outward poor member, but a very spiritual woman, followed with sore temptations many years:—when the messenger of death came for her, found her at prayer, then she took her bed [the] said day, and departed about a week after.

Sister Lydia Purnell, and sister Sarah Llewellyn, of Mangotsfield, in the county of Gloucester, were propounded and spoken with, upon the ninth day of tenth month, 1673; satisfaction being received from their declaration, they were baptized, the 12th day of said month, and upon the 14th day of tenth month, anno 1673, they were admitted members of this congregation.

ANNO 1674.

Sister Webber, an aged member, deceased first of the twelfth month, 1673-4, being about eighty years of age. Interred at Philip's.

Aged brother Pierce departed this life 26th of the first month, 1674, and [was] buried at Philip's.

Memorandum. Upon the 19th day of the third month, anno 1674, the church being assembled on a day of prayer, [and] having taken it into consideration, that Mr. Thomas Hardcastle had now been near three years set apart, by this church, upon trial for the office of a pastor to this congregation, they now come to determine the matter. Thereupon, by one of the elders, these two questions are propounded:—

First, of the congregation it was demanded, Whether they,

upon this long trial, were satisfied to choose him, the said Mr. Hardcastle, to be their pastor, having had now experience of his qualification thereto, both as to his gifts and grace: and if they were all satisfied to choose him to be their pastor, under Christ, and that he should be ordained to the said office among them? It was then required, that every member present should declare their assent, consent, and choice, by their lifting up their right hands to the Lord; which accordingly, every member, both men and women, did, immediately and unanimously, lift up their hand to the Lord; and so on the church's part it was done. After this, the elder, applying his speech to Mr. Hardcastle, and,

Secondly, demands, by way of entreaty, of the said Mr. Thomas Hardcastle, Whether he was satisfied, after this long trial of us, to accept of this the church's choice of him? To which Mr. Hardcastle agreeing, standing up, said and declared, That the leading argument that brought him hither, upon the church's call to him, was service for his Lord and Master, Jesus Christ; and upon the experience of the Lord's owning him here in the work of the ministry, for the bringing in of souls, as he hoped truly, to Christ, as much, if not more than he might have expected elsewhere; from whence, for his own part, he was willing to continue here, and to accept of the office of pastor to this church: desiring, before he be ordained, that endeavours be used to the church in London, from whence he came, that they may grant him a letter of dismission. To which the church promised that they would use endeavours to send once more to that church for to dismiss him.

Thus, Eben-Ezer, the Lord hath hitherto helped us, and settled us once more with a pastor, that that business was so unanimously and heartily finished, and closed on both sides. There remains now only ordination, by laying on of hands, to this church, for order, according to holy scripture rule.

Letter from a church of Christ in Bristol.

To the church of Christ formerly walking with Mr. Jessey, now with our dearly beloved brother Fitten, and brother Forty : all grace and peace be multiplied.

DEARLY BELOVED IN OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST,—About three months since, we perceived, by a letter from you unto our pastor, Mr. Thomas Hardcastle, that you did expect an answer of the last letter from you to us, dated the fifth month, 1671,⁵ which letter did inform us of our mistake in some things, and of our irregular proceedings in calling of Mr. Hardcastle, before he had given his answer of refusal to that setting him apart by you, for approbation of the church, with his consent ; which, when we thoroughly understood, and after he had declared his non-acceptance of your so setting him apart ; and after he came down to us again, with his family ;—in the interim, we having conferred about the case with brother Harrison, deceased, then pastor of the church of Petty France⁶—and considering your letter aforesaid with his advice, we did let fall our former call, and gave him a new call after his second coming down ; thus retracting our former act.

We hoped you had been satisfied thereby, having some trouble that we should act [in] anything, to your apprehension, irregular, and thereby should minister grief to any, especially to you, our beloved sister church, with whom we have had occasion of correspondence for many years past, and also from which we

⁵ [See before, p. 151.]

⁶ [Mr. William Collins and Dr. Nehemiah Cox, the successors of Mr. Harrison, were ordained on the 21st July, 1675. Mr. Harrison's relation to the church in Petty France was unknown both to Mr. Ivimey and to Mr. Wilson. By the former he is supposed to have resigned his charge before their ordination. This, as appears from the text, is

a mistake. His son, Mr. Thomas Harrison, was called to the work of the ministry by the church in 1689, and on Dr. Cox's death succeeded him in the elder's office, and as assistant to Mr. Collins. About 1699 he became pastor of a newly formed church at Lorimer's Hall ; but died suddenly after three years' ministry among them.—Ivimey, ii. 407. Wilson, ii. 187.]

received help time after time ; for which, next after the Lord, we return you thanks, for the Lord hath made you instrumental for our good, by your late pastor, that worthy and holy man, brother Jessey. And those kindnesses formerly received from you, we trust they were services done by you to our Lord Jesus Christ, for the advancement of his interest and truth. And this last benefit we received from you, in sparing our honoured brother and pastor, Mr. Harcastle, we trust will redound to your account in the day of our Lord Jesus Christ, in that this loan by you was to the Lord, for his use here.

And, therefore, we pray you, beloved, to pass by and forgive what you esteem was amiss in our acting, in that day of our necessity. And, also, we entreat you to grant a dismissal of our brother Harcastle aforesaid unto us ; and that there may be a continuance of that former kindness, and amicable correspondency, between you and us ; and that our prayers for each other may be, that we may be to the glory of the Lord in our day, and be kept faithful to him, to the end that we *might be filled with the knowledge of his will, and walk worthy of the Lord, strengthened with all might, according to his glorious power, giving thanks unto the Father, who hath delivered us from the power of darkness, and hath translated us into the kingdom of his Son*, by whom are all things, and to whom be power and glory, for ever and ever. Amen.

Signed by the appointment of the congregation.

Bristol, this 29th of the first month [March], 1674.

Letter from a church of Christ in London.

To the church of Christ in Bristol, with whom our beloved brother Harcastle at present is; all grace, mercy, and peace, from God our Father, and from our Lord Jesus Christ, be multiplied evermore.

DEARLY BELOVED IN OUR DEAR LORD,—We received yours of the 29th of the first month, which was read amongst us, and considered by us, but without any satisfaction; much rather ministering matter of trouble and grief to us. The reasons of our non-satisfaction, as likewise the ground of our trouble, we shall briefly signify to you, and leave with you to be considered, if possible it may beget a better understanding betwixt us.

You say, our last letter to you did inform you of your mistake in some things, and of irregularity in your calling Mr. Harcastle, &c. But what those some things are, in which you were informed of mistake, you tell us not; except you intend thereby the capacity Mr. Harcastle stood in amongst us; which, we suppose, you can scarce intend, you knowing as much of that before by former letters as in our last.

As to the irregularity in your call of Mr. Harcastle, you say, upon his second coming down you retracted your call, which you hoped had been satisfaction to us. But we marvel much, how you could think we should be satisfied with that you never signified to us. But, secondly, we wonder how you should think your retracting the act should be satisfaction to us. We judge[d] it irregular and sinful; and doth the simple retracting of an act take off the sin? But, thirdly, you say you gave him a new call. But how do you think this should be satisfactory to us for the error of the first, though it had been never so regular in itself, much less being, as we judge, as irregular as the first? For though some circumstances might seem to lessen, others did much more greaten the irregularity of it; therefore no way satisfactory to us.

But, you proceed to tell us, you are troubled you should act

anything to our apprehension irregular, and desire us to forgive, and pass by, what we esteem was amiss in your actings. Truly, brethren, we hope we should be in readiness to pass by and forgive what we apprehend and esteem you did misact, did you apprehend and esteem so of it, and ingenuously confess it; but we cannot be satisfied that we ought to pass it by, upon your saying you are troubled that you acted anything that we apprehend or esteem amiss. Nor know we what it is we are to forgive, indeed, except it be ourselves for misapprehending or misesteeming your actings, which yet we see no cause for; but do still apprehend that you have been irregular in this whole affair, both in your first and second call of our brother amongst you, and that you can give no regular call to him, till you have our assent so to do, or at least remove those things which justly hinder our concurrence therein; which you have not attempted, neither by acknowledging the evil we charged you with, nor endeavouring to rectify our mistake, and clearing yourselves.

But as we are not satisfied with your lines, so we are grieved at some passages in them. First, that you should say you were somewhat troubled that you should act [in] anything to our apprehension irregular, reflecting therein upon your first call, and that yet you should proceed to a second call, without ever acquainting us that you were troubled you had offended us in the first. Especially, you having our letter by you, expressing our offence, [how] could you think that while we had not satisfaction in our offence with your first call, that you could proceed to any farther call, without farther, and so greater offence? How this doth manifest your trouble, we are not able to see, and desire you may consider, and if you can make it consistent, we shall be glad to be rectified by you.

But, secondly, we are much more grieved that you should say, that this last benefit, in sparing our brother Hardeastle, you hope will redound to our account in the day of Christ, in that the loan by us was to the Lord. Dear brethren, did you, while you wrote this, consider you were answering a letter, wherein this church chargeth you with irregular and wrongful taking away our

beloved brother from us? How can you say we spared him, and lent him to the Lord, in his coming to you? when all that have had occasion to know the affair know the contrary; that it was utterly to our dissatisfaction, and against the utmost endeavours this poor church could use, in that confused condition they were put by your means. We wonder how you can say, You hope it will redound to our account. Shall our utmost endeavours to hinder, redound to our account as sparing him to you?

Thus having given you a brief account of our non-satisfaction, and the grounds, both of that, as also of our renewed grief and trouble, we shall conclude in a brief answer to your request, for a dismission for our brother Hardcastle.

If we should consider your whole letter as you have worded it, it may seem strange that you should desire a dismission, if, as you say, we have lost him, and you have called him, and he is your pastor. What need of a dismission to you, except it be to satisfy us? And truly, it is no part of our dissatisfaction, that you have not put us to dismiss our brother all this time. But, secondly, we cannot dismiss our brother to you, nor approve his present being with you, until such time as we have satisfaction from you for the irregularity we have charged against you, or you convince us of our mistake. For we judge your proceedings so disorderly, that we dare have no fellowship therewith; and that the precedent, thereby given, may be of such bad consequence, if followed, as would bring all the churches into confusion, that none should know when they have a member or a minister. But should we answer your desire in dismissing our dear brother, should we not therein both contradict you, in some sense, and manifestly contradict ourselves? We are troubled that we have occasion to write after this manner, and that we cannot answer your desire without wrong to our consciences, and wrong to the truth. We desire you will seriously consider our lines, bear our plainness, and pass by or rectify any mistake, as we have endeavoured both in yours.

We shall not add farther, but commend you to the Lord for light and guidance in this affair; that you may not strive to have

it done but so as both you, our dear brother, and we may have grounded comfort in it; which will, if we part with our brother, be our comfort to see.

We remain,

Your unworthy brethren in the Lord,

JAMES FITTEN,

NATHANAEL CRABB,

HENRY FORTY,⁷

RICHARD IRISH,

MICHAEL DUNWELL,

JOSEPH MASON.

THOMAS CHAPPELL,

London. Signed by the appointment of the church the 12th of the second month, 1674.

Letter⁸ from a church of Christ in Bristol, walking with our beloved brother Hardcastle, this 30th of the second month, 1674.

To that church of Christ in London, with whom our dearly beloved brethren, James Fitten, and Henry Forty, at present are; all grace, mercy, and peace from God our Father, and from our Lord Jesus Christ be multiplied.

DEARLY BELOVED IN OUR PRECIOUS LORD JESUS,—We received yours of the 12th instant, which makes us cry out with the prophet, *Is there no balm in Gilead? is there no physician*

⁷ [After twelve years' confinement in Exeter gaol, under the Restoration, Mr. Forty came to London, and became pastor of Mr. Jessey's church, of which he had been a member. A division on the question of admitting the unbaptized to the Lord's table, led to a separation. Mr. Forty, with about forty persons, adhered to the stricter sentiment, and subsequently united with the church in Devonshire Square. In 1675 he

settled at Abingdon. He was a man of great piety, and long and faithfully served Jesus Christ, under many afflictions, great trials and sufferings, living an unspotted life. He died in 1692.—Ivimey, ii. 66. Devonshire Square Ch. Records, MS. A.]

⁸ [The original letter, addressed to Mr. James Fitten, is preserved among the records.]

there ? &c. ; for we perceive you have been dissecting our lines to you, as though they were endeavours to take what advantage you could against us. To which we might say much, if we would tread in that path (not to say more) ; but we are willing to walk in the spirit of our Lord and Master as much as in us lieth ; learning in meekness to follow peace, and are willing to make the best construction of all that you write in your last ; hoping you endeavour that sin may not be upon us, this church of Christ ; as, also, not upon yourselves, seeing you say, you should readily pass by and forgive what you did apprehend we did act amiss, did we ingenuously confess it ; which was the intent of our last letter to you, which, not to say you misconstrued, but misunderstood. Therefore, briefly thus. The thing that made all our former acting to be evil, of which brother Harrison, of Petty France, late deceased, gave us light in, was this : That we had called Mr. Harcastle to be our pastor, he being set apart by you upon trial, before he had given you his denial of acceptance of that place among you. Therefore dear brother Harrison gave us advice to let fall our first call as irregular, and to give him another call, after he had signified to you his non-acceptance of the office among you. And so, according to his advice we did. Being then sensible of our evil in that first irregular call, we did retract ; and to do so, and to tell you we did so, was sufficient, according to the rule of our Lord, [for you] to have passed it by. For which irregular call we might say this, though we would not be understood, as that we went about to palliate our evil, yet we may let you know what led us unto it ; which was this, that we had gathered by some persons and reports in London, not from dear Mr. Harcastle, but from others, as that there was such occasion of offence given among you, that they knew he would not settle among you in office, wherever he did. Which rumour, together with his coming down to us, made us embrace the opportunity, because of our necessity. Which we do not justify was regular, but do confess our disorder and sin therein, hoping the Lord hath and will pardon us therein ; therefore, we pray you for peace, &c.

Were it your case, we should have been loth to set up ourselves in the place of God, and ask that question, that is only proper for him, which you do in querying,—Doth the simple retracting of an act take off the sin? We hope you have better learned Christ, to know that it is neither your nor our retracting, nor yet confessing of sin, but the blood of Christ that cleanseth us from all sin; which we flee to for this, as for all other sins. And though we desire to tremble before the Lord, considering his purity, judging ourselves that we may not be judged, and, therefore, confessed not only to the Lord, but to you our miscarriage in that haste, wherein we perceived was some irregularity; we have cause of rejoicing that in case of retraction for sin, we have God to deal with, and not man. Yet we again pray you, for peace' sake, and as God for Christ's sake hath forgiven you, to forgive us; and to grant a dismissal from you to us of our dearly beloved brother Mr. Thomas Hardeastle, whom God hath so eminently blessed and owned, since he came hither and sat down with us. And we also beg your prayers, that the Lord will continue his presence with him in this church, where the Lord by his providence hath placed him, to the exaltation of his free grace in Jesus Christ, the conversion of sinners, the promoting his truth, and building up the church in their holy faith, to his eternal praise and our consolation; which are, and shall be, our prayers for you, and for those that God hath set over you; that both we and you, and the called in Christ Jesus, may be complete in him, and our spirits also prepared to meet the Son of man; for the coming of our Lord draweth nigh, who is the *only potentate, the King of kings, and Lord of lords*, the only wise God our Saviour; to whom be glory and majesty, dominion and power, both now and for ever. Amen.

Signed in the name, and at the appointment, of the church, by your brethren in the mercies of the Father in our Lord Jesus Christ,

EDWARD TERRILL,

RICHARD WHITE,

THOMAS REEVE,

JOHN FORD,

NATHANAEL SNEAD,

ROBERT BODENHAM,

JOHN FRY,

JEREMIAH COURTNEY,

JAMES BLAND.

Sister Whitehead, alias Tanner, died tenth of the fourth month, 1674, and [was] interred at Philip's.

*Letter.*⁹ No. 1.

The church of Christ in Gloucester, to the church of Christ in Bristol, walking with brother Hardcastle.

BELOVED BRETHREN,—We salute you in the Lord, desiring grace, mercy, and peace, may be multiplied among you. The occasion of our writing unto you, is to desire you to send our beloved brother Thomas Jennings, to help us to carry on the ordinance of the Lord's supper with our friends at Framilow. For our friends much desire him, for to assist them in the Lord's work, and we hope your hearts will be enlarged in love to the Lord, and his truth, and us his people; who do greatly rejoice to see the hearts of the people much desiring those opportunities that are afforded us at this day, and we do hope that some choice work of grace will be wrought upon them, to endear their hearts to the Lord and his ways; and we commend you to the Lord, and the word of his grace,

And remain,

Your brethren in the faith of our Lord Jesus.

Signed by us, in behalf of the whole,—

JOHN HOOPER,

THOMAS COWLS,

JOHN DAVID,

JAMES WALKER,

ROBERT JACKSON,

ROBERT BEALE,

CHRIST. LUDLOW.

Gloucester, the 12th day of the fifth month, 1674.

Brother Richard White, an elder of this congregation, was taken ill at the meeting, as he was writing the sermon, 16th of the sixth month, went home, and died the 24th following. So that when the Lord's messenger came, [he] found him

⁹ [The following letters relate to a church, of which no other memorials appear to be in existence. It must not

be confounded with that church collected by Mr. Forbes, and mentioned in a previous page.]

well doing. He was an humble, self-denying man, and had a great gift in prayer.

Letter. No. 2.

The church of Christ in Gloucester sendeth greeting to the church of Christ in Bristol, walking with brother Hardcastle ; all grace, mercy, and peace be multiplied.

DEARLY BELOVED BRETHERN,—We salute you in the Lord. Beloved, we received your epistle, with your Christian advice to us, which is very good, and we hope to reap the benefit thereof. But as to that information of our forsaking the assembling of ourselves together, for the admonishing and building up each other, [it] is false ; for through the goodness of the Lord, and his assisting grace, we have been together comfortably. Though with weak means, yet we hope we can say our hearts have not declined the ways of the Lord ; and we have found his blessing and presence going along with us, though we be a poor people as to outward things. For had it been otherwise, we should have had supplies enough.

And as to our not dealing with those of unsound judgments, our dependence was more upon the other churches, and we sent our messenger to them for assistance, and they put us to deal with them ourselves, and accordingly we did deal with them, by way of admonition, and so they remain ; and we shall desire your assistance as to a further pressing with them, and also your assistance to carry on the meeting at Framilow and Whitmister. We hope you will not be backward in it, because the glory of God, and the good of sinners is concerned therein ; and so we commend you to the Lord, and the word of his grace, which is able to establish you, strengthen you, and build you up.

Signed by appointment of the whole, 4th eighth month, 1674.

JOHN DAVID,
ANTHONY SANDESS,
JAMES WALKER,
JOHN HOOPER,

ROBERT BEALE,
THOMAS COWLES,
ROBERT JACKSON.

Twenty-third of the eighth month, old Mrs. Katherine Terrill, aged seventy-five years; who, though she was no actual member, [was] yet a constant hearer, and attended for many years with the church. She then deceased in the faith, and she left by will that her son Edward should pay five pounds to the congregation's use.

Letter. No. 3.

The church of Christ at Gloucester, to the church of Christ in Bristol, walking with our brother Thomas Hardcastle, sendeth greeting.

DEARLY BELOVED BRETHREN,—The great God hath of his mercy, given us a great desire to walk in all the ordinances of our blessed Lord Jesus blameless, and we are in very great hopes that our hearts will be knit together in love, that we may, in a sense, walk worthy of God, and give light to those that sit in darkness. But in the pursuit thereof we find an outward weakness, by reason we are very poor; and, therefore, we would beg your assistance, that as we endeavour the promotion of the gospel on the one hand, we may keep it from scandals on the other. Truly, brethren, our complaint is not without need; for by reason of our inability, vision hath failed, and we [are] almost perished. But as it hath pleased God now, when even our hopes were almost gone, to raise us up to stand at the posts of wisdom's doors, begging help from him, who hath given us great hopes to be still waiting. Our poor are crying so that our hearts do ache for them, and without helps from others we must, of necessity, be a reproach to the world. Brethren, if you have any bowels of compassion, help us now in distress; if not for our sakes, yet remember Christ's saying, Matt. x. 42, if it be so small as a cup of water. Consider also 1 John iii. 17, 18.

Dear brethren, we desire only for the sake of the gospel, that the professors thereof may not be brought under reproach, and we shall have cause to bless our God; and we would desire you

also to bless him, for putting those things upon our hearts. We commit you to the Lord and the word of his grace, and remain your poor brethren, in the faith and hope of the gospel. You may send it by the bearer, our brother JACKSONS. He and our sister FOSTER are in very great want, with others.

Signed by us by the consent, &c., 8th 10th month, 1674.

JOHN DAVID,

JAMES WALKER,

ROBERT BEALE,

JOHN COOPER,

THOMAS COWLS.

Sister Bailey being sent for up to London, to her husband, at his then being there for some time, she fell sick, and continued so near a month. Then upon their journey homeward, by coach, she died, near London, eighth of the tenth month, 1674; but [was] brought down hither, and interred the 17th day of tenth month, 1674, at Stephen's.

Mr. Hardcastle: note to have me go to Shirehampton to preach.

7th of 4 Mo. 1673.

DEAR BROTHER,—It is much upon my spirit to desire you to go to Shirehampton to-morrow; there is a door open, and the people very desirous of help. Of this the bearer can inform you. Lay aside all doubts and disputes, and resolve to go. You may make but one meeting of it, and begin between ten and eleven. This is all at present.

From yours, as you know,

T. H.

I know not a more open door in the country, the place being altogether destitute, and the chapel open, where all sorts will freely come.

Letter from the church at Horton,¹ Gloucestershire.

To the church of Christ in the city of Bristol, who usually assemble in Broadmead, with whom our dearly beloved brother Harcastle walketh as pastor; we, the church of Christ who usually assemble at Horton, in the county of Gloucester, send greeting, desiring that grace, mercy, and peace, from God our Father, through our dear Lord Jesus, may be multiplied upon you all, and in you all; that so you may grow in all the graces of the most Holy Spirit, and at length be found to the praise of his glorious grace.

DEAR BRETHREN,—The occasion of our writing unto you at present, is to return you thanks for affording that assistance you have toward the carrying on the work of the Lord at Nympsfield,² in sparing our beloved brethren, brother T. Jennings and brother Terrill, so often as you have. Our request unto you is, that you will be pleased to continue that assistance; and not only our request, but, indeed, as it is well known, we suppose, to those brethren with you which have been there, that through the goodness of God it is the desire of some hundreds of souls which come to that meeting. You will find the names of some of them here subscribed in the name of the whole.

We hope we have no need to use any arguments to provoke you to so good a work, considering that the work is the Lord's, though a self-denying work. We pray you to encourage our brethren; send them to help the Lord against the mighty: we mean the great work of the ministering of the word in that place, where it is so much desired. So we rest,

Your weak and unworthy brethren in the best relation.

Signed by us, in the name, and by the appointment of the

¹ [A brother William Warner was recommended from this church in 1669, to the church in Devonshire Square. Of this church no other information is known to exist.—See Devonshire Square Records, MS. A.]

² [At the general assembly of the baptized churches, in London, in 1689, a Mr. Robert Williams appeared as minister at Nympsfield, and again in 1692.—Ivimey, i. 505. The gospel in this village is now sustained by the church at Shortwood.]

whole, at the church assembly, this 27th day of the sixth month, anno Domini, 1673,—

RICHARD BIRD,
THOMAS EVANS,

EDWARD EVANS,
EDWARD HEAVEN,

And fourteen others.

Brother John Purnell, brother Thomas Hall, sister Kimbar, sister Mary Smith, of Woolland, in the county of Gloucester, with sister Jennings (an old professor, that had long walked with the church, reputed an independent, and formerly a puritan, and wife to brother Jennings, administrator of the ordinance of baptism to this church), together with one Mrs. Bevis that had proposed to join, and had declared to the church how the Lord wrought on her, and the congregation did hope it was in truth. But it was not judged convenient to admit her, by reason of her selling of drink, and some defects in her conversation about her husband's debts that he had contracted. Yet, upon her great and often desires and importunity to pass under the ordinance of baptism to obey Christ, the administrator, upon her profession of faith and repentance, and the manner how she was converted, hoping that she was a Christian, and regenerated, though the great cumbrance of her life, through a bad husband, had cast some obloquy and obscurity on her conversation, [so] that her willingness to walk honestly and holy was not so conspicuous as [in] others not so ensnared—yet she, with the other five beforenamed, all six, were baptized in the river Frome, upon the 22nd day of the third month, anno 1674. And these four, namely, brother Purnell, brother Hall, sister Kimbar, and sister Mary Smith, all beforenamed, were added to the church, upon the 24th of the third month, anno 1674. But Mrs. Bevis, notwithstanding, was not received nor admitted, though she had stood propounded to the church above two years before.

Memorandum. One Mr. Lewis, an ironmonger, in White Cross Street, in London, being a member of one Mr. Partridge's³ congregation, in London, coming to Bristol fairs, and hearing Mr. Hardcastle, being several years before convinced of baptism, was now more confirmed, and therefore earnestly desired of our pastor that he might pass under that ordinance here. Therefore he was baptized here, upon the third of sixth month, anno 1674, by brother Jennings, in the river Frome, and another with him.

Brother Joshua Bryan was proposed upon the 14th of the fourth month, 1674, and he declared to the church the Lord's manner of calling him out of the state of darkness by nature, upon the seventh of the fifth month following; of whom the church received satisfaction. Whereupon he was baptized the third of the sixth month following, with Mr. Lewis before named; and he was admitted a member of the church upon the ninth day of the sixth month, anno 1674.

Sister Phrig, of Syson, in the county of Gloucester, was proposed, with brother Bryan, upon the 14th day of the fourth month, 1674; and she gave a declaration of the work of God upon her soul, upon the fourth day of sixth month following; and she was, upon the church's satisfaction with her declaration, baptized upon the sixth day of the eighth month following; and she was added a member of this congregation upon the eleventh day of said eighth month, anno 1674.

OUR EIGHTH PERSECUTION. ANNO 1674.

About this time, in this eighth month, October, 1674, began our eighth persecution in this city; for a little before

³ [Mr. Nathanael Partridge was an ejected minister, and formed an independent church at Old Street Square, of which he was pastor from 1666 to

1684, the year of his death. He was a great sufferer for nonconformity, and was once confined in Newgate for six months. —Wilson, ii. 526.]

this, in the seventh month last past, a new bishop, one Guy Carleton, being come to Bristol to settle here,⁴ who being though aged and grey, a violent man against good people that separated from that which he called the church: for he had been formerly a captain in King Charles I.'s army, against the parliament; and had been out of the nation with this King, Charles II. in his exile. And now being made a lord bishop of Bristol, he resolved to destroy all our meetings, and said he would not leave the track of a meeting in Bristol; but would make us all come to church, as he called it.

Now in those few years, last past, of our peace, it had pleased the Lord to give such a breathing and liberty to his people, that those whose hearts were drawn forth to separate from the world's worship, as many were, and by our last persecution being driven out into the fields, many were convinced and converted, and from thence cleaved to us. And all professors had got several distinct meetings, by themselves, according to their several apprehensions and light received. So that there were now six separate churches settled in this city; viz., three baptized congregations, two independent congregations, and one presbyterian congregation: viz., Mr. Harcastle's, being our meeting, most part baptized; Mr. Gifford's,⁵ all baptized; and Mr. Kitchen's, all baptized. And Mr. Thompson's,⁶ and Mr. Trough-

⁴ [He had been elected bishop in 1671, and was translated to Chichester in 1678.]

⁵ [Mr. Andrew Gifford "is a citizen born and bred, and his father now living in the city."—A Sober Answer, &c. p. 13, 1675. He was baptized on the 28th June, 1659, and received a member of the church in the Pithay, of which he was ordained pastor in 1677. He began his ministry in 1661, frequently preaching in St. Leonard's church, till excluded by the Act of Uniformity. For many

interesting particulars of this eminent man, reference may be made to Ivimey, vol. i. 412—414, vol. ii. 541—552, and Rippon's Funeral Sermon for Dr. Gifford, pp. 34—36.]

⁶ [Mr. John Thompson, M.A., was a native of Dorchester, and a student of Christ Church, Oxford. Unable to conform, he quitted the university, after nine years' residence, and returned to Dorchester, where he often preached with great acceptance and approbation, to the congregation of Mr. William

ton's⁷ congregations, were independents; and Mr. Weeks's⁸ congregation were presbyterians.

Now four of these were public and popular meetings; that is, Mr. Weeks's, Mr. Hardcastle's, and Mr. Gifford's, these three all in James's parish; and Mr. Thompson's meeting was kept in the castle. These were great meetings. But Mr. Kitchen's, somewhat of the free-will point, also in the castle, was but about three or four score, and so was not much taken notice of; and Mr. Troughton's less, being but about twenty, and not fixed to one place: for they had used to be sometimes one where, and sometimes another, having some honourable women of note amongst them, but few men;—they were more obscure. But the other four meetings beforementioned: viz., Mr. Weeks's, Mr. Hardcastle's, Mr. Gifford's, and Mr. Thompson's, were each of them consisting of many hundreds, that is, hearers, with the members. And they had public places, whereto the people did resort, as common as to the public places, called churches.

Thus the Lord having settled us for several years before, in order, as armies with banners: yet, but like little flocks of kids, in comparison with the multitudes from the many synagogues of the Philistines of our days. Their Goliath, Guy,

Ben, whose daughter he married. The congregation assembling in the castle, in Bristol, inviting him, he removed thither in 1670, "where he laid out himself to the utmost in the discharge of his ministerial work. The Lord was pleased wonderfully to succeed his labours, so that many will have cause for ever to praise the Lord for his coming to Bristol." His conversation was holy, harmless, and unblameable. *A Reply to the Bristol Narrative, &c.* pp. 5, 6, 4to, 1675.]

⁷ [Mr. William Troughton was ejected from a living in Salisbury, but continued

to preach there in private till his removal to Bristol. He wrote an exposition of Psalm xlv.—*Palmer's Noncon. Mem.* ii. 512.]

⁸ [Mr. Weeks was ejected from the vicarage of Buckland Newton, in Dorsetshire. His congregation in Bristol consisted of 1500 people, all of his own gathering. He bore his many hardships with great patience, meekness, and courage. Was twice imprisoned, and during his captivity preached out of the prison windows. Palmer mentions several interesting incidents of his persecution.—*Noncon. Mem.* i. 446.]

the bishop, being come,⁹ and he having now got a mayor, within a month after he came, fit for his purpose—one greatly in his favour, Ralph Ollive by name, a vintner, and a great drinker, a man given to much wine,—being now newly-elected and sworn, that would do what the bishop would have him.

And not only were these two (the bishop and the mayor) bad instruments risen up, as formidable enemies against us; but the Lord suffered to be raised up another wicked instrument, to be a scourge and trial to us, his poor people: justly, for our sins of unthankfulness and unsuitable walking to our gracious Father, and not rendering according to former benefits received. Which third and pestilent adversary against us, which did the drudgery of the work for them, was one John Hellier, an attorney at law of this city, and had been bred up here. And he was one very crafty and subtle in the law, that, through craft prospering in his hand, had gotten an estate of about £200 per annum. Who not only in his calling was vile, but in his conversation was very unclean. He had been fluxed for the morbus gallicus, and the like of him was not in the country round about for the bishop's purpose; and he was the mayor's landlord, and so had the stronger evidence of influence to have the command of the mayor, or his officers, at his pleasure. This John Hellier [was] now living in James's parish, where three of the great meetings were, as aforesaid; and this year he was made churchwarden of his parish, as they call it. All which strengthened him against

⁹ ["Who no sooner was come hither, but he began to be so liberal of his visits, that with those little artifices and restless instigations, he provoked the civil magistrates to disturb our assemblies and put the laws in execution against our ministers."—A Reply to the Bristol Narrative, &c. p. 6. "He hardly missed a day, but was ever on the Tolzey with the justices, and seated himself next the

mayor, where he was very liberal of his threats. He began with a counsellor at law, whom he threatened for pleading the king's licences, before [they were] recalled; and afterwards inveighed against him, in his sermon at the college, as one who would plead the devil's cause for a piece of money."—A Sober Answer, &c. p. 16, 4to, 1675.]

us; for thereby, as his fig-leaf, he laboured to cover himself, pretending what he did against us was in pursuance of his duty: that he might not break his oath, as he said. So he came with his man to our meetings, and turned informer, and gave informations against our three meetings in said parish; namely, Mr. Weeks's, Mr. Harcastle's, and Mr. Gifford's. And the bishop also sent three, and sometimes more, of his own clergy;¹ namely, parson Pledwell of Peter's, Heath of Austin's, and Godwin of Philips's, that would come up in our meetings, in the midst of sermon, and stay some time, and take notice of as many as they could know: then go to the mayor, and give information against us. Thus when they should be preaching to their own flocks in their parishes, they left them, and would so audaciously come to devour us, in the attire of foolish shepherds, but inwardly were ravening wolves.

Then, from their informations, our ministers were summoned before the magistrates; but we would not suffer them then to appear. For we did apprehend their design was to imprison our ministers, as the most effectual way, they judged, to destroy our meetings; to take up all the speakers, for being in the corporation, having an act of parliament for that purpose, made against non-conforming ministers:² as afterwards, when they had opportunity, it appeared they so intended to

¹ [That the bishop might effectually assist in the destruction of the nonconformists, he sent "as many of his clergy as he could prevail with as informers, there being few others found at that time vile enough for so base a work, to visit our meetings, both upon sabbath and week days, and swear against our ministers, in order to their imprisonment."—A Reply to the Bristol Narrative, &c. p. 7. "The bishop was pleased to bring with him some of the meanest of his clergy, both for abilities and interest, to inform against the dissenters; the more

judicious, learned, and able divines peremptorily refusing that hated employ, for which his lordship in a visitation-speech severely lashed them. The bishop, to encourage others, then assumes the title of informer; and after, to lessen the reproach, bestows the same on the blessed angel (in a sermon at the college from these words: *Behold, I bring you glad tidings*)."—A Sober Answer, &c. p. 19.]

² ["So little did the sense of God's terrible judgments (the plague and the fire of London), or of the necessities of

imprison them. Therefore we feed counsellors at law, and pleaded our right to meet so, by law, before the mayor and the council; because, about or near three years before, the king making war with the Dutch,³ his majesty granted liberty to all the dissenters in the nation, to enjoy their meetings quiet, by a declaration for licences to be given them that would seek for them. At which time these four congregations, each of us, had got out licences for our places and pastors. Whereupon we stood out against the bishop, the mayor, and Hellier, by law.

Licence to Mr. Hardcastle to preach.

Charles R. Charles, by the grace of God, king of England, Scotland,⁴ France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c. To all mayors, bailiffs, constables, and other our officers, and ministers, civil and military, whom it may concern,—greeting.

In pursuance of our declaration of the 15th of March, 1671-2, we do hereby permit and license Thomas Hardcastle, in the parish of Bitton,⁴ in Gloucestershire, of the persuasion commonly called baptized, to be a teacher, and to teach in any place licensed, and allowed by us, according to our said declaration. Given at our

many hundred thousand ignorant souls, or the groans of the poor people, or the fear of the great and final reckoning, affect the hearts of the prelatists, or stop them in their way;” that the notorious act to restrain nonconformists from inhabiting corporations, was strenuously urged by the clergy, the chief of whom were the archbishop of Canterbury, and Ward, bishop of Salisbury. This was in 1665. By it, the silenced ministers were forbidden to approach within five miles of any city or corporation, unless they took a certain impossible oath.—Baxter’s Narrative, iii. p. 2.]

³ [“ Now (1672) came forth a declaration giving some fuller exposition of the transactions of these twelve years last, viz., His majesty, by virtue of his supreme power in matters ecclesiastical, suspendeth all penal laws thereabout, and declareth, That he will grant a convenient number of public meeting-places to men of all sorts that conform not.” These licences were very generally obtained, but some refused to accept them, as it was regarded to be a scheme for the introduction of popery.—Baxter’s Narrative, iii. 99.]

⁴ [Near Bristol.]

court at Whitehall, the 5th day of September, in the 24th year of our reign, 1672. By his majesty's command.

ARLINGTON.⁵

Licence for the Rooms.

Charles R., by the grace of God, king &c., to all mayors, &c. In pursuance of our declaration of the 15th of March, 1671-2, we have allowed, and do hereby allow, of a room or rooms in the house of Simon Tovey, in St. James's parish, Bristol, to be a place for the use of such as do not conform to the church of England, who are of the persuasion commonly called baptized, to meet and assemble in, in order to their public worship and devotion. And all and singular our officers and ministers, ecclesiastical, civil and military, whom it may concern, are to take due notice hereof. And they, and every of them, are hereby strictly charged and required to hinder any tumult or disturbance, and to protect them in their said meetings and assemblies. Given at our court at Whitehall, the 5th day of September, in the 24th year of our reign, 1672. By his majesty's command.

ARLINGTON.⁶

Thus the Lord's permissive providence caused these four churches, two baptized, one presbyterian, and one independent congregation, that were begun to be troubled, to join together and unite in counsel and charge, as poor sheep driven together by wolves; and resolved to endeavour what they could to defend themselves, by law, against those vile persecutors, that were risen up against their peaceable and quiet meetings, resolving to destroy us. In order thereunto, these four churches chose two men of each congregation to act for the whole; and those eight men took care of the matters of law,

⁵ [The licence of Mr. Gifford is still preserved in the museum of the Baptist Academy, Bristol. See also Crosby, iii, 194.]

⁶ [These licences are from copies taken by the late Mr. Isaac James. The originals are not to be found.]

to follow it. And as often as occasion required, these eight men, deputed for the congregations, met together to advise, consider, and manage matters of our general concern, for the four congregations, in their legal defence.

And it pleased the Lord to suffer Hellier aforesaid, the first day as he began against us, to be caught in a snare. For when he came to Mr. Gifford's meeting it happened, by providence disposed, that at that morning another brother, that did use to preach every other Lord's day there, namely, brother Harford, was then preaching when Hellier came in. But Hellier goes before the mayor, and swears that it was Andrew Gifford was preaching then, upon the 27th of Sept. last: so there was a warrant, as well as for other ministers, so for Andrew Gifford. Which warrants being delivered to the chief constable of James's ward, who would not execute the warrants, but would make evasions; and some Lord's days would get out of town, when he might take up the ministers, who still kept their preaching: but we suffered the chief constable to take brother Andrew Gifford, because we knew him to be clear of that information. And he being brought before the mayor, Hellier had the confidence to swear, upon the holy record, that this was the man, swearing to his person, although it was another; and notwithstanding it was put to him several times to consider, lest he was mistaken, yet he swore positively that was the man. Thus Hellier took a false oath, and there were ten present that did witness the contrary, and four took their oaths it was another did then preach; so the magistrates saw Hellier had sworn false. And so they troubled us for several months, but we kept our meetings, and our pastors preaching, still pleading our rights by law.

The bishop being perplexed that he was so opposed that he could not have his will, he goes to London to the king, and complains against us; and the foresaid eight friends sent up an agent to London, on purpose to wait upon another agent

there, to observe the bishop's motions, and to endeavour the counter-working of his designs against us, in giving a true account to the king, by some lords of the council and the duke,⁷ of the peaceableness of the city before the bishop came, and of his furious actings and proceedings against us.⁸ Thus, not with little cost, we held out our meetings, as formerly, above four months, and kept our pastors with us. But though we had many good words from the court, giving hopes of continuing our liberties longer, yet in the 12th month, February, anno 1674 [1675], the king, somewhat before the parliament's sitting, then coming nigh, he set forth a proclamation as against papists, but in the latter end of it declared, that all the licences formerly given to the dissenters were made void.

Then the bishop and his clergy greatly rejoiced, that now they should have their wills on us; for now our foundation plea at law, by licences, was taken away. Therefore the bishop, being come home,⁹ and his tribe, very speedily begin

⁷ [The Duke of York, the king's brother.]

⁸ [At the Epiphany sessions, by the instigation of Hellier, who had packed a jury for the purpose, the grand jury made a presentment to the bench of magistrates against the nonconformists. Certain strangers, seducers, were said to have entered the city, pretending to be ministers of Jesus Christ, and on their own authority to have proceeded "to pray and preach as they list, most commonly on the Lord's day, whereby they have increased the number of disloyal and anti-monarchical and seditious secretaries." Wherefore they pray that effectual measure should be taken "for the exterminating hence of these kind of impostors and seducers, and for suppressing their conventicles." The bishop, sitting on the bench, was observed "to

exult at its being read in court, and to give it a brisk encomium." It produced on the part of the persecuted dissenters, A Sober Answer to an Address of the Grand Jurors, &c. 4to, printed in the year 1675. The presentment itself, in Mr. Terrill's handwriting, is preserved among the Records.]

⁹ ["His majesty called the bishops up to London, to give him advice what was to be done, for the securing of religion, &c. The bishops, after divers meetings and delays, at last advised the king to recall his licences. Which was done by a declaration and proclamation, declaring the licences long since void, and requiring the execution of the laws against papists (most largely mentioned) and conventicles."—Baxter's Narrative, iii. 152.]

vigorously to bestir themselves, and lose no time: for the very same week this proclamation came down to make void the licences, the bishop, with divers of his clergy, got some of the aldermen and some of the military officers together, and goes to Mr. Thompson's meeting, in the castle, upon the fourth day of the week, his lecture in the middle of the week, being the tenth day of the 12th month, Feb. 1674; where finding of him preaching, they, after search, met with him, where the people had conveyed him away, in another part of the house, against the freeness of his own mind.¹ And so they laid hands on him, and brought him before the mayor, to his mansion house, where, after long examination and discourse, about nine of the clock at night, the mayor, bishop, and some aldermen commit Mr. Thompson to Newgate prison for six months.² Then, as follows, they imprison other ministers.

Memorandum. The works of the Lord are worthy our consideration, for a meteor, or comet, appeared but the last day of the week before they began to imprison these ministers.

Upon the sixth day of the twelfth month, or Feb. 1674, being Saturday, about six of the clock in the evening, there was a fiery apparition appeared in the air, on the north-west side of the city, as it were over James's; at first it appeared like a boy's kite, the head of it oval, and like fire, with a tail streaming white, and growing longer and the head lesser, till it seemed to be ten yards long. It moved but slowly, and went along leisurely, like the motion of a kite, from ward James's towards Lawford's Gate, in Bristol, being a good while

¹ ["Some of his hearers, understanding his danger, shut the doors of the meeting; whence the disturbance through noise and knocking being so great that he could not proceed, was forced to desist, and, upon the persuasion of divers, at another door escaped into a house adjoining to the meeting

place. A boy that saw his going into the said house, being an apprentice to a singing-man of the college, betrayed him into their hands, for which Judas received from the bishop a sixpenny reward."—A Reply, &c. p. 7.]

² [For the particulars of his examination, see A Reply, &c., pp. 7—10.]

in our sight; and the houses made us lose the sight of it over Lawford's Gate.

This appeared in Bristol said day, and was seen by divers. Mr. Hardcastle, and others with him, saw it at his house in the castle; and one of brother Terrill's family, near Lawford's Gate, saw it.

Then upon the 14th day of said 12th month, Feb. 1674-5, the next Lord's day following Mr. Thompson's commitment, the mayor, Ralph Ollive, with Alderman Hicks and Alderman Lawford, and the mayor's serjeants, came to Mr. Weeks's meeting, and to our meeting; and they finding Mr. Hardcastle preaching, as also Mr. Weeks, they carried them both away, and committed them to the custody of a chief constable until the morrow. Then Mr. Hardcastle and Mr. Weeks were brought before the mayor, to the Tolzey, where the oaths in the corporation act were tendered them. But they no ways embracing it, were again committed to the constable until the evening, and then sent to Newgate prison, to Mr. Thompson. And when Sheriff Fielding, about ten o'clock at night, had brought them to the prison door, he deridingly bid Mr. Weeks take his leave of all his holy brethren.

Now, three of our ministers being imprisoned, some of each congregation of the brethren met together to consult how to carry on our meetings, that we might keep to our duty, and edify one another now our pastors were gone. Some even were ready of thinking to give off, viz., of the presbyterians; that they could not carry it on, because of their principle, [which] was not to hear a man not bred up at the university, and not ordained. But the Lord appeared, and helped us to prevail with them to hold on, and keep up their meetings. And for the first, and [for] some time, we concluded this: to come and assemble together, and for one to pray and read a chapter, and then sing a psalm, and after conclude with prayer; and so two brethren to carry on the meeting one day,

and two another: for a while, to try what they would do with us. So we did, and ordered one of the doors of our meeting place to be made fast, and all to come in at one, but open it when we go forth: and to appoint some youth, or two of them, to be out at the door, every meeting, to watch when Hellier, or other informers or officers, were coming: and so to come in, one of them, and give us notice thereof. Also, some of the hearers, women and sisters, would sit and crowd in the stairs, when we did begin the meeting with any exercise, that so the informers might not too suddenly come in upon us; by reason of which they were prevented divers times.

Upon the 21st day of 12th month, Feb. 1674, being the next Lord's day after our pastor was imprisoned, Hellier comes about to our meetings with his man and officers. In the morning [he] goes to Mr. Gifford's, and finds him preaching; which he informs the mayor thereof, for his conviction, that if they catch him after that day of his conviction in the corporation, they might imprison him, as the other ministers. In the afternoon he goes to Mr. Weeks's, and carries away divers to prison; then comes to our meeting, and finding that door we came in to be, with people and women in the stairs, so thronged that they could not get in: though they did hale several, and pulled Mrs. Bush down stairs, yet could not get up through them:—then they went to the other door, and broke it open; and then they rushed in upon us that way, and took observation of the names of them they counted chief, and carried away brother Courtney with them before the mayor, and Mr. Sam. Tipton and Mr. Joseph White, whom they struck very violently, and bound them over to answer for meeting.³

Upon the 28th of the 12th month, 1674 [5], the informers

³ [“ Feb. 21, 74. One, a female, was thrown down the stairs, and bruised. Another pleaded as the reason why he went not away as soon as commanded in

the king's name, he was afraid, having seen him (Hellier) pull, beat, strike, and throw down several, so that had they not been saved by others, they had

came to our meetings again. And at brother Gifford's meeting, Hellier, with the officers, finds him preaching again; and now having a warrant for him, they carry him away before the mayor, who binds him to appear the next day; which being the 1st of March, or the first month, the mayor commits Mr. Gifford to prison, to the three ministers before, for six months.

But one of the ministers, namely, Mr. Thompson, who was first imprisoned, was very sick when he came in, and although divers persons of note in this city, in the compassion of their hearts for this sick minister, did go to the mayor and sheriffs, and to Sir John Knight, to get leave that he might be permitted to go home; but they could not prevail. And his physician⁴ interceded that he might be removed out of that stinking prison, to some convenient house for air, and to administer somewhat more conveniently to him, and he showed the danger of his condition; yet, notwithstanding, they hardened their hearts, and would not grant it, because the bishop would not give leave.

So that upon the 4th of March, 1674-5, following, at twelve of the clock in the night, Mr. Thompson, the said imprisoned minister for Jesus Christ, he departed this life, in Newgate prison.⁵ He was a corpulent, tall, big man; having lain in prison but about three weeks and two days; of that he was

broken their necks, or a limb; this would have been proved by the oaths of many. An aged man was dragged out and committed to bridewell, by his command, without showing a warrant, or bringing him before a justice."—A Sober Answer, &c. p. 22.]

⁴ ["At night, finding himself to grow worse, he sent for Dr. Chauncey, his usual physician, who no sooner came and saw him, but judged his case would prove dangerous."—A Reply, &c. p. 10.]

⁵ ["Apprehending the hour of his dissolution near at hand, he called for

his fellow-prisoners, whom when he observed to weep bitterly on his behalf, said, 'Sirs, I did not send for you for this work, pray make my being here as comfortable as you can, that I may speak to and for the Lord. Therefore tell me, which is the shortest and surest way to know whether we are passed from death to life?' Mr. Weeks replied, 'He that hath the Son hath life.' Hereupon, this blessed departing saint, with a calm and composed spirit, said, 'To have the Son is to believe on Him, and faith is a real willingness to receive

sick about one week. Wherefore, being gross [they] could not keep him; so that the next day, being the 5th of March, he was honourably interred at Phillips's; being carried from the prison to his grave, and was accompanied with all sort of professors, except quakers, insomuch that the like funeral, for number, had not been seen in Bristol in the memory of this generation; being judged by some to be not less than five thousand people of all sorts: which made the adversaries admire. Such honour have all His saints.⁶

Now all the foresaid churches, our ministers being taken from us, one dead, and the rest imprisoned,—and we feared their death likewise in such a bad prison,—and we being pursued closely every meeting, hardly one escaped but we were followed by the bishop's men, Hellier, or other informers, and officers from the mayor: for our parts, at our meeting, we presently made use of our ministering gifts in the church, as we did in former persecutions, contenting ourselves with mean gifts and coarse fare in the want of better. Wherefore we considered which way to maintain our meetings, by preserving our speakers.

an offered Christ upon offered terms. The sinner takes hold of the promise for himself, takes Christ out of the promise, and applies Him to his soul.' At length, being spent, while Mr. Weeks was by prayer commending his soul into the hand of Jesus Christ, he expired. —A Reply, &c. pp. 14, 15.]

⁶ [“ He died in peace, though to a jail confined,

Whilst men resolved he should a prisoner be,

And to close bondage did his life decree;

A *liberare* issues from the sky,

And gives that freedom, which his foes deny.”

A scurrilous libel, dedicated to the bishop, upon the character of this holy man, produced a reply, in which an interesting and minute account is given of his life, and sufferings for Christ's sake. An elegy is subjoined, from which the above is an extract. Its title is, “A Reply to the Bristol Narrative; or a more just account of the Imprisonment and death of Mr. John Thompson, Minister of the Gospel: Given upon the credit of an honest man. Wherein the malicious relation, contained in it, concerning his death, is found false and impudent. Printed in the year 1675.” 4to, pp. 19.]

In order to which, at our own meeting, to prevent spies that might come in the room as hearers:—and yet that no strangers, or persons we knew not, might not be hindered from coming into our meeting, whether good or bad, to hear the gospel:—we contrived a curtain, to be hung in the meeting place, that did inclose as much room as above fifty might sit within it; and among those men, he that preached should stand; that so, if any informer was privately in the room as a hearer, he might hear him that spake, but could not see him, and thereby not know him. And there were brethren without the curtain, that would hinder any from going within the curtain, that they did not know to be friends: and so let whoso would come into our meeting to hear, without the curtain. And when our company and time were come to begin the meeting, we drew the curtain, and filled up the stairs with women and maids that sat in it, that the informers could not quickly run up.

And when we had notice that the informers, or officers, were coming, we caused the minister, or brother that preached, to forbear, and sit down. Then we drew back the curtain, laying the whole room open, that they might see us all. And so all the people begin to sing a psalm, that, at the beginning of the meeting, we did always name what psalm we would sing, if the informers, or the mayor or his officers come in. Thus still when they came in we were singing, [so] that they could not find any one preaching, but all singing. And, at our meeting, we ordered it so, that none read the psalm after the first line, but every one brought their bibles, and so read for themselves: that they might not lay hold of any one for preaching, or as much as reading the psalm, and so to imprison any more for that, as they had our ministers.

Which means the Lord blessed, that many times when the mayor came they were all singing, that he knew not who to take away more than another. And so when the mayor,

Hellier, or the other informers, had taken our names, and done what they would, and carried away whom they pleased, and when they were gone down out of our rooms, then we ceased singing, and drew the curtain again, and the minister, or brother, would go on with the rest of his sermon, until they came again—which sometimes they would thrice in one meeting disturb us—or until our time was expired. This was our constant manner during this persecution, in Ollive's mayoralty, and we were by the Lord helped, that we were in a good measure edified, and our enemies often disappointed. *Laus Deo.*

We taking this course, after a little while Mr. Weeks's people did so likewise; they shut up one of their doors, and, instead of a curtain, they put a wainscot board, in a convenient place in their meeting, behind which he that spake did stand, out of sight of the greatest part of the people, and yet all might hear. And they suffer none to come into that part of the meeting but friends. And so, when the informers come, they had the convenience to convey him that spake out of that part of the meeting, into another house.

Brother Gifford's people took this course: a company of tall brethren stand about him that speaks, and having near his feet made a trap-door in the floor, when the informers come, they let down the brother that spake into a room under. And so their conveniency led them to take that course, keeping one still at the door to give notice.

Mr. Thompson's people were not so much followed by the informers, as the other three meetings, for a while; nor indeed but little at all, in comparison with Mr. Weeks's meeting and ours: for we did so fill their hands, that before they could have done with us, their meeting ended.

And so likewise Mr. Gifford's meeting was frequently sheltered by our two meetings, which lay as the frontiers of their assaults. But when the bishop's men did some week days

follow Mr. Thompson's meeting, they likewise contrived ways to frustrate the informers, and to save their speakers, having lost their minister as before. Now their meeting place being a lower room, and two lofts over head, one over another, they made a door to the stair-foot into the second story, and made the minister stand in that middle room; and [he] so preached that they below and over might all hear. And they caused a curtain to be made, that, when the informers came in, they might draw that curtain before the ministers, that the informers could not see him that preached, but only hear him; and could not come at him, by reason the new door at stair-foot was kept fast, and none suffered to go up but those that they knew friends. And if they went to break open the door, before that could be done, they could, from that second story, convey the minister away into another house; and if they had timely notice, they would be all singing when the informers came, as we and Mr. Weeks's meeting did. These ways we took to maintain our meetings, and the Lord helped us. Thus, in brief, the manner of the four congregations in general, but our particular troubles at our meeting, which is Mr. Hardcastle's, were as follows.

Upon the seventh of the 1st month, or March, 1674-[5], in the morning, an informer came up to us, and, finding one preaching, he ran away to fetch constables, but could find none; so we were quiet. But in the afternoon, that wicked man, Hellier, with his man and officers, comes up, and finding us singing, they command us to depart, but none did; then they go up and down the room, and take our names, and then depart to other meetings.

Upon the ninth day of the 1st month, or March, 1674-[5], our congregation being met at brother Terrill's,—and all the four congregations met the same day, at several places, according to our general appointment, to keep a day of fasting and prayer,—the bishop's man, John Whiting, and three serjeants,

came with a warrant from the mayor, to search brother Terrill's house for a meeting, and to take in their custody whom they thought meet; but brother Terrill denied them entrance. Whereupon they returned in great rage, to fetch another warrant to break open the doors, and the mayor granted them such a warrant, to break open the doors. Then they come again, and knock at the gate with great violence; but brother Terrill, understanding their power, gave order that none should answer them, but let them knock and break open the door if they would. And he spake to the friends in the meeting, to trust in God, and not fear. The greatest danger would be upon him, if any. Therefore [he] wished them to go on in the path of their duty, and continue praying to God; which they did. And the Lord put a spirit of fear into the serjeants' hearts, that they would not execute the warrant to break open the gate, though the bishop's man pressed them very much. So after long knocking and waiting, when none this second time answered them, they departed. Eben Ezer. Laus Deo.

Upon the 14th day of 1st month, March, being the Lord's day following, 1674-[5], the informers and officers were very rude, and used much violence. In the morning, before the meeting's exercise began, Hellier and his hair-lipped man, Tho. Eyre, came up into our meeting, and sat down in a chair for a while, then departs to a constable, a barber, that lived over against our meeting-house, and brought the said constable with him; by which time, we having begun, and understanding of his again coming, we were singing when they came in. This Hellier commands us all, in the king's name, and by a warrant from the mayor, to depart: which the people not obeying, Hellier comes to brother Terrill, sitting within the inside of the table, and commands him, in the king's name, to depart, saying he was a ringleader. But brother Terrill sitting still, and singing with the rest, Hellier lays violent

hands on him, taking him by the arm, and plucked him very hard; but not being able to stir him from the place, he commands the constable to take him, and bring him away: who, more gently, put his hand upon brother Terrill, being by Hellier commanded, and by him menaced. But brother Terrill not stirring, Hellier bids the constable to command any one at the table to assist him; but the constable said, Do you bring him, and I will assist you. So they stood for a while, and the people kept singing. Then, by and by, three or four serjeants came to assist him. Hellier thereupon commands one of them to bring away brother Terrill: so a third came, and plucked him by the hand, and then by the clothes of his arm, but could not move him from the seat. Then the serjeant prayed and entreated him to depart, and come with him, and took brother Terrill's hat off the table, and put it on his head. But brother Terrill plucked it off again, because they were still singing; and so the serjeant would put it on again, and brother Terrill would pluck it off. So three or four times they did. Thus having pretty well tired themselves, and not prevailing, being loth in themselves to use too much violence towards him, they left him, and took some names, and so departed.

In the afternoon of said day, Hellier, with his man, and four or five of the mayor's serjeants, and three or more from the bishop, came up into our meeting; which being thronged, though large, [they] with much ado got towards the midst of the people, where some grave women sat in chairs, whom Hellier and the serjeants pushed, and hauled very rudely; especially sister Ekly, an ancient gentlewoman, they hauled to have her out of her chair, that they might go farther; but she keeping her seat, they step on a bench, and stride over a rail. First, Robert Edwards, the serjeant, then Whiting, the bishop's man, a desperate fellow, who, as soon as he had got behind, her, plucked old

Mrs. Ekly's chair by the back; but she keeping her seat, he, striving much, heaved the chair, and so threw the gentleman out of it; and then, in much rage and great vehemency, threw the chair about three yards from him, and had there not been a rail, might have spoiled some of the women behind. When this was done, they plucked and hauled a young man, that lived with a merchant, one of the council, and because he would not tell his name, carried him away; and so put down divers names, such as they knew. But coming to a brother, Mr. Samuel Buttall,⁷ that about three months before came to us from London, a person they knew not, and demanding his name, because that he would not tell, they were very furious towards him, and Robert Edwards, the serjeant, Hellier being by, plucked and hauled him very much, to carry him also away, [and] thrust his mace under his arm, to loose his hand from a rail; but not being able to move him from his place, two of the bishop's men (his coachman and sexton), throng to come at him, and used much violence to him: one pulling him, the other thrusting and striving to loose his arm, until the bishop's sexton did sweat again, that he wiped his face with his handkerchief.

At last he told them his name, and then they left that gentleman, and go on taking names. They meet with another stranger they knew not, a person of good worth, that was tall and grey, who had lately come to the city upon the sad occasion of the death of his son, that was a tanner, and to his funeral; taking care about his son's

⁷ [Mr. Buttall's name has occurred before as a member of Mr. Jessey's church, see pp. 104, 120. He is probably the same person, who, in 1690, was invited to the pastorate of the church at Plymouth, where he succeeded Mr. Holdenby. He had been, for some time

previously, resident at that place, and attended, with Mr. Holdenby, the general assembly in 1689, where he is designated as minister, and his colleague pastor.—Ivimey, i. 504, ii. 120. Rippon's Annual Register, p. 58.]

widow, &c. Him they likewise pull and haul, because he would not readily tell his name; but after they had used much violence towards him, he tells them his name. But they, not content with that, would know where he lived; which he not willing to tell, they fall upon him again, hauling and pulling of him, but could not get him out of the seat where he was. Then some of the bishop's men gat hold of his legs, others of his arms, and so, with much violence, dragged him out, and carried him away to Bridewell; where he remained some time, and then was committed to Newgate.

Thus after these and divers other abuses to others, and bad language, Hellier calling some grave women "confident jades," and bid the serjeants carry the man away on a stang, at last they departed; the people kept singing all the while. Then our time being expired, we concluded with prayer, and so ended that day.⁸

Upon this day, in the evening, being the 14th of first month, 1674, our aged sister Hazzard departed, in the close of the sabbath, to her eternal sabbath of rest. She was the first woman member in the congregation; she lived to a great age, and came to her grave a shock of corn fully ripe.⁹

Upon the 21st day, first month, the next Lord's day, Hellier and his two men, with two of the bishop's men, and four or five serjeants, came in to our meeting, between ten

⁸ ["March 14th. Divers persons were, by Mr. Hellier, committed to Newgate, from several of the meetings; some were, after some hours, released again upon Mr. Hellier's note to the keeper; others were kept prisoners for some days." They were placed in "one of the worst places in Newgate, where was a low, damp, earthen floor, denying them candle, and other necessary refreshments. And when some of the

prisoners had lent them a candle to read a chapter by, the keeper came and took that away, leaving them all night without straw or a bed to lie upon, or a seat to sit on, had not the other prisoners lent them a form."—A Reply, &c. p. 13. About forty-five were convicted on the following day.—A Sober Answer, &c. p. 21.]

⁹ [A similar entry occurs in another part of the Records.]

and eleventh hour. They command us, in the king's name, to depart; but the people being singing, none regard it. Then they go up and down taking names. So when our time was expired, we departed, leaving the officers there.¹

ANNO 1675.

Upon the 28th day,² March, anno 1675, this Lord's day, in the morning, we were quiet; by reason the mayor, with some aldermen, serjeants, and informers, were busy at Mr. Weeks's meeting. In the afternoon, near half an hour before our time was expired, John Hellier, Alderman Streamer, and their men, with two of the bishop's men, with several of the constables, came up into our meeting. Pulling several women away, they got into the middle of the people, and command them, in the king's name, to depart; but the people singing, none heeded what they said, but sat still. Then Alderman Streamer commands their attendants to lay hold on such and such, and take them away; among whom brother Dickason was laid hold on, and then such made no resistance, but departed at the order of a justice. And then they commanded brother Dickason to aid them in their hauling persons away; which he refusing, Hellier orders brother Dickason to be carried away to Bridewell. Then, finding the work to be hard in the throng of the people, they secure the doors; the bishop's men at one door, and Alderman Streamer and Hellier at the other door, and so take every one's name as they go forth; which as they were doing, the mayor coming from Mr. Thompson's meeting, with his

¹ ["One was committed to Bridewell by him (Mar. 21, [16]74), though he had told his own, for not telling also his master's name. He did also menace to

knock and cut the ears of a young man."—A Sober Answer, &c. p. 21.]

² [On the 27th, the day previous, about fifty-four were convicted.—A Sober Answer, p. 21.]

serjeants, and Alderman Hicks, Sheriff Wharton, and Deputy Colston, who raged very much, because there was such abundance of people; insomuch that from the time they came, until they had done taking of names, was about an hour and an half's time. And many more people gathered about the door, where they stood in the street, that there was a multitude all along the Broadmead, Hellier mocking many as they gave their names.

And Hellier beat Mrs. Bush's son with his staff; and Alderman Streamer sent away sister Ellis the elder, after she had told her name, to Bridewell, because she would not tell whether she was a wife or a widow, and called her "ould carrion." Thus this grave gentlewoman, and ancient citizen, was as others abused. But as the bishop's man, the sexton, was going with her to Bridewell, some boys and young men, knowing him that conducted her to prison was no civil officer, they rushed between the bishop's man and Mrs. Ellis, and pushed her into a house on James's Back; and so he lost her, and came back to the alderman and complained, who stormed about it, but could not find her.

And the mayor, at the same time, sent away sister Brookes's maid, by reason she would not tell her name, to Newgate. Thus they used them, and others mocked gentlewomen, and masters of ships' wives, with such filthy expressions, not meet to be named; Hellier calling some men rogues. In the evening, brother Dickason was released, upon his word to appear the fourth day following; and then, upon his trial, because he would not give sureties for the good behaviour until the sessions, he was committed to Newgate; and they would not then take sureties for his appearance, although he was illegally sent to Newgate, and first to Bridewell, by the order of no justice of the peace, only by Hellier the informer. And at his trial, this being alleged, Alderman Hicks owned it, and said, He ordered

him to be carried to Bridewell; which was very untrue, for Alderman Hicks came not to our meeting until after brother Dickason was carried away. Thus may be seen how the alderman justified these wicked informers.

Now our meetings in the week, or working days, for these two weeks last past, were very quiet. Praise be to the Lord, who brought it about by these means! Our meetings, of the four congregations, were several years past thus laid: that of one church or another there was a meeting every day of the week, in the evening, beginning about four or five o'clock, for two hours, except the last day of the week. Which meetings the informers did hunt constantly, and then the next day give in their informations to the mayor and aldermen. So that through their granting of warrants, and sending their serjeants, and raising constables, to suppress us in the evening, and then the next morning receiving informations and trials (for we put them still to prove what was done there), the magistrates were tired, and grew much weary, complaining they could do little else at the Tolzey but matters about meetings. Whereupon they appoint but one day in the week to hear such business, because as men laden with heavy burdens (as Zion will be a burdensome stone to all that afflict her), they take time to breathe, that they may recover strength to act with more violence the Lord's day. By this way, all keeping constant to our places and duty, the Lord many times gave us rest, and food for our souls, when we should work for our bodies, and but the Lord's day to witness for him.

Upon the fourth of second month, April, 1675, being the day they call Easter, our adversaries being busy upon a superstitious account, we had rest and peace. The proud, fierce prelate, having received the sop, the next morning, very early, hasted away to London, about his master's work; and in order to his sitting in parliament, which was to be the

13th instant, wherein he strenuously endeavoured against us, but through the Lord effected little.³

Upon the 11th day, and the 18th day, we had rest; only then, the old informer, the bishop's sexton, Whiting, came up into our meeting, and finding one preaching, he attempted to see who it was, but could not for the curtain.

Sister Simmonds, of Lawford's Gate, a woman of a meek, humble conversation, departed this life 23rd of the second month, 1675. Interred at Philip's, where also sister Hazzard, before deceased, was interred.

Upon the 25th day of the second month, anno 1675, we were again greatly troubled. In the morning, that wicked man, Hellier, came up into our meeting himself, alone, and not finding the brother that was exercised speaking, went down again; and near an hour after comes up again, with the bishop's man, Whiting, and commands us, in the king's name, to depart. The people keep on singing, and regard him not; then the constables, that they brought with them, they put at the door, to keep it, that no more might come in. Of which we had some intimation the evening before, [that it] was their design to keep us out; wherefore we sent up and down, from one to another, to come betimes, and get into our place before the constables and officers came. And so we were very comfortably met early, and continued the exercise, only the interruption aforesaid, until about half an hour past eleven. Then we gave liberty for those that were weak, or otherwise not able, to depart; the rest stayed in the place, for fear we should not get in again.

³ ["It was thought the royal authority could not be carried too far, nor too many precautions taken against the non-conformists." Additional tests were, therefore, proposed, and a bill enforcing them, most strenuously supported by the bishops through long and angry

debates, passed the House of Lords; but owing to a collision between the two houses on a question of breach of privilege, parliament was prorogued, before it came before the lower house for consideration.—Rapin, ii. 677.]

And so they served Mr. Weeks's people; they going all home, they kept them out in the afternoon, and Hellier dined in their place; and they threw their chairs and stools out in the street, and some in the river at James's Back. But the constables at our door, when some of the people went away, they likewise went home to dinner; and our friends that went home, with others, came together to the rest in the afternoon timely. And as brother Terrill was speaking, about two of the clock, or near it, two of the bishop's men, coming in, find us then singing; then they go away, and half an hour after, the mayor of the city, and Alderman Streamer, with several officers, come up into our meeting; and the mayor finding us only singing, and none read the psalm, in great rage and passion he strikes one man's bible out of his hand; so fierce, that the book fled over the people's head, three or four yards from him, among the people. Then in said rage, the mayor commands us, in the king's name, to depart; but the people keep on singing, looking on their books; which the mayor perceiving that none departed, he fell on us by threats, that he had given us warning.

Then the mayor went down to the door, and commanded it to be kept, and suffered none to go forth but as they gave their names. And as they came forth, the mayor sent three, namely, brother Simpson, that aged disciple, and Mr. Hill, with Matthew Price, to Newgate prison; where he had sent six of Mr. Weeks's meeting the same day, as they met in the street before their door, because they kept them out, and charged them as persons guilty of a riot: and broke into the man's house, out of whose window the minister preached to the people; but the minister escaped when the sheriff broke in. This day, Whiting, the bishop's man, broke our pulpit; and thus they trampled upon us.

This week, the bishop's men [and the] informers, are very busy, from meeting to meeting, every day. And so they come

to our public meeting, which was the fifth day of the week. This being the 29th day of second month, 1675, the mayor's serjeants came up to us; namely, Robert Edwards, with Wilkins, and Cable, Buck, and the bishop's two men, came into our meeting, and would not depart until we departed, commanding us to be gone. And because we would not, they pull and haul brother Terrill very much; and because Robert Edwards could not make him depart, he sends an officer to acquaint the mayor, who returned with an order to bring brother Terrill before him; who then went with them. And coming before the Mayor, after some debate, he said he would send him to prison. Hellier being in the room, with Sheriff Little, and some others, brother Terrill desired of the mayor to know by what law he would send him to prison. Who answered, If he did act contrary to law, he might have his remedy against him. Again brother Terrill desired his worship to let him know his offence, for what he would send him to prison. He said, For being at a meeting. Brother Terrill answered, His being barely at a meeting did not make him an offender, unless there was something done there that made the meeting criminal. The mayor said, We were singing. I told him, Singing of psalms was not contrary to the liturgy of the church of England. Then Hellier complained to the mayor that I was the ringleader, and he did believe I was their preacher, and that he could do no good if the mayor did suffer such as I. The mayor joining, said, It was so; I was one of the heads. Brother Terrill said, We owned no head but Jesus Christ. Then the mayor would make this construction, That I did not own the king to be head. Brother Terrill said, Not so, sir; I own the king to be supreme head of the nation, though Christ is head of the church. But the mayor insisted that brother Terrill should be sent to prison, if he would not give bond for the good behaviour; whereby

they meant to tie from going to meetings. Brother Terrill refusing so to do, the serjeant was commanded to take him away to prison. Whereupon, brother Terrill seeing no way to avoid their present heat, he desired the mayor to give him a little time to consider of it,—but until the morrow morning; which the mayor granted, upon his promise then to appear. And brother Terrill did so, the next morning, appear at the Tolzey; but the mayor would not come to the Tolzey that morning: so he was cleared then.⁴

The mayor having sent so many to prison, threatened he would send ten times as many the next Lord's day as he had before; yet, upon the next Lord's day, being the second day of the third month, 1675, the Lord wrought strangely for us.

For when we got into our meetings betimes, in the morning, we kept in, and went not to dinner until all our time was over for that day, as we did the [Lord's] day before. So did Mr. Weeks's people then; and Hellier and the constables could not get them out. Then the mayor sent for two of the chiefest of them, namely, Mr. Christmas, and Mr. Thompson, the merchant, before him; and after reasoning with them, threatened them that he would come down to the meeting in the afternoon. They told the mayor, If he did, he should find them there, in the path of their duty, waiting upon the Lord. But the Lord altered the mayor's mind that he came not then. So the trouble that day lay most upon Mr. Weeks's meeting, the said Hellier and officers staying there. We were in peace; only the bishop's two men came in, and viewed us in the afternoon.

Then two or three Lord's days we had rest and peace. Praise to the Lord! For Hellier, now at term time, was gone to London, and the bishop there before; in the absence of these troublers of our Israel, we had rest.

Now two of our friends that were imprisoned, had removed

⁴ [The exceptions prepared by Mr. Terrill against these proceedings are in the Addenda, Note F.]

themselves by Habeas Corpus to London, to have their cause tried at the King's Bench, and also two of our ministers, namely, Mr. Hardcastle, and Mr. Weeks. Habeas Corpus was sent down to them, to bring them up, to try if their mittimus was good, according to law; and though they had illegally proceeded against them here, yet, through some influenced counsellors, and by the false witness the mayor sent up, even his own son, young Ralph Ollive, swearing falsely, they were by the court remanded back to Bristol, as prisoners, but with an order that the sheriffs should provide a better prison for them.

Upon the 15th day of third month, 1675, being the day of their trial at the court of Westminster, in London, the four congregations that were here in Bristol, under persecution, namely, some of Mr. Weeks's and Mr. Hardcastle's, some of Mr. Thompson's and Mr. Gifford's, met together, to humble themselves before the Lord, and to seek his face for their two ministers, and two brethren, on their trial in London aforesaid. And being come early in the morning, assembled in the castle, in the meeting-place of Mr. Thompson, deceased, one of each congregation prayed; and then they went round again, so that eight brethren prayed, and a minister concluded that was of neither of the congregations, from seven in the morning to twelve at noon. Which union, and joint praying together, was much liked of by all parties. Thus being driven together by this universal trouble, endeavours were used (why should we not?) to strengthen ourselves, against the bishop and his abettors, to meet all together upon the week days, and turn our four lectures into one, and by turn to be managed by all; so that, whereas every church did keep and hold up one lecture a-piece, a general lecture should be kept every week for all; so that they would still have one lecture to which all might come; which would by the conjunction be very numerous: thereby, more formidable and terrible to the adversary, if we did so unite.

To this end each congregation, at their day of prayer, appointed some of their brethren to meet, and discourse this business of union, upon the 24th instant; and accordingly we met at Mr. Weeks's house, where were of each congregation as follows, in all eighteen brethren, namely:—

Of Mr. Weeks's congregation,—

Mr. Chock,	Mr. Doleman.
Mr. Thompson, merchant,	

Of Mr. Hardcastle's, our congregation,—

Brother Ellis,	Brother Samuel Buttall,
Brother Ford,	Brother Terrill.
Brother Gwilliam,	

Of Mr. Thompson's congregation,—

Mr. Holwey,	Mr. Richardson,
Mr. Scroope,	Mr. Thompson,
Mr. Hughes,	Mr. Wike.

Of Mr. Gifford's congregation,—

Brother Teague,	Brother Adlam,
Brother Window,	Brother Teather.

The business of union was all agreed upon, by each congregation, as the answer to be returned. But Mr. Weeks's people had four things they objected, as fears, [lest] such a joining together so near might rather widen and hurt that union we had of late, and good thoughts of one another. And there the stick and obstruction lay with them, saying, How can two walk together except they be agreed?

The four things objected by Mr. Weeks's people, were as follows, namely:—

1st. They said they were for praying for magistrates, according to the scriptures, whether good or bad.

2nd. They were for singing of psalms with others besides the church.

3rd. They were for none to preach but them that had a scriptural call ; that is, ordained by presbyters.

4th. That, it may be, we would endeavour to persuade those of them to be baptized that were against it ; that is, some we judged the best.

To the first, we were all for it, as a duty to pray for magistracy, as well as they ; but in some unscriptural titles and expressions that some of them did use, some of us were not for ; that is, which some of the presbyterian friends did use. But it was agreed, that we would bear with one another if we could not say Amen in all things ; and not to be offended if, at every time, some did not mention that petition.

To the second, three of the congregations agreed as to matter and form, and also some of brother Gifford's people were for it. But others of them could not sing in metre, as they were translated ; though all of them did hold with singing of psalms. Only some scrupled the manner, that they could not show their dislike thereof by keeping on the hat, at going forth ; which thing so to do would not be consented unto by the three other congregations. But they terminated it here : that if we did so agree in union, that such persons were desired to stay away, if they would not keep off their hats, and sit still.

To the third, we were all for an orderly ministry, and to have a scriptural call, or else not to preach ; and to have those that were ministers in office to be ordained by laying on of hands.

But forasmuch as it was [a] matter of principle who were the persons fit to ordain, we would lay aside that, and not dispute our principles in that respect, but go to our matter of practice. We did all know each other's ministers ; our business lay there, that we should join to hear them, every

one, when out of prison. And for the present distress, we judged it our duty to make use of the best gifts we had; and so to hear them as gifted brethren, and not as ministerially called.

As to the fourth, that in this meeting of union none should preach up baptism of believers, nor any other should preach against it:—

This was to be declared to each church, and then to meet about it again, the last day of the week. Accordingly, on the 29th instant, the brethren appointed of the four congregations, met about uniting our four particular lectures into one general lecture, to be managed by turns by one teacher of each congregation.

It was agreed by the two baptized congregations, namely, our congregation, and brother Gifford's congregation, and by the members of the independent church, Mr. Thompson's, deceased, so to unite. But our friends, called presbyterians, were not satisfied so to do; but pretended, at least, forbearance, until their pastor and ours came from London; and so we appointed to meet about it again, a week after they came home, the next second day se'nnight.

Also then, when we were together upon said 29th day, third month, 1675, we appointed the next fifth day of the week, named Thursday, 3rd June, [16]75, being the day of prayer that we now kept during this persecution every fortnight, apart in every congregation by themselves, should be kept all together, the four congregations; and the work of prayer should be carried on by the members of each congregation, at Mr. Thompson's meeting-place, in the Castle, near Water Gate.

Upon the fifth day of this instant, fourth month, 1675, our pastor, Mr. Harcastle, and Mr. Weeks, returned home from London to prison again, in Newgate of this city of Bristol.

The next day, being Lord's day, the 6th June, 1675, we

having had [for] three or four Lord's days our meetings in peace, through riches of grace, goodness, and long-suffering of the Lord, during one of the chief instruments of our persecution being at London: but now that wicked man, Mr. Hellier, being come home, he caused much trouble this day. At Mr. Weeks's meeting especially: he, with the constables, stayed there, mocking and striking some, pulling and hauling others; and so both morning and afternoon he was there, and hindered them that they could not preach, but sing, pray, and read chapters. And at our meeting in the morning, as the brother that came to town to give us a visit in this our trouble, namely, Zephany Smith, was preaching, about half an hour past ten, the mayor and sheriffs, Mr. Wharton and Fielding, and Alderman Crab, with the sword-bearer and serjeants, came up into our meeting, and, as formerly, we were singing. The mayor commanded us to depart; but all keep singing, and thereby but few heard what he said, and so took no notice of it, but kept on; every one with their books in their hands. They sing without any one to read the psalm to them: for according to our late manner, since our trouble, we at the beginning of the exercise, in our congregation, did always name the psalm they should sing, if trouble came; and so every one, with their books, read for themselves. And thus doing, when the mayor spake to some in particular, such as he accounted chief in the meeting, to forbear, they would sometimes forbear if the mayor stood by them; but, notwithstanding, all the people sang round about his ears, keeping on, that he with the rest with him knew not what to do: but went down the stairs to the door, and there, with his officers, stayed till we had done.

So the eleventh hour being come, he sends up his serjeants to pray us to depart: and they were answered, some were going forth and they would not let them go; which was true. The mayor kept one of the doors, and would not let us pass

that way ; and at the other door had his officers and clerk to take our names ; and so as we passed out they demand our names, and write them down. Thus the morning was ended ; but many people passed into several rooms of small tenements in the house, and so their names not taken.

In the afternoon we were quiet, but Mr. Weeks much troubled.

Upon the 14th day of the 4th month, 1675, being the day appointed for some of each congregation, about the business of union, to meet, we did accordingly meet at Mr. Weeks's house ; of the four separate churches these brethren, viz. :—

Of Mr. Thompson's congregation,—

Mr. Holwey,	Dr. Chauncey,
Mr. Scroope,	Mr. Hughes,
Mr. Wike,	Mr. Thompson.

Of Mr. Hardcastle's, our congregation,—

Brother Ellis,	Brother Dickason,
Brother Gwilliam,	Brother Terrill.
Brother King,	

Of Mr. Weeks's congregation,—

Mr. Chock,	Mr. Doleman,
Mr. Thompson,	Mr. Tucker.
Mr. Pope,	

Of Mr. Gifford's congregation,—

Brother Teague,	Brother Adlam.
Brother Window,	

Our presbyterian friends, viz., Mr. Weeks's people, or those above named that met in behalf of that congregation, they declared, in the name of the rest, that they were against uniting the four lectures into one, or into two lectures, as others were for ; so for their parts they were against any such

uniting. Therefore that debate was ended, of uniting that way. Then, after several debates, in fine, it was by all agreed and consented to, that we should unite in keeping some days of prayer together: some days stated, and some occasional days, as often as need should require that the four congregations should meet together.

First, we agreed, that the first (sixth day of the week called) Friday in the month that should happen after every quarter-day of the year, should be the stated day of prayer, for all the four congregations to join together in that work; that is to say, the first Friday in July, the first Friday in October, the first Friday in January, the first Friday in April, should be the stated quarter-days for prayer: and so continually, four times in the year, to keep a day for fasting and prayer for the four churches, and only one minister on each day to preach an hour in the midst; and that to be the day, unless the eight brethren, that is, the two of each church's messengers, do think meet to alter the day, upon some emergency, either earlier or later.

Secondly, we also agreed, that besides the said quarterly stated days for the four congregations' joint prayer, we should, and will for time to come, keep other occasional days of fasting and prayer, as often in each quarter as need shall require, when any one church shall desire it, by sending two messengers from their congregation to signify their desire; and leave it with them, the two messengers of each other congregation deputed for their public business, that they may acquaint their respective congregations of it, and so join together as often as need.

Thirdly, and lastly, it was agreed concerning the ordering of ourselves in our meetings in this day of trouble, that none stir from the meeting when the informers, or any officers, come whatsoever. And if the mayor himself come, that we move or depart but very slowly, when forced, if he doth much insist

on it, and command our departure. These were our joint conclusions for all the churches at that time.

Upon the 13th day of this 4th month, 1675, sister Powlden, a member of Mr. Gosnold's congregation in London, by virtue of a letter of recommendation from him, was admitted into our congregation. Then for four Lord's days we had rest and peace, through the good hand of the Lord, in the absence of that wicked man, Mr. Hellier: he being the chief instrument the bishop used in this persecution. He was a lawyer, and one of the city attorneys, with about two hundred pounds per annum. He being now at term in London, we were quiet.

Upon the 18th day of the 5th month, July, 1675, Hellier being come home, he and his man come timely up into our meeting, it being the Lord's day, and takes his view of us, a little before we began exercise; then departs to the mayor, and sends for some aldermen. The mayor first sends his serjeants to us, who come up into our meetings, and in the king's name command us to depart. But all singing together, no regard was shown, as though we did not hear. Then they depart, with threats, after they had stayed some time; and by and by they come again, commanding us to depart as before, but none obey them; then they again departed. After that, about ten of the clock in the morning, the mayor himself, with Sheriff Wharton and Sheriff Fielding, came, with Alderman Hicks, also the sword-bearer and serjeants; they came up into our meeting, and the mayor commands us all in the king's name to depart; but as they were coming we began to sing, and so kept on singing that few heard what he said. Then he calls out to one and to another of the brethren that he knew, and commands them to depart; but they answered not. Then, in a rage and great fury, the mayor comes through the people to the table, and takes hold of brother Terrill by the hand, and pulls him out; who, seeing the mayor himself plucked him, said nothing, but went with him

a few steps: and so the mayor delivers him to one of the serjeants, and commands him to secure the said brother Terrill.

Then the mayor calls to other brethren to depart; but all singing, they answer not. Then he commands the serjeants to pull away one and another, and thus after a while, when they had turned divers down stairs, the mayor himself goes down to the door; but Alderman Hicks and the sheriffs stay, and command more to be hauled out of the meeting; then they also go down to the door, and leave the serjeants to turn out the rest, and bring them to the street-door, where they take their names as they turned them out. And when the serjeant that held brother Terrill all the while very fast, and would not let him go, as though he was a felon, or would run away; but the said brother, seeing their height of spirit, was silent, although that serjeant, with others, used many insulting words and threats, that now his estate should not serve. Then they brought him down (after Sheriff Fielding, who likewise used many words very superbiuous) to the door before the mayor, expecting the mayor, according to his words, would have sent him to Newgate; but the Lord strangely altered the mayor's mind, that he did not send him to the prison: saying, he would let him go at this time, but if ever he did take him at a meeting again, he would send him to prison. Although, above, in the meeting, the mayor said he did believe the said brother Terrill was the preacher, and would commit him to Newgate; yet, through the good hand of the Lord, none at that time from our meeting was sent to prison, but Mr. Jonathan Buttall, that formerly walked with us, and was lately come again from London to live here.

And when the mayor had done with our meeting it was about eleven of the clock, and then went to Mr. Gifford's meeting, where Hellier and Alderman Streamer were come, after they had done at Mr. Weeks's meeting. But as the mayor went home by the prison, he commands that Mr.

Buttall should be brought out of prison, before him at his house ; who, when he came before him, was for the present released, but obliged, by promise, to appear the next morning before him at the Tolzey.

Thus the morning was passed over. Then we met again in the afternoon. Then Hellier and some constables come into our meeting, and command us, in the king's name, to depart. About half an hour after, some serjeants [come], and so again, and then they sat down with us, after they had first commanded us, in the king's name, to depart ; but, all singing when they came in, none departed until our time was come. Then they kept fast our doors, and for a time would not let us depart. At last they, with Hellier and his man, took our names at the door ; and Hellier running after some young man, gave him a sore blow, and then commands the serjeant to carry him to Bridewell.

The 18th day of the 5th month :—In this afternoon meeting, Mr. Robert Colston, soap-boiler, came up, and (some not suspecting him as a spy, being no known informer) stood as a hearer among the people. And when notice was given that the known informers were coming, the person which attended the curtain drew it a little too soon, before he that was then speaking sat down ; he saw brother Terrill speaking, and then he, the said Mr. Colston, went down out of the meeting : after which, when the serjeants came up, they said to brother Terrill, As for your part, there is information gone to the mayor that you preached. And the next morning, the said Robert Colston went to the Tolzey, before the mayor and aldermen, and gave in his information upon oath : that the day before he heard Edward Terrill preach, and when he had done he saw him step down and lay down his book. This he declared as his information before the justices, and then signed it with his hand for his deposition.

Whereupon, brother Terrill being upon the Tolzey, not

knowing what was done in the council-house, the mayor sent serjeants for him ; but brother Bodenham, accidentally being in the council-house, and hearing the order to send for brother Terrill, came forth before the serjeants, and told brother Terrill that there was order to take him : who, thereupon, walked off the Tolzey, and so by the good hand of the Lord's preservation towards him, he escaped them that time, that the serjeants could not find him. Whereupon the mayor grants out a warrant to take brother Terrill, which they could not do that week, although the constables were straitly charged to bring him in to the quarter sessions, which were that week ; who returned, they could not meet with him.

Then the mayor in open court said, they would meet with him (meaning the next Lord's day) at the meeting, which when come, Hellier, with the mayor's serjeants and constables, came to the meeting in the morning,⁴ being the 25th July, 1675, the fair day, and searched for brother Terrill, to carry him away ; who though he was at the meeting, yet was so concealed, and conveyed into another room under, that they found him not ; which was not a little trouble to them to be so disappointed. And several times the next week he narrowly escaped them, through the good hand of the Lord that still hid him.

This 25th July, 1675, the fair day, being Lord's day, Hellier let us alone in the afternoon : by reason when he came in the morning to our meeting, he saw there a stranger, a gentleman and his wife from Coventry, that was a client of his, and the day before had invited him to dinner that day ; but the gentleman knew not that Hellier was such a man, till that day found him to be about such work. Yet, notwithstanding, the gentleman went to his house to dinner, and would have reasoned with him about his evil work, but he would not discourse of that.

But in the afternoon, Hellier much troubled Mr. Weeks's

⁴ Twenty-fourth Lord's day [that is, of Mr. Hardcastle's first imprisonment].

meeting; and after it was over, he burned three chairs and stools as fast as he could, having kindled a fire in the chimney in the place, and made a great flame, until the landlord of the house heard of it, and came and caused the fire to be quenched, lest the house should be burned.

Twenty-fifth Lord's day, being 1st August, 1675, we were very quiet, Hellier being out of town at Wells assizes, to prepare his counsel and Judge North, against his trial to be the sixth day of this month here: for some friends prosecuted him for his perjury, and some other irregular things he had done—where accordingly he was tried before the judges of this circuit, and many notorious crimes laid against him. Yet, such are the corruptions of the times, and judgment perverted, that the judge cleared him of all his wickedness, barratry, forgery, and perjury; so that we saw, by experience, the judges, as well as the justices, were resolved to tread us down, because we would not conform to their worship. That as Christians we should have no peaceable enjoyment, and as men we should have no justice. So that our persons and estates lay at their wills and pleasure; for if they acted anything towards us contrary to law, when we sought to relieve ourselves thereby, we should have no benefit thereof. For we spent above 500*l.* to defend ourselves as Englishmen, but most in vain. Behold, O Lord! the wicked justified.

24th March, 1675-6.—The general disbursements for the four congregations :—

After allowance being made for what money was paid in at first, there is due £447 4 <i>s.</i> 4 <i>d.</i> , as by the particular accounts examined, by Richard Christmas and Jeremy Holwey, expressly and by agreement made, is to be paid according to the dividend on the other side . . .	<table border="0" style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <thead> <tr> <th style="text-align: left;"></th> <th style="text-align: right;">£</th> <th style="text-align: right;">s.</th> <th style="text-align: right;">d.</th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr> <td>To $\frac{2}{3}$ per Weeks's .</td> <td style="text-align: right;">178</td> <td style="text-align: right;">17</td> <td style="text-align: right;">10</td> </tr> <tr> <td>To $\frac{1}{4}$ per Castle . .</td> <td style="text-align: right;">111</td> <td style="text-align: right;">16</td> <td style="text-align: right;">1</td> </tr> <tr> <td>To Mr. Hardcastle's</td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td style="padding-left: 20px;">$\frac{1}{2}$ remd. . . .</td> <td style="text-align: right;">78</td> <td style="text-align: right;">5</td> <td style="text-align: right;">2$\frac{1}{2}$</td> </tr> <tr> <td>To Mr. Gifford's</td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td style="padding-left: 20px;">$\frac{1}{2}$ remd. . . .</td> <td style="text-align: right;">78</td> <td style="text-align: right;">5</td> <td style="text-align: right;">2$\frac{1}{2}$</td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td colspan="3" style="border-top: 1px solid black;"></td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td style="text-align: right;">£447</td> <td style="text-align: right;">4</td> <td style="text-align: right;">4</td> </tr> </tbody> </table>		£	s.	d.	To $\frac{2}{3}$ per Weeks's .	178	17	10	To $\frac{1}{4}$ per Castle . .	111	16	1	To Mr. Hardcastle's				$\frac{1}{2}$ remd. . . .	78	5	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	To Mr. Gifford's				$\frac{1}{2}$ remd. . . .	78	5	2 $\frac{1}{2}$						£447	4	4
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	Is Cr. :	£	s.	d.
Edward Terrill is Dr. to	By £70 to the genl.			
£78 5s. 2½d. for their congrega-	account . . .	70	0	0
tion.	By the balance due			
	to Jeremy Holwey	8	5	2½
		<hr/>		
		£78	5	2½
		<hr/>		

ANNO 1675. This is the value of goods taken from these poor men for going to meetings at Woolland, by order of Justice Meredith:—

	£	s.	d.
Tobias Dimmock	10	15	0
Thomas Lane	10	5	0
Thomas Jones	10	5	0
John Frig	9	10	0
William Jones	6	5	0
John Jones	5	5	0
Samuel Learney	3	5	0
Henry Whitchurch	1	5	0
Edward Jones	0	15	0
	<hr/>		
	£57	10	0
	<hr/>		

Upon the second of this said sixth month, Mr. Hardcastle and Mr. Weeks, their time of six months' imprisonment being expired, are at liberty. Mr. Hardcastle, the next Lord's day, goes to his congregation in their public place and preacheth; Hellier comes up and sees him, then departs and fetcheth constables and serjeants, and after Mr. Hardcastle had reasoned with them, he would not come down until he had ended his sermon and concluded with prayer, although they charge him and threaten him very sore. Then they carry him away to the mayor, and convict him for preaching in the corporation, upon the Five Mile Act; but let him depart for that time,

because they could not imprison him for the first offence until one day after.

THE SECOND TIME MR. HARDCASTLE IMPRISONED.

The next Lord's day, being fifteenth day of the 6th month, August, 1675, Mr. Hardecastle goes again to the said public meeting place, and preacheth again. Hellier comes betimes, and finds him preaching: departs, and brings Alderman Lawford, with serjeants and the bishop's secretary, and others of his servants, near twenty in all came: makes great disturbance, and at last carries Mr. Hardecastle away before the mayor, who sends him to prison. In the afternoon we were quiet, having just done before Hellier came: and so had Mr. Weeks's and Mr. Gifford's people.

Then Hellier's crew, the bishop's men and officers, being in the afternoon disappointed of these three meetings, in James's parish, just ending together before he came, they went in a rage to the meeting in the castle, viz., Mr. Thompson's, where they were singing, but could not find the person that preached. But Mr. Jeremy Holwey, senior, concluded in prayer; therefore him they carried away before the mayor, who obliged him to appear when sent for; and so that day's trouble ended.

Note. Mr. Weeks, the minister of our friends called presbyterians, though let out with Mr. Hardecastle, yet he would not preach these two [Lord's] days past; but went out of town the first day that Mr. Hardecastle preached.

Brother Terrill, before mentioned, that supplied the meeting in our pastor's first imprisonment, being impeached, by a new informer that espied him, about two days before Mr. Hardecastle was freed from his first imprisonment, there were several warrants granted out from the mayor, Ralph Ollive, to take him: but the officers were willing to avoid him, and

not execute the warrant. But at the general sessions, the recorder being judge in town for gaol delivery, the said brother Terrill was, with Mr. Holwey, Mr. Scroope, Mr. Christmas, Mr. Bugnall, Mr. Wall, &c., indicted by Hellier for not coming to their parish church; and having before been attached for the same, bond was given for his appearance with them, to answer the suit, upon the indictment of the 35th of Queen Elizabeth.⁵

So the said brother Terrill, waiting at sister Saunders's, near the hall, where his bondsman, Mr. Holwey, should send for him when called—there waiting, the parson of Peter's, called Pledwell, and Heath of Austin's, and Robert Colston, the informer, espies him; who after conferring with the bishop's men, his secretary comes with an officer of the mayor's that had the warrant, and charges him to take the said brother Terrill in custody, and bring him before the mayor. But brother Terrill viewing that warrant, finds fault or defect in the warrant, for that was but the tenth day of August, and the warrant was dated the 27th of the said month, which was not yet come. Therefore he said to the officer, by virtue of said warrant he had no power to meddle of me; but the officer praying him to go into court—for he did not dare to do otherwise, because the bishop's secretary had charged him with him, and because he had before time been civil towards him, the said brother Terrill—he went into court with the officer. And the warrant, instead of being delivered to the

⁵ [This was an act to retain "the queen's majesty's subjects in their due obedience." By its provisions any person above sixteen years of age, obstinately refusing to hear divine worship in the parish church, for a month, or in any way persuading others to deny or withstand the royal supremacy in things ecclesiastical, or being present at a conventicle, when convicted was committed to prison till they conformed and pro-

nounced their submission. Those who refused the submission were to abjure the realm. Collier vii, 163. "But it is not yet declared whither they shall be sent; time enough to discourse of that, when by the prosecution of the 35th of Elizabeth—for all engines are on work to effect their ruin—they shall be enforced, who will not choose to be hanged, very fairly to forswear the land."—A Sober Answer, &c. p. 24.]

mayor, was delivered to the jailer, Hobson, who presently commanded his under-keeper, Webb, to bring him home to Newgate.

Whereupon, brother Terrill hearing that, said to the jailer he was mistaken, he was none of his prisoner. Who replied, he was delivered to him by a warrant. To which brother Terrill answered, his warrant was defective, and not of form, and bid the jailer read it. Who accordingly did, and seeing the error, for anger threw the warrant under his feet, and went from him and sat down, and said he would have nothing to do with it. But the under-keeper stood by the said brother, and by and by said unto one that stood by him, he must look to his prisoner. Whereupon brother Terrill said to him, Do you look upon me to be your prisoner? If you do, I will look upon you to be my keeper; and do you keep me, if you think good or durst, without a warrant. The under-keeper said, Why did the jail-keeper deliver you to me? The brother said, Do you ask him. Who calling to him, the keeper came not.

Then, some time after, the under-keeper goes to the upper, and stays there. And brother Terrill saw they were contriving another warrant to fasten him in prison; and that the mayor calls out for the chief constable of James's ward, who had another warrant for him. Whereupon brother Terrill saw that God by his providence had baffled them; and that if he stayed there, they would fasten him by some other way.

He was casting about how to get out before they did it, and in this nick of time another providence of the Lord presented, that the serjeant that kept the door went from it to the keeper, and whispered. In the mean season, brother Terrill spake to the constables that kept the door to let him come forth; but there being such a throng they could not open it, but helped brother Terrill over the hatch, and so he got down

into the throng, and passed through the midst of them. And so the Lord at that time delivered him out of their hands, when they had taken him, by a strange providence that their warrant should not be good, through a mistake therein.

First Lord's day after our pastor Mr. Hardcastle's second imprisonment for six months, being the 22nd of the 6th month, August, 1675, the mayor, Ralph Ollive, with his serjeants and some constables, and the bishop, with divers of his crew and men, came to our meeting-door. Then the mayor sends up two of his serjeants to command us to depart, and one of them makes proclamation by O yes! three times; then commands us in the name of the king, and the mayor his deputy-lieutenant, to depart. But when we understood they were coming, the brother which preached ceased, and all the people began to sing a psalm; so that when the serjeants came up, they were singing, and took little notice of what they said, and did not depart. Then the mayor himself, with his attendants, came up into the meeting, and commanded the people to depart; but they all kept singing (nobody read the psalm to them, but knowing the psalm to be sung, which we still named in the beginning of the meeting, to prepare and turn to if we had trouble), every one looked in his own book and so sung, and kept stops one with another, and lifted up their voices together; which the mayor perceiving knew not what to do more. He went down again. The bishop stayed below at the door; he was coming up, but finding the first pair of stairs somewhat dark, he drew back. So the mayor and the bishop departed to brother Gifford's meeting, who came forth of prison a few days before; and finding him in exercise, the mayor and bishop commanded him to be pulled down, and carried away to prison. Thus that morning's trouble passed over; in the afternoon we were quiet.⁶

⁶ [From a subsequent passage it will be seen that the pastor's letter was usually read in the afternoon.]

First letter of Mr. Hardcastle to his church.

To my beloved friends, the members and auditors of the congregation meeting in Broadmead.

August 18th.⁷

DEARLY BELOVED FRIENDS,—The Lord has been pleased to permit the wrath of the adversary to break out so far upon us, as to separate us, and shut me up in prison again, and out of the public assembly for a season. Thus divine pleasure thinks fit to deal with us. Though you cannot see my face, nor hear my voice, yet I can write epistles to you, which being read among you, may, through the blessing of God, be a means to encourage, instruct, and establish you.

Beloved, my imprisonment preaches louder than ever I did. You serve thousands of others by this sacrifice and resignation of yours, and stir up so many prayers and thanksgivings for you. You engage the Spirit of God more among you. God can make this providence to be a greater ordinance to you, to all intents and purposes, than ever you had any. It is time for us to realize the gospel, and to consider upon what terms we took up profession, and what the cross of Christ means. We have had a long time of liberty, and have enjoyed our ministers, and sermons, and ordinances, with freedom; and we grew dull, and slothful, and sleepy. We would not be awake with our privileges, nor sleep without them. But when you see your ministers torn from you, before your eyes, by ungodly men, this may be an awakening sermon, and make you remember.

And, my brethren, here is a bright side, a comfortable side; better be driven and pulled from our duty, than draw back from it. Let us not be ashamed of the gospel of Christ. Let us stand by our posts. Let not the adversary reproach us that we dare not stand to our profession, and that we shall be weary in time, and that prisons will tame us, and take off the edge and briskness of our spirits. Let us walk answerably to our profession. I often

⁷ [Three days after his imprisonment.]

think of Ezra viii. 21—23. *Then I proclaimed a fast there, that we might afflict ourselves before our God, to seek of him a right way for us, and for our little ones, and for all our substance. For I was ashamed to require of the king a band of soldiers and horsemen to help us against the enemy in the way: because we had spoken unto the king, saying, The hand of our God is upon all them for good that seek him; but his power and his wrath is against all them that forsake him. So we fasted and besought our God for this; and he was entreated of us.*

O read this! God is with us whilst we are with him. He gives new strength according to the day. It is not holding out a while, but it is enduring to the end. The blessing is to him that overcometh. The greatest safety lies in duty, and keeping close to it. He is most in danger, and runs himself into it, that declines duty for fear of the cross, and suffering from men. It has been our great error that we have not trusted in the power of God. We have reasoned about the worst that men can do, but have not believed the best that God can do. Sense and carnal reason must be left behind in the things of God. We must not consult with flesh and blood. *He that will come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross, and follow me.* This is gospel sense. Is preaching and meeting together a duty only when men will suffer us, or is it an indispensable duty at all times, when men forbid and persecute? The gospel makes no exception or suspension, but rather a supposition that we shall be persecuted, and hurried before rulers; and therefore makes provision, not for our hiding or withdrawing, but for a mouth and wisdom, and says it shall turn to a testimony; Matt. x. 16—21. See and read it: *They will deliver you up, &c.* But how shall they meet with you, if you be not found in your duty? *Be wise as serpents; and beware of men.* But how? And for what? Why that they do not fright us from our work; that they do not ensnare and entangle us in our consciences. If to beware of men implied keeping out of the way, how should the next word be, *They will deliver you up, and scourge you, &c.?* Religion is still for standing and going forward. There is no armour for the back.

I think, and am persuaded, my second imprisonment will be a greater advantage to you and to the gospel, than the first. And for my own particular, I find my spirit much quieted and composed; and do not wish one step, or one word I have spoken, bating human frailty, otherwise than it is. God will provide for you, and God will take care of me. You will find, in due time, that the gospel has lost no ground by this dispensation. But you must not expect to have great matters, and never exercise faith and patience. You must believe for what you cannot see at present; and patiently endure what will, in a little time, be removed with greater advantage than if the cross had never been laid on. Beloved, it is now high time for us to be in good earnest in religion. If the credit of the gospel will not bear the weight of our outward concerns, our families, wives, children, and estates, how shall we venture our souls, and the salvation of them from the devil, hell, and death, and the obtaining everlasting glory for them upon it? I am set for the defence of the gospel, and am every moment upon service for you and the gospel, day and night. If I had been at liberty only a few hours in a week, they would have been taken up in preaching to you. And if I had withdrawn, I know not what blessing I could have promised myself upon my labours elsewhere, in consulting my own ease and liberty, and left you, my charge, for fear of suffering, and made myself incapable of serving you, suffering with or for you. If any say it would be but for a little time; I answer—

1. We must take up the cross presently, duty must not be delayed: no, not a moment, when there is opportunity.

2. Is not a season of suffering righteously to be prized as much or more than a season of grace?

3. Do we know that God will ever honour us with such an opportunity, if we neglected this?

4. Can we tell how many thousands are encouraged by our standing now, and who would have been troubled if we had given way but one day? And,

5. Lastly, who knows that he shall live six weeks, or one week, or one day? And shall we not do all we can for Christ? Shall

we neglect a present season of service, upon a supposition of serving him six weeks hence? Is this like gospel? See James iv. 13—15. To day we will keep our liberty, and enjoy our ease; and to-morrow, when persecution is over, we will worship and preach? Who knows what good six weeks' imprisonment may do? and what the power of God can do, to work liberty by means of imprisonment, and convince an ungodly generation, that it is not interest and faction that makes us separate and meet together, but pure conscience? Suffering leaves a testimony in their conscience, when shrinking might harden them in their wickedness, and draw out their rage more. I am called, by virtue of my office and place, to stand. My circumstances differ from others. My dearly beloved friends, brethren, sisters, and hearers! my heart is enlarged towards you. I have no greater joy than to serve you in the most effectual way. I am sure I am not now out of God's way, and there you would have me to be. The Lord sanctify this present dispensation to us all, and help us to find out and fight against these corruptions that provoke the Lord thus to contend with us. For though men deal unjustly by us, and our sufferings, with respect to them, are for righteousness' sake: yet, with relation to God, we must acknowledge ourselves guilty, guilty; and that he has punished us less than our iniquities have deserved. I know you pray for me; we may meet at the throne of grace in spite of all opposition. Pray for your enemies as the gospel requires. Prepare for further trials. Pray for the Spirit to bring things to your remembrance that you have heard, and to make you more fruitful in every good work to the praise of God. Get the love of the world more out of your hearts, and the love of God more into your hearts; and this will make you willing to part with everything rather than part with him, his name, profession, word, or worship. The Lord be with you, and give us a comfortable meeting again in the public assembly, to tell of all his wondrous works. You are dear to your willing servant, for Christ's sake,

THOMAS HARDCASTLE.

The next day it was said, by one of the times, or True Hearts, so called,⁸ that the bishop and witnesses with him, were rode away to the Lord Herbert's, who was the lord-lieutenant of this county, to get a troop of horse to suppress the meetings; who coming home, and his expectation, as some think, not answered, he went away again the same week, privately, for London, to the king's court, for to endeavour to get some aid or authority to suppress us.⁹

The second Lord's day after our pastor's imprisonment the second time, being the 29th of the 6th month, 1675, we had peace, the bishop being forth of town. And it was very strange that Hellier was so quiet; but the week following, he said, he was troubled in his conscience for being then quiet.

*Second letter of Mr. Hardcastle to his church.*¹

. When we do as God bids us, and go the errands he sends us, we shall neither lack nor lose anything that is good for us. We speak much of faith, and hope, and patience, and commend them, but care not to have occasion to make use of them ourselves. What cause have we to complain of our weakness and comings short of the glory of God, for which we were created, redeemed, and preserved! We must follow Christ in the way that he chooses, and not in the way that we choose for ourselves. Wearisome sabbaths, and troublesome meetings are appointed;

⁸ ["The first notice of that title was from a letter written by this informer (Hellier) to a valiant captain and vehement adversary to the dissenters, and ordered to be communicated to others of the gang, who are since some of the jurors by the name of True Hearts."—A Sober Answer to an Address of the Grand Jurors, &c., p. 6, 4to, 1675.]

⁹ ["We are heartily glad," say the grand jurors, "to see the ready and active concurrence of your worships

with the right reverend father in God, the lord bishop, in the preventing of these growing mischiefs;—we have reason to rejoice and bless God for the great care and vigilance of so good and faithful a shepherd, as his lordship is, over this part of his flock, and for his indefatigable cares and endeavours to secure it from being invaded and devoured."—Terrill's M.S.

¹ [A small portion at the commencement is lost.]

separations and confinements attend and abide us. What is the reason of all this? Are there not causes why? Yes, too many and too good; nay, too bad.

1. Have not our inward distractions and vanity of mind, in duties and solemn worship, brought about outward disturbances? Our distractions offend and grieve God, more than our enemies' disturbances molest and perplex.

2. Did we mix faith with the word? And did we come with that awe, and seriousness, and reverence of spirit, as became the holy ordinances of the great God? And are not we helped to guess at this as one cause, by that rudeness, profaneness, blasphemy, uncomely behaviour, which the adversary expresses in our solemn meetings and religious worshippings? Read Lament. ii. 6, 7, 17; i. 7, 8; iv. 18, 19; v. 14—21.

3. And have we not been too guilty of formality and hypocrisy in our profession and worship? And are not our enemies permitted to overthrow our forms and tables, and spoil the face and formality of our worship, and to call us a company of hypocrites and dissemblers? And,

4. Have [we] rejoiced in this day that the Lord hath made, and been glad in it, and celebrated the name of God and Christ, for redemption and the resurrection? Or has it not been to us as an ordinary day, another day, a common day, wherein little exulting or joy has been discovered? Nay, rather, has it not been a burden to us, and the performances of it tedious and troublesome? And is it not just, that now our persecutors should burden us, and load us, and weary us, in our service and worship, and make it very uncomfortable, unedifying, and unprofitable? And,

5. Whilst we enjoyed days, and months, and years of plenty, peace, prosperity, and liberty, we had not a sense, sympathy, fellow-feeling of the miseries, distractions, distresses, and persecutions that were upon many in several places of the nation. And in other places, what banishment, confiscations, spoiling of goods, and insolences, have many precious souls undergone in these nations! and we never heard of them, or never inquired after them, or have not been affected with them, as became fellow-

members or countrymen; and now our condition is become an object of pity to others. See Lam. iv. 11, 12. Who would have thought that the late peaceable state of the city of Bristol would have been disturbed by so much desolating work? Nay,

6th, and lastly, Hath our love one to another, among ourselves, been so warm and sincere, esteeming one another, preferring one another, forbearing and forgiving one another, so as to shut out jealousies, prejudices, surmisings, whisperings, backbitings, and dissimulations? Then should we not have been exposed to the reproaches, speeches, railings, and unjust reflections of unreasonable and ungodly men; and not have come within the hearing of so much bad language, as we have found in our public meeting places, from those that hate us and persecute us. You will say, this is all a sad story. Is there no comfortable side to be seen? Is there no hope?

Yes, there is. 1st. There is hope that we will repent, and mourn over all our transgressions, and cry to God for mercy and pardon.

2ndly. There is hope that God will hear us, and pardon us, and accept of us.

3dly. There is hope that God will put an end to these troubles, and let us enjoy peaceable meetings, and behold our teachers again.

4th. There is hope from the consideration of the good presence, and gracious supports, we have had from our God: that degree of faithfulness and patience he has given us; that the gospel hath not lost but got much ground; and that the opposition, as it has been sinful and groundless, so has it been successful and fruitless.

5th. There is hope from the survey of the benefit and advantage which hath accrued to many in the nation, by encouraging them to stand and patiently suffer in the good ways of God, rather than decline and draw back. We are not made for ourselves, and to serve ourselves only; the more glory God gets by us, the more honour he will put upon us, and magnify our salvation. And,

6th. There is hope, and great ground of comfort, in the view

and foresight of the great good that is in the womb of this dispensation, and which will shortly appear. It is now a winter season; the snow is upon the ground; there will be a spring, the singing of birds will come. It is now a seed time; the harvest will come. We are sowing for posterity; the generation coming on will have the good fruit of this present persecution. Many will be convinced by it, and many confirmed and edified. This cloud will quickly be blown over. The more they were oppressed, the more they grew. When opportunities shall come to be peaceable, many will flock to them, as doves to the windows, that have either now been frightened, or otherwise would never have come to a meeting; but will then, either out of curiosity or conscience, come to see what is done there, and fall in love with that which they have seen so much opposed by the wicked, with so little ground and cause, and so faithfully and patiently stood by those whom they have causelessly reproached, slandered, and traduced. Comfort one another with these and such like words. And let him evermore be remembered by you, who studies nothing more than your good; and can rejoice in his present confinement, that the gospel and you may gain any advantage; and remains, wherever he remains,

Yours, for Christ's sake,

From Newgate,
Close prisoner.

THOMAS HARDCASTLE.

The fifth day of the said week, being the 2nd of Sept. 1675, on our week day meeting, Hellier brings constables to the meeting, above two hours before the time: and so he was befooled, for there was none there but an old woman, cleaning the room.

But afterwards, when the meeting was just going to begin, Hellier and his man came; and it was judged that he was half-drunk: and there he sits down, and then begins to propose ensnaring questions to one and another; and jeered some, and abused others. Especially, he abused old Mr. Holwey, called him a decimator and a sequestrator, and many other oppro-

brious expressions, and sent his man for a constable. And there he stayed all the time, that we could have no exercise at all.

The third Lord's day of our pastor's second imprisonment, being fifth of 7th month, 1675, Hellier came up into our meeting, with his man and mayor's serjeants, in the morning; and disturbed us about six times this day, morning and afternoon. And at Mr. Weeks's meeting [they were] very troublesome; they sent some to prison when the mayor came. But before the mayor came to our meeting, our time was over, and we had done and were just gone.

The third letter from Mr. Hardcastle to his church.

[Newgate, Sept. 3, 1675.]

BELOVED FRIENDS,—It is a mercy that I can, in any way, reach your ears; but a greater, if the Lord will every way reach your hearts. God can make an edifying sermon from any subject; no matter where he takes his text, if he will preach from it himself. A sharp providence, and a short epistle, shall convince, confirm, and comfort, if the Lord speak the word, and say Amen to it. The residue of the Spirit is with him; it is he that teacheth to profit, and oftentimes works most powerfully by seemingly simple and weak means. Be of good courage; whatever you lose for God, you will find in God. I am here a while for yours and the gospel's sake and service. Watchmen must endure hardship: the heat of the day, and the cool of the night. We read, Joshua iii., that the priests' feet were to stand in the waters of Jordan, when they bore the ark. Ministers and watchmen must meet with the waters of affliction, and stand in them, and see to the safety of the whole, with the hazard of themselves. See 2 Cor. xii. 15. Paul is willing not only to spend, to pray, and preach, and write, but be spent too—his spirits, his strength, his life. Christ forbore meat and drink to preach, and Paul his sleep; and so must we deny our liberty, when God calls for it, and take up the cross of imprisonment, when it directly lies in our way: especially

believing that of Phil. i. 12, &c. I have read of one Evenius, a shepherd, that had the sheep of a city committed to him; through his negligence a wolf entered, and devoured sixty of them; upon this he was condemned, and lost his eyes. The Lord may suffer wicked men and persecutors to prevail so far as to drive us from our standing, but they can never drive us from our stedfastness. You are not on the losing, but the gaining and growing hand; and God will make you glad according to the days wherein he has afflicted you, and the months wherein you have seen evil. The primitive Christians called their persecutions, by the heathen emperors, clouds, that would be quickly and speedily blown over. Be not weary of well-doing and well-suffering. Lose not the things ye have wrought and endured, but receive a full reward. Sometimes, indeed, a saint of God may be weary in his work, but he is never weary of his work. It is a good observation of an eminent minister, "Though a Christian does not love what he bears, yet he loves to bear; though," says he, "I love not what I suffer, yet I love to suffer, and it is my duty when the Lord calls to it. To suffer, is the patience of necessity; to suffer cheerfully, is the patience of grace and duty."

Jesus Christ can give us calm and composed sabbaths when he pleases, and he will do it when it shall be good for us, and we fit for them. When you cannot have comfortable communion together in public, but are interrupted, you may commune with your own hearts, upon your beds, and be still. Is not the Lord now pointing us to heart work? Have we not been too much strangers at home? Have we not rested in, and trusted on, our ordinances and privileges, our communion sermons and assemblies, when we should have been trying ourselves, examining our own hearts, and turning to the Lord more unfeignedly? Does not the Lord bespeak us, as it were after this manner?—Do you bear testimonies faithfully for me in public, and my spirit shall witness to you, and with you, and for you in private. Is not the Lord promoting holy conference, that profitable ordinance? See Malachi iii. 16.

In the worst times of all, when Christ was in the grave, and the

disciples fled, two of them, as they walked along, talked together of all the things which had happened. *And it came to pass, that, while they communed together and reasoned, Jesus himself drew near, and went with them.* [Luke xxiv. 15.] You may talk with your own hearts, and discourse with one another, and have Christ's company, and nobody to disturb you. Sin, indeed, is a disturber: an unbelieving, dead, carnal, worldly frame of spirit, is perplexing; but resolve that your enemies within shall have no rest, whilst your enemies without let you have none. Be found diligent accusers of yourselves before God, and constant informers against yourselves, in the presence of the great Lord. Be more angry at your corruption, than others are at your profession. And wonder at the patience and long suffering of God, that you have any intermitting seasons: that the fury of the adversary is let loose no more: that the devils themselves do not appear amongst you in their own shapes, but only in the shapes of weak, wretched, and unsuccessful men, whom the Lord is pleased to hook and bridle; and still, with Sennacherib, turns them back by the way which they came.

You should now take more opportunities of preaching to your own hearts, and to each other; and let me add this, if you cannot hear God speak to you so freely as formerly in preaching, do you speak the more freely to him by prayer. By pouring out your souls before him, you will draw and suck in strength, and consolation, and direction. In the Acts iv. 23, &c., when the apostles were disturbed, and prevented preaching, they got together and fell a praying, until they made the place shake again; and it is very likely, if the truth could have been known, they made the chief priests' and elders' hearts tremble again. Faithful fervent prayer is a most deadly, dreadful, frightful thing to wicked men and persecutors. It was a home piece of revenge, that of John's disciples, Matt. xiv. 12; "*And the disciples of John came, and took up his body, and buried it, and went and told Jesus.*" They could not have done them a greater mischief, than to inform Christ Jesus of them, and acquaint him with what they had done. Christ forbids the offending of little ones, because their angels always

behold the face of God ; and if a little one cry, presently the angel is ready to be despatched for rescue and relief. O cry,—cry,—cry ; pray and believe, and pray ; and the more you feel, pray the harder ; who knows what one universal groan and cry might do ? But I will not be tedious to you. I have only three words to add at present :—

1. Love your heavenly Father more :
2. Love your fellow-members and brethren more :
3. Love your adversaries more :

And so you fulfil the gospel of Christ. Take heed of fretfulness, and personal prejudices against them, as they are your enemies, but as they are God's enemies—in the spirit and fear of God, when you get them on plain gospel ground : then, *Cursed be their anger, for it was fierce ; and their wrath, for it was cruel.* [Gen. xlix. 7.]

Forget not me in every prayer and supplication of yours to the Father of mercies : that he would sanctify my present confinement to myself, and bless it to you and to many.

I am yours for Christ's sake,

THOMAS HARDCASTLE.

The fourth Lord's day of our pastor's second imprisonment, being twelfth of 7th month, 1675, in the morning, the chief constable of James's ward, being commanded, came up into our meeting in the morning, with some other of the constables, with a warrant in his hand, and commanded us, in the king's name, to depart ; but the people kept singing, and regarded not what they said. Whereupon the said constables went away, and meeting with Hellier at the door, he would have had them go up again into our meeting : but they would not. And so Hellier came not up, but went to Mr. Weeks's meeting, and they had little rest all that morning ; but in the afternoon all our meetings were quiet. Praise be to the Lord !

Fourth letter of Mr. Hardcastle to his church.

[Newgate, Sept. 8, 1675.]

BELOVED FRIENDS,—Though I am absent from you, yet I hear of your affairs: that ye stand fast in one spirit, with one mind striving together for the faith of the gospel. God is with us; and to them that have no might he increaseth strength. Can we not watch with the Lord Jesus one hour? Our evil hearts of unbelief have more struck at the honour of our Master, than ever the persecution of ungodly men struck at our good; for no good can come of an evil heart, but abundance of good may come to us by means of evil men. Well then, my brethren, let us come to this conclusion, that we are very much behind hand with God, and be glad that God will give us any opportunity of service, or bearing testimony for him. But oh! what a bountiful Master have we, that rewards us for doing our duty. Our heavenly Father is a little angry with us: indeed, we have not carried it like obedient children. Loth he is to turn us out of doors; he seems to have a greater mind to whip the money-changers than turn us out of the temple. His house will be a house of prayer, when the thieves shall retreat into their dens. Let us then fall in with [one] who is so unwilling to fall out with us; and for that purpose, let us fall out with our evil nature, corrupt affections, and beloved sins, which have been the cause of these confusions and disturbances. Let them not live one quiet quarter of an hour in our hearts, that will not let us live one quiet hour in our meeting.

But what shall we say? Our Father corrects us lovingly and gently, he takes us on his knee and corrects us, he smiles whilst he is striking, and makes us kiss the rod, and embrace the cross, and brings us to our knees. All will be well, if we can but keep in that posture; there is no flying from him but by flying to him. If we accept the punishment of our iniquities, our deliverance will be hastened. We yet live, and have lost no ground. Our hope, and faith, and patience, have as good ground to stand upon as ever they had. We cannot bear the smallest burden in our own

strength ; but our God can and will keep us to bear the greatest he shall lay upon us. Let us comfort ourselves with these words. You see the world cannot comfort us : then the word and promise must. As George Withers says :—

“ Have we not yet a God, and is not he
 A refuge, when all others failing be ?
 His trust was never placed on him alone,
 If him he cannot trust, when all is gone.
 And be ye sure, that ere from hence ye go,
 He will make proof whether it be so or no.”

The presence of Jesus Christ among his disciples was more comfortable than the presence of any gospel minister to his congregation ; and yet, though sorrow had filled their hearts because of his departure, he tells them plainly, that it was expedient for them that he should go away. Strange expediency ! that he whom they loved as their lives, and whose presence, and company, and preaching, they would have preserved even with the loss of their lives, and yet it should be expedient that he went away ! *If I go not away, says he, the Comforter will not come.* Now, my beloved friends, the Comforter is with you, and the Comforter is with me ; and if I had not gone away in the way I did, the Comforter might not have stayed either with you or me. The preaching of the gospel is the ordinance of Christ, and so is the imprisonment of the preachers of the gospel : but I never knew that forbearing to preach, for fear of a prison, did ever convince or establish any one. Fear keeps company with the pit and the snare ; and they are proper for none but the fearful and unbelieving, whose place is ordained where neither I nor you would willingly come. Better go to Newgate with faith, than to hell with fear. Yet I would not have you of the persuasion, that those who have not gone in the path I have are judged by me. I hope I have learned, and sometimes have taught you, that the circumstances and apprehensions of persons may differ. I know the way that I take, and another man may know the way that he takes. *The devil shall cast some of you into prison* [Rev. ii. 10] ; not all of you. If Satan be angry

with you and me, I can be glad with it, provided God be less angry with us. It is a small matter to be persecuted by sinners, or to be judged by others; our judgment remains with the Lord. And can you think, my dear friends, that the eternal Almighty God is angry with us the more, because we have trusted his power the more, and ventured ourselves upon him? Can we think that he will leave us without a blessing, because we will not subject our public worship and ministry to the appearance of men, and power of magistrates, in the sinful execution of their office? No, no. God will never take this amiss from you, nor blame you for it. Did he ever blame any one that trusted in him, in the way of his duties? Where are the promises? What signifies the power of God? When is it to be made use of? Blot out these texts, or else read them over, and believe them: Isaiah xliii. 1—5; Isaiah li. 12—15; Luke xii. 4—7.

God will bless the dispensation to further good than yet we see, though already we see some fruit of it. Would you have me out of prison (where I stand in the presence and power of God, above all the powers on earth) to veil myself, and preaching of the everlasting gospel, to the appearance of a wretched and wicked persecutor? This would not tend to edification. God would never bless such shifting and distrusting, though I could preach like an angel. But I have done with this. I am preaching as God hath ordered me to preach, and God will bless it; and if I were preaching upon other terms, I might preach upon my own head, and that I never loved in all my life.

But what shall we gain by all these things:—

1. Are we more humbled?
2. Do we prize the word more?
3. Do we beg the Spirit more?
4. Do we mourn in secret more?
5. Do we believe more?
6. Do we repent more?
7. Do we love the world less?
8. Do we mind the duties of our families, relations, and callings more?

9. Do we long to be in heaven more, where there is rest, and peace, and joy ?

10. Have we parted with any particular corruption, and saved ourselves from our own iniquity, by this dispensation ?

11. Do we pray more fervently ?

12. Do we converse more watchfully ?

13. Do we prepare more for our dissolution and departure out of this world ?

14. Are we more thankful to God for the mercies we enjoy ?

15. Are we got more above the fear of man, and into the fear of the Lord ? And,

16. Lastly, are we grown more into a sense of the dishonour of God, that daily comes to his name, by these profaning wretches ?

Let these things settle in your hearts. I shall add no more at present but this :—Keep your consciences, keep your confidences, keep your communions, and all is well enough. The God of peace be with you. I bless the Lord I am well and cheerful, through strength of grace, and the supply of the Spirit of Jesus.

Your prayers assisting, I am ever your faithful servant in bonds.

Take this farewell : whilst we are in our enemies' hands, God holds us in his hands.

P.S.—Sept. 11th, 1675.—Since the writing of this, the Lord has appeared in giving me a few days' liberty at my own house. Bless his name with me, and for me. I did not ask it. I did not expect it ; but the Lord has the hearts of all men in his hands, and he can make enemies to show favour, contrary to their own inclinations, dispositions, resolutions, and threatenings. I made my prayer to him when I was under oppression, and made my profession to him of my dependence upon his power ; and I would commit myself wholly to him, remembering that of Ezra viii. 22. And in that very hour he wrought out my liberty ! How long it may continue, I know not ; but if I must return to the house of Jonathan again, it is for further service, and that the Lord may get himself more honour. And he hath made me willing to be at his disposal, in some measure I can say, from this late appearance of God for me.

The Lord also will be a refuge to his people, a refuge in times of trouble; and they that know his name will put their trust in him: for he never forsaketh them that seek him. [Ps. ix. 9, 10.]

Fifth letter of Mr. Hardcastle to his church.²

Sept. 13 (Monday), 1675.

These for my dearly beloved, the church of Christ, meeting together at a private fast, in Whitson Court, Bristol.

DEARLY BELOVED,—Who knows what a day may bring forth? Who knows what a fast-day may bring forth? Could we fast and pray unto God, much good might be done. There are two measures that want filling up, the measures of our prayers and sufferings, and the measures of our adversaries' sins and cruelties. They are making as much haste as ever they can; let us not come lagging behind. Let our steadfastness, supplications, and humiliations run parallel with their threatenings, persecutions, and disturbances. One blow in season may do much good. It was the curse of Amalek, that he fell upon the Israelites when they were faint and weary in the journey and travel that the Lord had appointed them. It will be our virtue, wisdom, and honour, by faithful and fervent prayer, to fall upon these cursed Amalekites now they grow faint and weary; and they fear not God, Deut. xxv. 17, 18, 19. Who knows what one joint cry and groan may do (I wish it were more joined) in this critical distressing season? I beseech you fall on, and for your word you have it in two places; I beseech you to turn to them, and read them deliberately in the congregation: 2 Chron. xiii. 4 to 21; 2 Chron. xx. 5 to 20.

² [Though at his own house, Mr. Hardcastle does not appear to have had the liberty of meeting with his church on their appointed day of fasting and prayer. He therefore addressed to them the following letter.]

It is a spiritual warfare, and the battle is not ours, but God's. The cause is his; his name is concerned. Say unto him, *We are called by thy name, leave us not*; and, *What wilt thou do unto thy great name? Though our iniquities testify against us, do thou it for thy name's sake* [Jer. xiv. 9, Jos. vii. 9, Jer. xiv. 7]. But take these few directions for the management of your prayers:—

1. Pray holily. If we keep sin, we cannot come with confidence to the throne of grace. If we regard iniquity in our hearts, the Lord will not hear our prayers [Ps. lxxvi. 18].

2. Pray fervently. As we must serve the Lord with all our might, &c., so we must seek the Lord. I need not enlarge on these things, a few hints will serve you.

3. Pray believingly. Let not your inward and secret fears check and control the expressions of your lips.

4. Pray waitingly. Why, what is that? Pray, resolving that you will pray again, if the Lord do not answer you now; and that you will never give him over, until he have mercy upon you. *I will wait upon the Lord, that hideth his face from the house of Jacob, and I will look for him* [Isa. viii. 17]. But what shall we pray for?

First. *Pray for the peace of Jerusalem: they shall prosper that love her* [Ps. cxxii. 6]. Say, Let Sion be delivered; not, Let Bristol be delivered. Let the bondage and burden be taken off all Israel, and let them be saved.

Secondly. Pray that your troubles, and afflictions, and persecutions may be sanctified rather than removed. Let my powerful corruption be removed, or taken away, rather than this domineering prelate. Let our intestine divisions be removed; our divisions healed; our disputes silenced; our jealousies, and heart-burnings, and prejudices rebuked; and our formalities and lukewarmness fully cured.

Thirdly. Pray for your enemies; that they may be pardoned, if they belong to the election of grace; that their wickedness may come to an end; or else that they may be chained, and proceed no further.

Fourthly. Pray that the gospel may gain much ground by this

present persecution ; that many may be convinced and edified by it ; that this may be a seed for an harvest.

Fifthly. And pray for me, that my bonds may turn *to the furtherance of the gospel* ; that this dispensation may be abundantly sanctified both to you and me ; that my health may be preserved, if it be the good pleasure of God ; and that I may come out in the fulness of the blessing of the gospel. I take leave, at present, but hope to be still meeting you somewhere or other whilst I live, and in the general assembly of the first-born, where there is no separating, imperfection, division, darkness, or spot, or any such things. The Lord by his Spirit help your infirmities, and bless you and me abundantly with spiritual blessings in heavenly things.

I am yours, in the best bonds,

THOMAS HARDCASTLE.

The fifth Lord's day, being 19th, seventh month, 1675.

Elected [during the month] moderate men for mayor and sheriffs the next year. [Sir Robert Cann, mayor ; Charles Williams, George Lane, sheriffs.]

This Lord's day we were at peace.

The sixth letter of Mr. Hardcastle to the church.

These for my beloved friends, the members and auditors of the congregation meeting in Broadmead, Bristol.

[7th month, 18th, 1675.]

DEAR FRIENDS,—Solomon tells us, *That which is crooked cannot be made straight, and that which is wanting cannot be numbered.* [Eccles. i. 15.] There are some things that lie cross, and thwart us, that we know not how, with all our art and industry, to make meet, and smooth, and even ; and there are some things defective, short, or wanting, that we cannot tell, by all our reach and pains, how to compass, fill up, and perfect. I have been considering that there are two graces that will do the

business: the one will make crooked things straight, the other will make up the number that is wanting; and those two graces are faith and patience.

I ground what I say upon two texts of scripture, Matt. xv. 28, James i. 4.

A good faith always hath its will; and patience keeps a man without wants.

A true believer desires that the will of the Lord might be done, that God always may have his will, and then he has his own when God has his. Faith shows a believer that all is for the best which the Lord wills and orders; and patience helps the soul to wait quietly, till it comes to see what it before believed. What is the reason and ground of all our perplexities, [but] because we are either unwilling to do or suffer something that God would have us? We think some things might better have been otherwise than they are; and thus we neither have our own wills, nor let God have his; we neither give him glory, nor get peace to ourselves. Whereas, we should argue thus:—the will of God is done, and that pleases me. This is that I daily pray for. This is my daily prayer, *Thy will be done*; and this should be my daily pleasure, to see it done as it is done. The will of God is the reason of all his own actings, and the rule of ours; the will of his precept willingly to be performed; the will of his providence cheerfully to be submitted to, to obey his commands, and approve of his disposals; and still the more severe the will seems to be, the more honourable is the obedience and subjection to it. I am sick, poor, faint, feeble, and oppressed; is it thy will, Lord? ‘Yes.’ Why then, Thy will be done; it is best of all. I am in prison, suffer loss, &c.; is it thy will? ‘Yes, it is my will; for a sparrow doth not fall to the ground without me.’ Why, then, Lord, thy will be done; it is best of all. Whatever is done is well done, because it is done, and God does it; and it could not be better any way else, but a great deal worse. Every little wheel of providence has its proper motion, and, how cross and contrary so ever the motion be, they all tend to bring about the great ends of God’s glory and his people’s good; and

what would we have more? And thus imprisonment, many times, comes to be a furtherance of the gospel. His will appoints it, and his will manages it, and it must needs be very well. And thus might it be to us if we would; and we should want nothing, had we more faith and patience.

Let us take with us words, and go to God, and say, Lord take away my will, and then I shall be pleased with every thing. Let my will be swallowed up in thine, and let me have no will but thine; and then every thing will be according to my will, because all things come to pass according, and not one thing falls out contrary, to thy will, and thou art well pleased in all that thou doest. Oh, my brethren, our wills have been the cause of all our woes. We have not considered the sovereignty of God, but have chosen rather to fulfil our own desires, which have been carnal and selfish, than obey the commands of the great Creator, and gracious Redeemer. And now, [since] I cannot preach a sermon to you, I can commend some good texts to you, that may be for your instruction, edification, quickening, and consolation. And they are four:—

1. The first is Jer. iii. 22, 23. It is a great mercy that the Lord will vouchsafe to give a call to a backsliding people. He could as well say, *Ephraim is joined to idols: let him alone.* [Hos. iv. 12.] These people enjoy liberty, and preaching, and privileges, and forms, and they rest in them, and contract abundance of guilt; let them alone. But, says God, I will awaken them, as I did Pharaoh; by sending frogs into their chambers they shall see the sights of offensive and disgusting creatures, and this, it may be, will amaze them, and make them improve their opportunities better. But, further, it is a greater mercy when the Lord does not only call upon a people, but when he makes them willing to come to him. *Behold, we come unto thee!* Flexibility and pliability under the Lord's correcting hand is a singular mercy, and a sure sign of a gracious heart. Speak freely; have you not deserved all you have met with, and much more? Is it not a wonder it is so well with us as it is? Are we prepared to say to God, every one for himself and herself, Lord, cure my

great transgression, that has thus provoked thee ; yea, Lord, and let my worldly heart be healed too ; aye, and my vain and sensual imaginations ; aye, and my murmuring, fretful, unbelieving heart, let it go amongst the rest ; aye, Lord, and my vain and foolish talking ; and, Lord, before thou goest, take my discontented spirit away with thee ; and, Lord, let not my weak and fainting spirit be left behind ? Lord, shall my doubts be resolved ? should one say. And should not my corruptions be subdued ? should another say. And hast thou not a blessing of pardon for me ? and a blessing of contentedness for me ? and a blessing of faith for me ? and a blessing of the fear of God for me ? and a blessing of self-denial for me ? and a blessing of heavenly-mindedness for me ? and a blessing of courage and constancy for me ? and a blessing of meekness and conquest over passion for me ? Lord, let not this dispensation go, until we have every one of us a blessing by it, more than ever we got by sermons. *Behold, we come unto thee ; for thou art the Lord our God.*

2. The second text is Phil. i. 29. The great gift next to believing on Christ, is suffering for Christ. A crucified Christ is the foundation of faith ; the cross of Christ is the fruit of faith.

3. The third is in Rev. iii. 10. Your testimony to the pure public worship of Jesus Christ, and to his offices as prophet, priest, and king, is now the word of Jesus Christ's patience ; and for your faithful and patient enduring, the Lord will keep you from the hour of temptation. Your sufferings now are from the worst of sinners for your profession. Your case and cause is clear ; you suffer by men's wrath and malice. But there are judgments coming that will carry the wrath of God in the front of them, and may prove occasions of sins and snares, of fretting against God, and blaspheming his name ; and these you shall be freed from. Your sufferings come in the best season, upon the best account, with the greatest advantage, safety, and security that may be.

4. The fourth is in Rom. xvi. 20. Comfort one another with these words ; *and the peace of God, which passeth all understanding, shall keep your hearts and minds through Christ Jesus.*

Let me never be forgotten by you, who cannot be forgotten by me ; but am your constant, faithful minister, servant, and sufferer, for the testimony of Jesus,

T. H.

P.S. You have been this week seeking the Lord solemnly and seriously ; you have been directing your prayers to the Lord, from whom alone cometh our help and salvation. Doth it not become you to be looking up, to see what answer God gives you, and what return he makes you ? In a wise observing of providences, you may take a fair prospect of the faithfulness of God in fulfilling promises, and hearing prayers. When Saul was converted, then had the churches rest. Read Acts viii. 1—3, compared with Acts ix. 20, 31. If Sauls be not converted (which is much more desirable), yet if they be chained up, it is a great mercy, and deserves all humble and grateful acknowledgment. It has been a day of trouble, and rebuke, and blasphemy ; but God can stop the mouths of railing Rab-shakehs, and put a check upon invading Sennacheribs ; see Isa. xxxvii. 28, 29, 35. When God, in the midst of judgment, remembers mercy, it is our duty, in the midst of mercy, to remember the judgments of God that have been upon us, and to tremble lest the Lord should not have performed his whole work upon us. To conclude, Labour to keep your eye more upon God, and lean not too much upon instruments. God can do us good by anything, and nothing can do us good without God. Remember, happiness consists more in removing inward than outward trouble ; and that when we are better, God will quickly make our states and conditions better.

The sixth Lord's day, being 26th of seventh month, 1675, we were greatly disturbed. First, Hellier, with six or seven of the bishop's men, came up in the morning, and we were singing ; they sat down some time, and then departed unto another meeting, and sends for the mayor. Then the serjeants came upon us ; and after that, Sir John Knight, Sir Robert Yeamans, and Alderman Streamer came up, near

eleven of the clock, and commanded us away ; but could not find the brother that spake, for we had conveyed him down into a room under, through a trap made like a biffet-bench [buffet] against the wall, in a seat or pew enclosed. So at the door they took our names, as we came down, and when they had ended with us, the other meetings were done in the afternoon.

Seventh letter of Mr. Hardcastle.

25th of the seventh month, 1675.

These for my dear friends, the members and auditors of the congregation, meeting in Broadmead, Bristol.

BELOVED FRIENDS,—Do you not sit admiring the powerful grace of almighty God? and are not you ready to say, as they said once of Christ, *What manner of man is this, that even the winds and the sea obey him?* What a God have we, that can thus, all on a sudden, still the enemy and the avenger! It puts me in mind of that, *When the Lord turned again the captivity of Zion, we were like them that dreamed, &c.* [Ps. cxxvi. 1.] This looks to us, in some sense, like the turning again of captivity. Though we are yet in captivity, our taskmasters are not all alike cruel. The dogs have not laid aside their canine disposition, only the Lord thinks fit to muzzle them for the present ; we have outlived the rage of our adversaries. *The living, the living shall praise thee, O Lord, as we desire to do this day : the fathers to the children shall make known thy truth ; behold, for in the midst of an after peace we have had great bitterness : but thou hast in love to our souls delivered us from the pit of destruction.* [Isa. xxxix. 17, 19.] The Lord was ready to save us, therefore we will sing our songs, to the stringed instruments, all the days of our lives, in the house of the Lord. See 2 Tim. iv. 17. It is said, in Dan. vii. 25, of one of the kings of the fourth kingdom, that *He shall speak great words against the Most High, and shall wear out the saints of the Most High, and shall think to change times and laws, &c. ;* see verses 25—27.

Beloved, you and your neighbour congregations in this city have drawn the eyes of the whole nation after you, and have made them turn aside to see the great sight, that the bush should be in the fire so long together, and yet not burnt. See Zeph. iii. 12 to the end. That a poor, peaceable, and impotent people, should be preserved in faith, patience, constancy, and courage, notwithstanding the continued combination and conspiracies, the constant and cruel onsets, assaults, and endeavours, with the executions of power, policy, rage and malice, envy and hatred : what shall we say ? The Lord hath spoken, and himself hath done it. [Isa. xxxviii. 15.] To him alone, the Only Wise, the Almighty, the faithful and good God, be praise and dominion, for ever and ever. Amen.

But, methinks, I hear some ready to object, and raise scruples, and ask some questions. I shall endeavour to obviate [them], and make answers in these following particulars, which are offered to your considerations :—

1. Do not expect yet a final end of your troubles, nor a total immunity from them. See Judges iii. 1—4. The Canaanites are yet in the land, and will be pricks in your eyes, and thorns in your sides. It is with us as you will see, Ezra ix. 7—9 ; and as it is said of them in Daniel [ix. 34, 45], *when they shall fall, they shall be holpen with a little help* ; but it is said of the enemy, *yet shall he come to his end, and none shall help him*.

2. Know this. It is our duty and interest to take notice of, and bless God for, the beginnings of mercy and favour, even when the face of mercy does begin to look toward us ; when the day does but begin to dawn, though the sun be not yet in sight. The method that the Lord takes in bestowing his mercies is gradual, and we have more reason to be afraid, lest we should not have hearts to improve our present privileges, than that we should not so soon enjoy our wonted opportunities.

3. Expect yet greater troubles and trials than any you have met with. These are but the footmen that you have been running with ; these are but the little fingers of antichrist. There is this comfort in it, that you, having drunk so large a

draught of the first of the cup, may escape the dregs, and it may not come to your turn to drink deeper. You have had a double draught of imprisonment; without doubt it is seasonable and wholesome, and that we shall see in due time. It may be a preventing antidote against the snares, dregs, poison, and infection of antichrist. However you may escape hereafter, yet I am sure my advice is good, that we be in a preparedness for the greatest trials and sufferings; and that is the way to escape them.

4. Bless God for the provision he makes you, and daily supplies he gives you of heavenly food for your souls. Have you ever wanted a morsel when you were hungry, and a sweet one too? But the full soul loathes the honeycomb. Are you not made partakers of the gifts of divers, that tend to encourage, comfort, and strengthen you? I could wish my poor small papers might help a little too.

5. Treasure up your experiences of the Lord's goodness, and power, and faithfulness, that they may be useful if you should hereafter meet with the like temptations. The people of Israel of old had very bad memories, see Judges viii. 34, and Ps. lxxviii. 42, and cvi. 7. It would not be strange if the stories of persecution, of informers, disturbances, prelate imprisonment, &c., should grow out of date in Bristol, and be forgotten. Greater afflictions and deliverances than ours have been forgotten by a professing people; Lam. iii. 18, 37.

6. Learn this lesson: ever hereafter to fear men less, and trust God more. The more we venture upon him, the better he is. We have ventured upon six months' cross in his way, and for the open profession of his gospel, and it proved well; and we have ventured another in the same cause, and I doubt not but it will prove better; and that we shall see, when we come to the winding up of the bottom. But we must follow the Lord patiently and believingly; he that believeth maketh not haste, and patience must have its perfect work.

7. And, lastly, Let these winding, turning, mixed, and amazing dispensations, make you tremble, and keep you humble. What

reverence, and holy fear, and dread ought to be on our spirits, in the consideration of these things, and how should we lay them up in our hearts! Security, wantonness, wrangling, murmuring, distrust, and pride, should now all be gone from us. Why? Because we have to do with a God that can soon change our states, and make our conditions better or worse. See Job ix. 10—15. *My soul [flesh] trembleth for fear of thee, and I am afraid of thy judgments.* [Ps. cxix. 120.] This is the way to have rest in the day of trouble, according to Habakkuk, [iii. 16.]

I shall conclude with commending that comfortable place to your serious perusal, Ps. xciv. 12 to the end. Let these things dwell in the bottom of the imaginations of your hearts continually, and forget not me in your prayers, who am your poor, yet comforted prisoner, for Jesus' and the gospel's sake,

T. HARDCASTLE.

The seventh Lord's day, being the third of eighth month, 1675, the first Lord's day of the new mayor, Sir Robert Cann, and Mr. Charles William, and Mr. George Lane, sheriffs, being in office, whom, we trust, the Lord, in mercy to his poor people, did strangely order to be elected, and settled in the seat of government, in answer to his people's prayers for moderate men; which, when chosen, was not a little trouble to the persecutors. Yet, they would give us trouble. The bishop's secretary goes to the new mayor, and complains of our meeting, and prevails with him to send some of his serjeants, who, with several of the bishop's men, and some new informers (as the son of the steward Robinson, a vile, unclean man, and one George Hellier, brother-in-law to Hellier; but he himself, it was said, was gone forth of town, with one Quarles, a wicked country informer; it was doubted, to trouble friends out of town), these, with others, about seven or eight, came, after some of them had before been, and saw we were assembled. They all came up, between ten and eleven in the morning, and

command us, by order from the mayor, to depart; but seeing that we did not, one of the serjeants makes proclamation by O yes! three times, and then in the king's name we are commanded to depart. But not yet moving, then the steward's son, and Hellier's brother-in-law, take the names of such as they and the officers knew, and then departed; after which we leave off singing, and conclude with prayer, our time being expired.

In the afternoon we were quiet; and our pastor now having favour from the sheriffs to be a prisoner at his own house, though he dared not to get to the public meeting-house; yet, we having been now about eight months deprived of the celebration of the Lord's supper, by reason our pastor was kept in prison, this evening, after the public meeting was ended, we dispersed, and came to brother Ellis's house, whereto our pastor had before conveyed himself. And there, then, we had the opportunity for the members of the church to hear him preach about an hour, and after that break bread very comfortably. Praise be to the Lord for his good ordinance and opportunity.

The eighth letter of Mr. Hardcastle.

These for my beloved friends, the members and auditors of the congregation meeting in Broadmead, Bristol.

DEARLY BELOVED,—Our condition seems to be various as April weather; sometimes showers, and sometimes sunshine, and both necessary towards a spring. And of such influence must we esteem and account the diversity of the Lord's dispensations towards us, all of them working together for our further thriving, flourishing, and prospering in the house and ways of God. The flowing out of the spices, and the pleasantness of the fruits, were beholden to the north wind as well as to the south, Cant. iv. 16.

I hope, through the blessing of God, when the storm is a little over, you will see a great deal of fruit that is worth gathering up. The word of God is not bound; persecuting times have been converting times, and the wall was built in troublous times. As the gospel takes notice in whose reign and government our Lord Jesus was born and suffered, so in due time you will find that many will date their spiritual birth, their love to the things of God, their confirmation in the truths of God, from such a year, the first year that such a bishop came to town, such a man being governor of the city that year; see Luke iii. 1, 2. This hath been a year of the right hand of the Most High, and it ought to be ever remembered, and never forgotten. I have heard that you have had the plague in this city, which sent many to their graves; and some fires, which consumed dwelling houses, and turned them to ashes; and I hope you have not forgotten them, nor what the Lord's design was in them. But of all plagues, none like the locusts that come out of the bottomless pit, and the persecution that is kindled by the fire of hell. The plague of the beast and the whore, the beast and the false prophet, is the worst of all plagues; but for comfort see Rev. xviii. 4—8, and xx. 10. There are glorious prophecies to be fulfilled, and glorious promises to be accomplished. How comfortably may faith and patience live upon Rev. xviii. Read the whole chapter at your leisure. There are several periods of fulfilling the Lord's promises, and they that are wise will observe providential accomplishments; and they, even they, shall understand the loving-kindness of the Lord in all. Could we but get our faith strengthened more in the love, faithfulness, power, and dominion of our dear Lord Jesus, all other graces would receive quickening, nourishment, and encouragement. Our patience would be lengthened, our hopes strengthened, our courage fortified, our love to God and each other inflamed, our duties made easy and pleasant, our sufferings light and momentary, our adversaries' rage little and short, our deliverance more certain and glorious, and all the dispensations of God towards us necessary, and as his precepts are, holy, just, and good. But I need not

enlarge to you about these things. Remember, and treasure up these eight directions, or considerations :—

1. That though many men may seem to have respect and favour for Christ in a time of prosperity, yet nothing but true grace, and a thorough change of heart, will help a man to love him, and his concernments, at all times.

2. That wicked men, and ungodly men, are prevented of doing that mischief they design against the people of God, when they trust in his power. And godly men are disappointed of that good which they expect from other men, when, by such expectings, their faith in the omnipotence of God is weakened and divided.

3. That the answer of prayer, as it ought to be attended with thanksgiving, so it ought to be followed with more and more fervent supplications. God give us mercy to encourage us to pray for more, and not to have us sit down under the shadows of mercies received ; see Jonah iv. 6—8.

4. The more singly, solely, and sincerely we deal with God in any matter, the more composed and quiet shall our hearts be, and the fewer our straits and disappointments, though they may seem otherwise to the world.

5. That the temptations from a flattering, are much more dangerous than from a frowning, world. The traveller that girt his coat about him, and kept on his way, notwithstanding the windy storm, did not, when the sun shined, slacken his pace, ungird and throw off his coat.

6. That Satan, in the turn and change of providences, plays the closest game, and therefore we have need of greatest watchfulness. Satan is a spirit, and he is never weary, though sometimes his instruments may move heavily ; and when he cannot make outward disturbance, he knows how to lay siege to our hearts by his sly insinuations, subtle suggestions, and plausible artifices. Though all the meeting be quiet, he knows how to trouble every meeter.

7. Examine yourselves, what obedience you have learned by the things you have suffered ; wherein the inward enemies, that raised up the outward, have received a wound, a defeat, and

destruction by the outward; whether the old unbelief and unprofitableness has not hereby been discovered, and in a good measure overthrown.

8. Observe what aspect every ordinance and providence hath upon grace and glory; not how flesh, and blood, and fancy, and self is pleased, but how the soul is profited, in order to an holy life, and honouring God, and a comfortable departing out of this world.

The Lord be with you all. My true love to you all. The remembrance of these few hints will, I hope, make you remember me not the less at the throne of grace; who yet remains your remembrancer from God to you, and to God from you, whilst I remain a prisoner for Christ's sake, and I hope for yours and the gospel's advantage.

T. HARDCASTLE.

From my prison, at my own house, 8th month, 2nd day, 1675.

The eighth Lord's day after our pastor's second imprisonment, being the tenth of 8th month, 1675, we were troubled in the morning with the constables only. They came up and commanded us to depart, and so left us; in the afternoon we were quiet.

Ninth letter of Mr. Hardcastle.

BELOVED FRIENDS,—When I remember that text, 1 Tim. iv. 6, *If thou put the brethren in remembrance of these things, thou shalt be a good minister of Jesus Christ*, I am the more encouraged to write to you, *line upon line, here a little, and there a little*; and I am also the more confirmed by considering Eccles. xi. 6. Read it. That is good doctrine which the Lord blesses to us. When the Spirit of God takes a promise, a passage, a line, a sentence, and stamps it upon the heart, that will stick, and prove strengthening; when all the rest which is heard, as well as that, becomes as water spilt on the ground, which cannot be gathered up. Pray hard for divine teachings, spiritual illuminations and transformings:

for holy fixedness of heart, that vain thoughts may be dislodged, and *the word of Christ* may dwell in you richly in all wisdom and spiritual understanding; that ye be not unwise, but understanding what the will of the Lord is; redeeming the time; and always concluding, that the more exact and accurate, the more thorough and universal your gospel obedience is, then,

First. The more honourable, beautiful, and convincing will your conversation be.

Secondly. The more peaceable, joyful, and comfortable will your consciences be.

Thirdly. The more easy, sweet, and delightful will your duties be.

Fourthly. The more safe, cheerful, and contented will your outward conditions be.

Fifthly. The more perfumed, and acceptable to God, will your prayers and praises be.

Sixthly. The more prepared for dying, and the more fit to live, will you be. And,

Seventhly. The more glorious, and exceeding heavy, will your crown and recompence of reward be.

The great design of the Lord, in all ordinances and providences, is to bring us to a greater conformity to his nature and will, and the image of his Son. But we remain lean, and barren, and unfruitful, and much unlike to God and Christ; and the grounds of it seem to be these that follow:—

First. The want of well methodizing and right managing our meditations, which are the digestive faculty of the soul. Our thoughts are grown so transient, slippery, and unstable, that we cannot dwell long upon any holy and heavenly matter, and so lose the sweetness and solid substance, which otherwise we might draw from it. Nor do we so watch against Satan, that bird of the air, to prevent his stealing the word from us, and depriving us of the benefit of it, by his sly insinuations, sudden injections, unseasonable motions, Agrippa-like delays and put-offs,—at a convenient time, we will call upon this word again, and consider more of it.

Secondly. A thorny, choking, importunate, pressing, and en-

snaring world, that grudges all time and care and thoughtfulness that is not spent upon itself, and would make us believe that there is a kind of necessity and expediency that at all times it should have free access to our hearts, and we must not any time refuse to speak with it. But read over some texts : Luke vi. 24 ; and Matt. xiii. 22 ; Jas. iv. 4 ; 1 John ii. 15—17 ; Phil. iv. 5—13 ; Heb. v. 6 ; Luke xii., xv., xxi. 35—37. The cares of the world make us sleepy and secure, and little to think of Christ and his word, and speedy return.

Thirdly. Our coming short in the practice of known duties ; *to him that hath shall be given*. They that do the will of God shall know it. What cause have we to mourn over omissions of duty, and slender, slight, formal, careless performings of them. Is not secret prayer, and family prayer, reading and meditation, are not these duties ? Is not doing and receiving all the good we can a duty ? Is not attendance on public worship a duty ? and has not fear, or slothfulness, or a slender excuse, many times kept us from, or brought us late to a meeting ? Is there never a guilty conscience that begins to be smitten, and to say, Lord, I am the man, or the woman, and it shall be so no more ; I will not be so negligent for time to come ? and,

First, I will take heed to my heart, that worldly, wanton, envious, and unprofitable thoughts do not fill it.

Secondly, I will take heed to my taste, that I do not indulge my appetite, nor make provision for the flesh, to fulfill the lusts thereof ; but will deny myself, even in lawfuls, that I may escape the danger of unlawfuls.

Thirdly, I will take heed that I offend not with my tongue, either in sinful silence or in sinful speaking : either in holding my peace, when I might or ought to speak to the glory of God, or edification of others, or suffering my tongue to run out to the dishonour of God, and the damage of my neighbour.

Fourthly, I will take heed to my time, that I spend it more profitably, and not squander, and idle, and trifle, and drive it away, as if it were good for nothing, when nothing in this world is more precious.

Beloved, at present I shall add no more but a direction and a prayer. The general direction is this, that in all your actions you do actually and sincerely design the glory of God, and watch especially against self, which does so secretly, cunningly, closely, and continually essay to mix itself, and make itself uppermost or undermost, in every thing you do. The Lord looks chiefly at the heart, at our intentions and aims ; and it is fit that our eye and watch should be placed where his observation is fixed. My hearty prayer for you is, that you may stand fast in the faith, and grow in grace daily, more and more, notwithstanding the opposition of the enemy without, and more dangerous enmity and obstructions from within. Our time is short, our seasons in peril, our spirits feeble, our temptations many, our trials great, our burdens heavy ; but for our encouragement, our God is strong, our High Priest merciful, our Comforter abiding, our troubles perishing, our enemies dying, our work the Lord's, and our labour not in vain in the Lord ; 1 Cor. xv. last verse. *Comfort one another with these words.*

I am, dear friends,

Your most affectionate brother, and companion in tribulation,
and in the kingdom and patience of Jesus Christ,

THOS. HARDCASTLE.

From my prison in my house,
8 m. 8 d. 1675.

The ninth Lord's day, being 17th day 8th month, 1675, in the morning we had but little disturbance, Hellier only came up and went down again ; but in the afternoon we had much trouble. Hellier and several constables came up, and because the stairs were somewhat filled, that he could not get up, he did very much haul brother James Bland, who stood in the stairs, and ripped his cloak ; but (he holding by the rope of the stairs) could not get him away from the place. Then Hellier plucked brother Bland's hat off his head, and gave it to his man, who carried it home to Hellier's house and there kept the castor, and would not let him have it again, though

demanded and sent for; and when they, with Hellier, got up, in the morning, with two serjeants, Robert Edwards and Thomas Chatten, they go up and down the meeting, (while the people kept singing,) and take names.

The tenth letter of Mr. Hardeastle.

These for my dear friends, the members and auditors of the congregation meeting in Broadmead.

DEARLY BELOVED,—When I think upon that passage, John vi. 28, 29, I do conclude, that seeing a great part of a Christian's business lies in believing, his principal care should be that he do this work right; to miss it in point of faith, is to miss it in point of salvation. Many think they have faith that have it not; and some think they do not believe at all, upon whom God hath bestowed this gift; the former [is] very dangerous, the latter very uncomfortable. Pity it is, that any should be deceived with a false presumption, and so go securely to hell; and not much less, that others should not know the good that God has done for them, and so go despairingly to heaven; and, in the meantime, God loses the glory, and they the comfort, of his free justifying grace.

I shall, through the Lord's help, endeavour to offer something with respect to both cases, as opportunity shall serve. And first, I shall take notice of the former sort, who make full account they are believers, and thereupon good Christians, and are not. And for the quickening and stirring up of your attention unto, and attendance upon, this so important a concern, let me premise a few things.

First premise. There may be a devotion, a course of duty, a religious worshipping, and some good measure of circumspection in walking, which may be an enemy to faith, and to the righteousness of faith, which is bottomed upon the old covenant, and grows up out of some good remainders of ruined nature, helped by gospel light and common grace.

Second premise. There may be soundness in the doctrines and

principles of faith, and a long, glorious, uncontradicted profession, where there is not a dram of saving faith.

Third premise. They that upon the hearing of such words and doctrine as this, are not willing to examine themselves upon this great point, it is to be feared that they have not been possessors of this faith of God's elect.

Fourth premise. There is a counterfeit faith, which passes amongst most for a true faith; which is very like true faith, and hardly discernable from it; which is not that precious faith the apostle speaks of, 2 Pet. i. 1. Such a resemblance there is, that it is by others, who have true faith, judged to be right; and those that have it do confidently conclude it to be unfeigned, 1 Tim. i. 5. Having premised these things, I shall offer some differencing characters between a true and a false faith: the touchstones of faith.

I. True faith is the gift of God: a seeming faith may be acquired and obtained, by a diligent improvement of nature, and good education, and converse. When I call it the gift of God, it does imply:—

1. The freeness of it. The soul looks upon itself as wholly beholden to God: is much possessed with admiring and amazing thoughts about it. This is a gift that is better than all the world. An emperor would be glad of it; it would be better to him than his empire. And that God should bestow it on me, and pass by so many others that I know have it not, as surely as I know I have it, [even] such a gift, to such a weak wretched creature, as the world cannot give nor take away. Now a seeming faith causes no such admiring thoughts; a thing easily attainable, procured by human endeavour;—nothing above what nature can do in it, with such helps as those have that live under the light of the gospel.

2. The strangeness and wonderfulness of it. What comes from God immediately, is wonderful, as being that which is above nature, and not coming in common course.

When God sent a saving light unto thy soul, and opened thy blind understanding, and overruled thy will and affections, did it not cause wonderment in thee? Didst thou not wonder what new

sights and discoveries were made to thee of thyself and every thing else? What new lord, lawgiver, and controller was come into thy soul to make a change of all things, and must not be contradicted?

3. The powerfulness and absoluteness of it. What comes from God hath power and strength. The proud waves of an ignorant, worldly, proud, superstitious, and stubborn heart, that could strongly plead prescription, possession, universal custom and countenance, must presently come under the obedience of these new manifestations, and those so directly contrary to formerly received tenets and practices. All the world could not have ever persuaded thee to such a turn and change, without this glorious and almighty power. See Eph. i. 19, 20, and often meditate upon it.

This faith removes mountains of corruption, and causes a smooth, even, submissive frame of spirit:—bids this lust go and depart, and it is gone; and to that grace, come and be active in the soul, and it comes. Before, pride ruled: now, humility and a yielding frame of spirit has got the place; before, passionateness: now, meekness; before, sottishness, and senselessness about the things of God: now, seriousness, solicitousness, and diligent inquiry after God, and his word, and ways, and people, a savouriness of spirit, and disrelishing the former husks of the world which were fed upon; before, covetousness reigned: now, heavenliness, and meditations and discourses about the world to come, an everlasting kingdom, the Master's joy, being ever with the Lord. Now the soul comes to know the sense and savour of such texts as these:—2 Cor. iv. 6, John vi. 35, 49, 50—59, Gal. ii. 20, and iii. 13, 14, 26, Eph. ii. 13, (read the chapter at leisure,) Eph. iv. 20—24, Eph. v. 8—11, Col. i. 12—14, Thess. ii. 13, and many more.

4. There is implied the tendency of it. That faith which is the gift of God leads unto God. The soul breathes after a more intimate, single, full, and close communion with God: is never better pleased, than when it has most immediately to do with God. But a counterfeit faith is best pleased with profession, privileges, a fair show in the flesh, the external part of worship, with some additions of worldly accommodations; and loves not to have

conscience lie so directly under the eye of God, and open to the word of God; loves not to be searched and tried, lest the reserved iniquity should be produced, as this true faith does, which speaks on this wise:—Lord, I love to be near thee, and with thee, though thou art still letting me see my errors, and reproving me for my infirmities; let me see thee, and hear thee chiding, rather than want thy company; I do not desire to hide any the least thing from thee; Lord, thou knowest my very heart, thou knowest I would discover the worst of myself unto thee, and I would do my best for thee; and my chiefest desire is to be ever with thee, freed from this body of death that I carry about with me, and is the greatest burden I have in this world, because I cannot have that clear and full communion with thee, who art a holy God, till I be freed from corruption, and have my heart and nature fully sanctified: which I do as earnestly desire as ever I did the pardon of my sins, when thou shewedst me the guilt of them, and my obligation thereby to eternal condemnation; let there not be a spot left in me, and let me see thy face.

“ Ah! my dear God, though I am clean forgot,
Let me love thee, if I love thee not.”

This is the first discriminating note, between an unfeigned and a false faith. I will not at present burden your memories with any more. If the Lord bless these few hints, I shall be encouraged by the help of your prayers, and the supplies of divine influence and the Spirit of Jesus, to inquire a little further into the matter, which is of such close consideration: and I hope the Lord will help. I shall conclude with that prayer of the apostle, in 2 Thess. ii. 16, 17; and remain,

Yours in the faith, fellowship, and testimony of our Lord Jesus,

THOMAS HARDCASTLE.

From my prison, in my house,
8th month 15th day, 1675.

Upon 20th Oct. 1675, Mr. Thompson's congregation put off their lecture to that day fortnight, and so to be but once every other week.

Upon 22nd day 8th month, the mayor, Sir Robert Cann, made a feast, and invited most of the chief of the separatists in the city, which troubled Hellier.

The tenth Lord's day, being 24th day of 8th month, 1675, we had great trouble all day. In the morning, Hellier writes a letter to the mayor, and requires his help. So, Hellier knowing the mayor would come, he first comes with several constables, and pulls and hauls several of the younger sort, and turns them down stairs. He very much abused Mr. Tipton's servant, plucked him by the hair and ears, and dragged him along the meeting; the constables made as if they did not see it. Then he called the constables to help him pull and turn down several. Then Sir Wm. Cann, the mayor's son, came from his father first, and told us his father was forced to come, and therefore desired us to depart. Then the mayor himself, Sir Robert Cann, came (with Sheriff Williams and Alderman Hicks, and serjeants), and declared how he was unwilling to give us this trouble, but was forced to it by this fellow Hellier, the informer, and therefore desired us to depart; and, it being now near the time of our ending, we departed.

Then, in the afternoon, Hellier came again, and found us assembled again; then sends his man to Wasbrow's [Werburch's] church, and fetched out Alderman Hicks and Alderman Streamer, who came with several serjeants, first to Mr. Weeks's, and then to us: when, that our sermon was ended, and a letter from our pastor was reading to the people, the constables, with Hellier, command us to depart. Brother Ellis, who was reading the letter, told them we should depart presently, therefore prayed them to sit down, for we were not now about any matter of worship, but only reading a letter. Then, by and by, brother Ellis was interrupted again as he

was reading; he told them he knew no act of parliament against reading a letter. When that brother Ellis had done reading the letter, the people went to depart; but they kept the doors, and Hellier and his man took their names, Alderman Hicks and Alderman Streamer standing by. And they brought brother Ellis before the mayor for reading the letter, who appointed him to come to the Tolzey the next morning to answer. So he did, but the mayor came not. Then Hellier and his man gave in an information against Mr. Ellis, upon their oaths, that brother Ellis did preach or teach, and caused it to be filed, in order to his conviction before Alderman Hicks and Alderman Streamer, the 25th 8th month, 1675. Herein may be observed the wickedness of Hellier, that so knowingly and wilfully would swear false, when he knew it was but a letter that brother Ellis read; yet he and his man sware brother Ellis did teach or preach. This is presumptuous perjury.

Eleventh letter of Mr. Hardcastle.

[Oct. 23, 1675.]

These for my loving friends, the members and auditors of the congregation meeting in Broadmead, Bristol.

DEARLY BELOVED,—I am treating with you about the great point of true and saving faith. I perceive that Satan is angry at it, and would interrupt both me in the writing, and you in the reading. I presently found out the cause of both, in Eph. vi. 16.

I have already acquainted you, that true faith is the gift of God; and am now, in the second place,

II. Through the assistance of divine grace and influence, to discover to you that it is precious, 2 Pet. i. 1. Not a common, cheap, traditional, and notional faith, a parochial and neighbourhood faith. The preciousness of this faith, for our clearer understanding of it, in order to self-examination, we may consider in a threefold respect.

1. As it makes Christ very precious to the soul, 1 Pet. ii. 6, 7, the most desirable, and longed for. A soul thoroughly convinced of

and humbled for sin, by the preaching of the gospel, useth some such ponderings and expressions as these :---

Nothing will do me good, but the blood of Christ. I can have no relief from performances, privileges, enjoyments; my good works will not bear the weight of my evil ones. I commit more sin than I do good; nay, I sin in all the good I do. I go from duty to duty, and from ordinance to ordinance, and fain would I meet with Jesus Christ. My sins are a burden too heavy for me to bear, and I am ready to sink under them. Oh that I could get hold of him: I would feel him: I would find him. I am weary of my transgression. I have not rest because of my sin. I have been often told of believing on Christ, and coming to Christ, and closing with a naked Christ: *Oh, that I knew where I might find him!* Give me faith, or else I die! Oh, for some precious faith! If Jesus Christ would but treat with me, and give me a meeting, he and I would not differ, we should quickly come to an agreement. I would accept of his terms with all my heart, and be for ever obliged to be his grateful servant; and never think I can do enough for him, though I should lay down my life for him. He shall have all my iniquities, that have exposed me to eternal ruin, and have made me such a filthy creature; and he shall have all my services, that hath bestowed on me such a complete righteousness, and entitled me to such a glorious kingdom. It is true I can do nothing: even what I must do by his grace, that must sue to him for his pardon, and entreat for his gracious assistance; but he shall have my whole heart, and if I could do anything for him I would. I shall be as glad for the fruits of his Spirit within me, changing my nature, as I would be of the effects of his pardoning grace. O Lord Jesus, I believe thou art able to take away my sin, and I believe thou art willing; and I am willing to part with them all. I am able to hold out no longer. I am resolved to cast myself upon thee. I remember that of Hosea xiv. 1—4. Thou hast given it under thine own hand, that those *that come to thee, thou wilt in no wise cast out*; and hast made a general invitation, call, and command: *Come unto me, all ye that are weary and heavy laden, and I will give you rest.*

If I be not within the compass of the qualifications, let me be rejected. If I be not as weary of my sins, the guilt and accusations, charge and clamour of them, of the pollution and defilement of them, as ever porter was of his burden—and had not rather have a rock, a mountain, fall on me, than the effects of sin—had not rather have God love me, and sanctify my nature, than enjoy the greatest prosperity in the world—then let me be refused. But if I be a poor, heavy-laden soul, such an one as the call intends, then take off my burden, and put thy yoke upon me, and place me amongst thy servants in thy house, that I may be maintained and instructed by thee, and serve thee without fear and slavishness, in holiness and righteousness all my days, &c. *Faithful is he that hath promised, who also will do it.*

What a sweet rest, and most refreshing repose, is the pardon of sin, and the love of Christ, to such a soul:—a sanctuary, a harbour, a shadowy rock in a weary land: more acceptable than the joy of harvest, the joy of a woman delivered, the joy of the bridegroom and the bride, or the joy of them that divide the spoil; all which the scripture makes mention of. But none like the joy of meeting with Christ, as a mediator, an advocate, a propitiation through faith in his blood. Now common faith sees no such preciousness in Christ, does not care to be beholden unto him, or as little as may be: where it cannot discharge, it would be thankful for Christ to pay, and where it comes short, that Christ would make up the defects; but it sees no such need of, or preciousness in the death, and sufferings, and resurrection of Christ. Do this and live, it approves of much better than, Believe, and be saved.

Let me add to this head, that true faith considers the price of it, and what it cost. The price is set down, Eph. i. 19, 20; which text is often weighed by a believing soul, that admires at that power that wrought faith in it. Whereas a counterfeit and common faith cost but little. Education, converse, example, custom, and common convictions contributed to the breeding of it; which, therefore, will not endure in a time of sharp persecution. Common faith sees it no such hard matter to be a believer. True faith sees an almighty power, as the author and begetter of it.

2. The preciousness of faith may be considered, as it makes conscience precious. How is it that the dear purchase of pardon and reconciliation by Christ, the deep humiliations, contritions, and sorrows for sins, by repentance, make a true believer exceeding tender of sinning against God? If one that hath this true faith might have a whole kingdom given him for the committing of one sin, as the telling of a lie, the omitting of a duty, knowingly, wittingly, and wilfully, he would scorn the motion. Precious faith makes sin rare to a believer; and to see sin most vile, makes faith most precious, because it keeps a due distance between the precious and the vile.

Now common and counterfeit faith makes no such distinction, no such separation; knows no such awe and tenderness; admits of the prevalency of corruption with the eminency of privileges, the power of ungodliness with the form of godliness; sees no such unhandsomeness, nor uncomeliness, to have the money-changers in the temple; does not think that there is such need of that strictness, niceness, and circumspection amongst believers. This creed-faith, baptism-faith, supper-faith—in a word, this tradition, profession, conviction-faith, that is a stranger to this preciousness and power, will in case make no great matter of handling and taking up a sin, or letting alone or letting fall a duty, if men see not or say nothing. Outward profession and performances are its paint; natural conscience, credit, interest, custom, or company are its pulleys.

True faith dares not commit a secret sin, and suspects itself in a public duty; will choose the greatest affliction, rather than the least sin; does not aggravate the suffering to be undergone, and extenuate the obligation to the duty to be performed; nor minces to an indifferency the unlawfulness of the thing to be complied with, that trouble may be avoided; but speaks on this wise:—Let me not offend God; let me keep a good conscience whatever I endure; a wounded conscience will be a thousand times a greater torment to me, than any persecutor can inflict upon me; I will keep the path of duty, and I dare trust God with the issue; he never forsakes those that put their trust and confidence in him; my work

is to believe and wait, and not to consult flesh and blood, and mingle my carnal reason and interest with my profession, to go no further in religion than I can do it safely, and without much damage to myself;—which is the guise and genius of the formal faith, &c.

I should now proceed to a third account of the preciousness of this true faith, with reference to communion and conversation, and its preciousness and usefulness therein. That God may give you more light into the mystery of faith, is the prayer of your well-wisher to your faith and joy,

THOMAS HARDCASTLE.

Sir Robert Cann, the mayor, being sorely troubled he should be, as it were, at the command of Hellier, went away to London, on the 27th inst.

The eleventh Lord's day, being 31st October, 1675, we were in peace, and had no disturbance; nor any of the rest of the meetings. Praise be to the Lord! The reason was, Hellier was gone to his father's, who lived about three miles from the city, to begin his Curst-Mas [*Cursenmas* or *Christmas*].

The twelfth letter of Mr. Hardcastle.

These for my truly beloved friends, the members and hearers of the congregation meeting in Broadmead, Bristol.

BELOVED FRIENDS,—I am now handling the subject of faith's preciousness, and shall, by the Lord's blessing, at this time endeavour to open that excellency of it, in respect of a double influence it hath,

I. Upon our communion with God; and II. Upon our conversation in the world. In regard of both which, it wonderfully differences itself from a formal, false, counterfeit, and common faith.

I. First then, as to our communion with God.

1. It is the work of true faith to put into us a willingness and a desire to come to God, and to meet with him; and that, notwithstanding, I. Manifold infirmities. Guilt makes a hypocrite hide and fly; faith makes a true believer return and acknowledge. Whose language runs on this wise:— Father, though I have displeased thee, and sinned grievously against thee, have played fast and loose with thee, I cannot live without seeing thee, and enjoying thy presence; let me not want thy countenance, though I have thy correction with it; let me have the smiles of thy face, though I feel the smittings of thy hand; I can be content with that whole text, Ps. lxxxix. 30—34; I make my appeal from thy justice to thy mercy; I am willing thou shouldst see how vile I am, but I will not go out of thy service; in thy house I will remain, though it be but as a hired servant

This true faith leads a soul unto God, and will not leave it short of him. Duties, sermons, meetings, and ministers will not serve, without some secret and powerful touch of omnipotent grace and free love; so that the soul can say, my heart was melted, convinced, instructed, comforted, strongly drawn and overcome, by the Spirit of God.

II. Notwithstanding great troubles, faith leads the soul to God. A bewildered saint, that has lain among the pots, and is all sullied and rusted with temptation and tribulation, yet makes towards God and his presence. Poor desolate Job, that sat in ashes, with a potsherd to scrape himself withal, Job ii. 7, 8, yet, in this condition, cries out, Job xxiii. 3, *Oh that I knew where I might find him! that I might come even to his seat!* &c. How comes such a dunghill creature to presume to come so near God's seat? Why it is his faith; and God likes it, Job xix. 25—27. But counterfeit faith leaves a man destitute, and forlorn in distress; or, leads him to carnal helps, or sinful shiftings, Job xiii. 16: *for an hypocrite shall not come before him.*

2. True faith not only makes the soul willing to come to God, but also gives him a true representation of God, *what he is, and that he is a rewarder*, Heb. xi. 6. Faith discovers to the soul the excellent attributes of God, his greatness, power, faithfulness, wisdom,

goodness, and bounty; and works suitable impressions from thence upon the heart. So that I know no better a description of a true believer, both as to his state and blessedness, than what you have in a very few words, Ps. xxxiii. 18. Pray consider it. A true believer is one that fears God, and hopes in his mercy. If he did only fear, he would be led into despair; if he did barely hope, it would not be faith, but presumption and vain confidence. And mark his happy condition, *The eye of the Lord is upon him*. And what would you have more? His heart, his love, his care, and compassion are all engaged for him. Now a counterfeit faith has no such representations of God, nor impressions from God; but in duties and ordinances, leaves the soul in a dull, confused, general frame, without any discovery, awe, or taste of God: without any refreshing influence or efficacy, persuasion or alteration. The exterior faculties, it may be, may be entertained, as the fancy and the memory, by gifts or expressions, its own or others, in public. The affection may be, perhaps, a little moved, and the natural conscience stirred, though both but slightly and transiently. But the heart is not delighted and established in truth and goodness; the will not bowed and inclined more to God, and more spiritual, and resolved in and for his ways and worship, and all manner of holy conversation, godliness, and growth in grace. As some think there is no God, who do not only want faith, but are unreasonable men, so there are some who profess the true God, that yet have him not in all their thoughts. Or if they think of him, conceive unsuitably and unworthily of him, and think that he is altogether such an one as themselves, and never can perform acceptable, right service to him. But,

II. True faith is precious, with reference to its usefulness about our conversations in the world, which hereby are furnished with the excellent properties of being,

1. Honest and unblameable. True faith by giving us (as it is *the evidence of things not seen*) a discovery of the world to come, and the duration of it, keeps us from being ensnared, and entangled, and being made vain, by this present evil world: from which our Lord Jesus, who is the object, author, and finisher of our faith,

hath delivered us; see Gal. i. 4; Titus ii. 12—14; 1 Pet. i. 18. True faith gives to believers victory over the world, 1 John v. 4; and carries them honestly through all its temptations and snares, and *many foolish and hurtful lusts, which drown men in perdition and destruction*, 1 Tim. vi. 9.

2. Hereby the soul becomes contented, without covetousness and perplexing carefulness. Faith takes hold of that word of promise, Heb. xiii. 5, *I will never leave thee, nor forsake thee*; and thus the cure is wrought. When straits and difficulties, and sharp, trying providences, present themselves, and would procure discouragement, true faith answers them, removes and banishes them all, by arguing on this wise:—What, have I trusted God for the eternal salvation of my soul, and shall not I trust him with my body, my family, my children? Can he give a kingdom, and cannot he give crumbs? He that feeds ravens will not famish his children. He never yet did suffer me to hunger, and what reason have I to think that he will [now]? He has maintained me so many years, and helped me through all my straits, and will do it for the future. Will my carking and caring do any good? My believing, will; but my distrust will do a great deal of harm. Can I believe for a share in his peculiar love, and doubt of a part in his common providence? He that saves my soul from hell will save my body from famine, unless it be thereby to bring me to heaven. Depart from me, then, all ye disquieting fears, unprofitable cares, sinful perplexities: for I have cast my burden upon the Lord. I have committed the care of me and mine to him; and I know he will take care of me. But a false faith will suffer a man to die of a worldly sorrow, and cannot help him. It bears the name in prosperity, but will not bear up the man in adversity.

3. This true faith renders the soul beneficial and profitable. Faith makes the soul very generous; willing and desirous to do good to all; would have every soul saved, and converted, and healed, and every back clothed, and belly filled; and wishes that it could but speak, or do, that which might attain all these ends. How does a believer travail for the conversion of sinners, of

relations! How glad, if any token of repenting and returning! But a common faith leaves a man in a careless frame, and unconcerned posture, about the danger and sufferings that the souls and bodies of others are in, and under; unless it be, that ambition, honour, and applause do stir up, and make a man a little active this way for a season. And thus you have an account, briefly, of faith's preciousness, and thereby of its discrimination from common professional faith. By the help of your prayers, and the supply of the Spirit of Jesus, I shall proceed in searching more into this great foundation grace. John iii. 14, 15, 36. That the Lord would bestow faith where it is wanting, and give the increase and joy of it where it is, is the fervent prayer, of

Your sincere servant, in the work of the gospel,

THOMAS HARDCASTLE.

8th m. 29th d. 1675.

This afternoon of 31st eighth month, the church agreed to the motion of the other congregations, to seek for, and buy a burying-place, for all the separatists to bury their dead. Brother Ford, deacon, brother King, and brother Snead, were desired to take the care of it, jointly with those brethren of the other congregations.

At ditto time, brother Bodenham and brother Davis, were desired, upon every second day, in the evening, to gather together and record what affronts and abuses, to whom and by whom they were done, every week, at our meeting, by the informers and them that came with them.³

At ditto time, for more regular keeping of the door every meeting, that some brethren might not be burthened by always doing it, we settled three for every Lord's day, some within and some without, and so take turns about, in all:—

³ [These papers are not preserved.]

1. Brother Bodenham, brother Town, brother Hall.
2. Brother Rivers, brother Joshua Bryan, brother Jacob.
3. Brother Snead, brother Willis, brother Henry Ford.
4. Brother Fry, brother Bland, brother Lewis.
5. Brother Courtney, brother Child, brother Gregory.
6. Brother Whitehead, brother Purnell, brother Dennis.

The twelfth Lord's day, being seventh, ninth month, 1675, we had again great disturbance in that meeting. When brother Jennings had ended his first prayer, and began his sermon, Hellier with his man comes in, walks about; then departed, having sent for some justices of the peace. We had, presently after, another interruption, at their coming nigh our meeting, but they turned aside, and went to Mr. Weeks's; and then, about half an hour past ten, Hellier, with Alderman Lawford, then deputy mayor in the absence of Sir Robert Cann, with Alderman Stevens, and two serjeants, with Hellier's brother-in-law and man, came up into our meeting, and commanded us to depart. Yea, Alderman Lawford commanded us, in the king's name, to depart about forty times; but the people kept singing, and did not depart. Then they go round about, searching and taking of names, men, women, and maids, that they kept us near twelve of the clock, and then the people arose and departed.

In the afternoon we were much worse troubled. First, Hellier comes again, very quick, before we had begun, and walks about, searching; then we began a psalm; after that he goes down, and sends away for Alderman Ollive, and he walks in the room below, where the younger brethren used to exercise every second day, in the evening. Then Hellier would fain have gone up, but some filled the stairs. Whereupon he pulled and hauled brother Dickason by the cloak till it cracked, and plucked one woman that she cried out, "Will you murder me?" He was violent, and struck Martha

Hawkins with a great staff that he had in his hand, that had she not bent away her head when the stroke was coming, he had knocked her down; but thereby the blow came upon her arm. And he brake a youth's head, and so got up. When that Alderman Ollive came, then Hellier and Alderman Ollive, with Chappell and Benjamin Buck, officers, Price and Wilkins, rush up to the table, and commanded the people to depart, and forbear singing; but they did not. Then [they] come to brother Ellis's seat, and kept great contending with him and others thereabout, and sent away sister Fry's brother (a stranger that came to [the] city for cure) to Bridewell, because when he told his name, they would not believe him that he lived so far as the west country; and likewise sent away brother Thomas Jacob, that kept a bakehouse at his house but a little without Lawford's Gate; because he said that he lived there they would not believe him, but sent him away to Bridewell. And [then] they come to brother Dickason, in brother Ellis's seat; the alderman takes his bible out of his hand, and throws it behind him, as he was singing, and the Alderman Ollive spake revilingly of him, saying, he was a heel-maker, and sold tobacco, and went up and down in Wales preaching. He [brother Dickason] said he lived by his calling, as he [Alderman Ollive] did by drawing wine. Whereupon Alderman Ollive commands the officer to take brother Dickason away to Newgate. And after, they went about the room, and got in among the women, uncivilly [going] from one to another, taking their names. Thus, till near three of the clock, they kept troubling of us; then they departed to Mr. Weeks's, and made them disperse, and were coming to us again. So that in the afternoon the minister could not preach, their second coming being in his first prayer, and they stayed so long, hauling and pulling divers, and sending some to prison, that when they departed the time was near spent; wherefore he concludes with short

prayer again. And brother Ellis began and read some part of a letter from our pastor to the people, showing the nature of true faith, and why faith must purify the heart; but they coming again, and the time being over, we departed. And in the evening, brother Dickason was brought before Alderman Ollive. Hellier sware divers things against him, but untrue; yet he was sent to Newgate again, to continue there till next sessions, which would be about nine weeks after. When brother Dickason was brought before them, to the said house, being a tavern, there was the master of the house, Alderman Ollive, Hellier, and Alderman Lawford, drinking and consulting about the imprisoning him. A great while [they] made him stay without, in the pavement; then he was brought in before them.

The thirteenth letter⁴ of Mr. Harcastle.

These for my esteemed friends, the members and auditors of the congregation, meeting in Broadmead, Bristol.

9th m. 6th d. (Saturday), 1675.

DEARLY BELOVED,—Having already discovered something about the excellency of true faith, both as it is the gift of God, and as it is called precious faith, I proceed now to give you a further account of the transcendency of true faith, as it is a faith which purifieth the heart. This differencing and distinguishing mark and character, I ground upon Acts xv. 9. In prosecuting this head, I shall, if the Lord assist, inquire into two things:—
I. How faith purifies; and II. Why it purifies.

I. How faith purifies.

1. I answer, As it discovers the heart of a man to be his worst, his most polluted, his most vile part, that let him be never so bad outwardly, he is much worse inwardly; and therefore it uses to

⁴ [The letter referred to above.]

express itself in such language as this:—What a fountain of iniquity is there in my heart! The seeds of all sin lodge there; the most wicked conversation of the ungodly is not, for mass and weight, and multiplied motions to sin, to be compared with it. I see more evil in an evil heart of unbelief, than I see in all the evil in the world, &c. Now a counterfeit faith may take notice of, and reform a grosser evil in the conversation, which men see and observe, but see no such cause to complain of the heart. It is a good heart, and has good meanings in it, and not an evil thought to any one; Job ix. 20, 21, 30, 31.

2. True faith discovers an utter inability and insufficiency in a man, of himself, ever to get rid of his corruption, this body of sin. All the prayers and tears, the humiliations and repentings, in the world, cannot wash away the defilement of one heart. Nothing but the blood of Jesus Christ can cleanse us from all sin. Now a common faith sees no such need of craving foreign aid and assistance in this matter. Have not men power over themselves? and are not their wills free? cannot they resolve strongly, and rescue themselves from these snares and fetters? Alas, the weakness of nature, the wiles of sin, the depths of Satan, the power of temptation, were never yet known where there are such apprehensions. We think to bind sin by our own cords, as they bound Sampson; but when the strength of sin appears, those cords will become as flax, burned with fire; Judges xv. 14.

3. True faith brings the soul to plead with God, about the efficacy of the blood of Jesus Christ to be applied unto it, for the subduing of corruption, quenching sinful motions, correcting the rising and stirring of corruption, and the bubbling-up of iniquity; and argues the case with him, with much earnestness, and on this wise:—

Lord, by the light of thy law and gospel, I have found my heart, upon search, to be a very sink and puddle of sin. What abundance of vain thoughts lodge within me! how is my soul continually upon a rack with perpetual hurryings and contrary motions! what a great inclination and proneness to evil! what a

backwardness to every thing that is good! what little delight in God! how little relish, taste, and savour of the things of God! how full of the world am I! how natural is it to me to think of that! how hard do I find [it] to perform a duty without disturbance, and unseasonable distractions of a vain, worldly, and confused spirit! and when I would do good, evil is present with me! Lord, thus it is with me, and a great deal worse; and I cannot tell how to help it. But I come to thee, and am desirous that thou shouldst see how bad it is with me. Thou canst set all right and mend all. Thou canst create in me a clean heart. Thou canst give me such a heart as thou wilt accept of. Lord, break it, soften it, melt it, compose it; make it sound, sincere, believing, watchful: for it is such a heart at present that I cannot honour thee, nor come before thee with it, nor get any peace or comfort to abide in it.

Thus true faith puts the heart nakedly into God's hands, and he washes it in the blood of his Son, and returns it a new, broken, tender, clean, and penitent heart; writes his law in it, according to the tenor of the new covenant: see Ezek. xvi. 62, 63. A formal faith washes the heart over with a slight humiliation, and a superficial performance of duties; with an outward profession, and enjoyment of privileges and things that will do: though it still remains a dead, rotten, and deceitful heart.

4. True faith keeps the heart under the eye and omniscience of God, who is the searcher of the hearts and trier of the reins; so that the soul still sees him that is invisible, and stands more in awe of his observation and notice, than if all the eyes of men and angels were upon him.

Faith preserves the heart pure, by that fear it puts into it, and keeps in it. When a man goes out or comes in, lies down or rises up, goes about the performance of any duty, faith says to the soul, Take heed to thyself, the eye of the great and holy God is upon thee; take heed to thy actions and words, and especially to thy thoughts, purposes, designs, aims, and ends. God can spy a fault in the intention, when the most observing men can find none in the action. Let not a deceived heart lead thee aside, and there prove

a lie in thy right hand. Now a counterfeit faith admits of forgetfulness of God. If things appear well before men, the heart is neglected, lies like the field of the sluggard, and becomes a receptacle and lodging for all sorts of unclean, vain, and corrupt imaginations.

II. Why doth faith thus purify the heart ?

Ans. 1. Because none but the pure in heart can see God; and it is the design of faith to bring the soul to communion with God, and the enjoyment of him. Faith helps the soul to see God as present, through the glasses of ordinances, providences, and creatures. Faith makes the glass as clear, and bright, and transparent as may be; and endeavours to keep it from being darkened and clouded by formality, customariness, selfishness, and security. And further, when God is about to receive the soul to a perfect and immediate fruition of himself without these glass mediums, when there will be no further occasion for faith, it willingly and gladly takes its leave of the soul, and is content to be annihilated, now that it has helped the soul to the full enjoyment of the best Being.

2. Faith purifies the heart, to show the excellency of the dispensation of the gospel above that of the law, which was concerned so much about external and ceremonial observances. Faith is for promoting spiritual worship, because *God is a Spirit; and they that worship him must worship him in spirit and in truth*, not in form and shadow. The great commandment is to love the Lord with all our strength, and might, and understanding. Now, all that I shall add at present is this, that we should labour more after this heart-purifying work of faith.

1. A sincere heart is the highest throne God has upon earth. All legal sacrifices, all gospel performances, cannot set him half so high.

2. A sincere heart is the best sanctuary a soul can find, in time of distress and difficulty, and in a day of death: Isa. xxxviii. 3; 2 Cor. i. 12. The leaky ship looks as well as the sound one in a calm, but sinks in a storm.

3. A pure holy heart is always ready for service. What is the reason that David could say his heart was fixed, and doubles the

expression, to show the certainty of it? Why, he gives a ready account of it, in his own words, Ps. xviii. 23: *I was also upright before him, and I kept myself from my own iniquity.* He did not regard iniquity in his heart. Sin allowed is like weights of lead hung upon the wings of the soul, that clog and fetter it, so that it cannot act freely for God. To encourage you in this great work of getting a pure heart, take notice of this one particular:—That the Lord is very willing to hearken to a soul, when it comes to deal with him about heart work. His delight is there; he does not say, *My son, give me thy good heart,* but *give me thy heart;* let me have it brought to me sincerely, such as it is, and I will make it for myself. I shall conclude with this:—Whilst you are so eminently confessing Christ with your mouths, and bearing testimony to his worship and ways, look to your believing with your heart, that it may not come under decay and diminution. That your faith, courage, and constancy may abound yet more and more, is the true desire and hearty prayer of

Your servant and fellow-sufferer in and for the gospel,

THOMAS HARDCASTLE.

The 13th Lord's day, being the 14th day of the 9th month, 1675, we had again great trouble in the morning: for Hellier, the day before, had got one of the aldermen, Sir Robert Yeamans, a great wine drinker, to the Three Tuns tavern, in Corn Street, where Alderman Ollive dwelt: there they were most part of the afternoon, filling themselves, and preparing who should give us disturbance the next day. Sir Robert Yeamans is engaged. Hellier, as his manner was, writes a warrant, and gets said Sir Robert to sign it, and sends it to the chief constable of James's ward, commanding him, and all the constables, with the overseers of the poor, to be ready to attend him on the morrow morning at Hellier's house, by eight of the clock, to suppress the meetings in the said ward, of which he is certified there will be several by the church-

wardens of James's (that is Hellier), as they shall answer it at their peril. Thus having issued out their summons, they continue drinking, till Hellier was by two persons led home drunk that evening, being the 13th day of 9th month.

The next morning, being the Lord's day, accordingly, somewhat after eight of the clock, Sir Robert Yeamans, with Hellier and the constables, with two serjeants, George Wilkins and ———, came to the meeting, and not about half the people come. They keep the doors, and will let no more go in, and coming up command us to depart. But brother Jennings, who was to speak, having not begun withdrew into another part of the house; because the last [Lord's] day they having taken his name, they came after to learn that he did use to preach: whereupon we understood Hellier had got a warrant for him, as he had for brother Terrill another new warrant, as soon as Sir Robert Cann, the mayor, was gone out of town, signed by old Lawford, deputy-mayor; signed the 29th October last.

So care being taken that brother Jennings, for whom they had a warrant, might not be taken, the people as usual fall a singing. Hellier looks very wistfully in the place where brother Jennings last day sat; but not finding him, commands the people to depart, and also Sir Robert. But the people not obeying, Sir Robert commands one of the serjeants, Wilkins, to make proclamation: who did accordingly, after he had cried O yes, three times; and yet the people [would] not depart. Then Sir Robert Yeamans commands brother Ellis, in particular, to be gone, and because [he would] not so speedily, commands the serjeants to pull him out: then he came. Sir Robert said he would send brother Ellis to Newgate: who told him he might use his pleasure. But at that time he did not, after he had to Hellier but said, brother Ellis and Mr. Sam. Clarke must find sureties to appear tomorrow morning at the Tolzey. Brother Ellis said he would be

surety for Mr. Clarke, and Mr. Clarke should be surety for him. And the alderman turning towards Hellier, he said that should serve, and so they were let go. And also brother Ford, brother Snead, and Mr. Hill were obliged to answer the morrow. But Hellier espying a countryman, that was a stranger, at the meeting, told Sir Robert; and him they sent away to Bridewell, and kept him there till next morning. The man lived near Gloucester, kin to brother Bodenham, that came to town about some business he had here. Thus they used strangers and us. And then they forced the rest of the people away, with many threats from Sir Robert, that if he caught any of them there in the afternoon, what he would do to them, and charged the constables to stay at the doors, and keep us out in the afternoon. But after Hellier and Sir Robert were gone, the constable went away to dinner also, and thereby we got into the meeting, about twelve of the clock, and were quiet all the afternoon. Praise be to the Lord.

The fourteenth letter of Mr. Hardecastle.

To the congregation meeting in Broadmead, Bristol.

9th month, 12th day, 1675.

BELOVED FRIENDS,—The consideration of your continual sufferings, and great constancy under them, doth at once affect me with joy and trouble; but with more joy than trouble, because the Lord gets honour, the gospel advantage, and the Lord is preparing for you an exceeding great reward. Read Matt. v. 10—12; Jas. i. 2—4; and 1 Pet. i. 5—9, and labour to believe these three texts.

I shall now proceed to another character of true faith, and ground it upon Eph. vi. 16. It is a shield in time of danger, when the darts of the wicked are flying abroad. I. There are the darts of Satan, the wicked one, which he throws unto the conscience, and

which are fiery. Such are his temptations to blasphemy, strange thoughts of God, and dismal conclusions against a man's self. And these are called fiery, because they are scorching, tormenting, and affrighting. Now this true faith quenches these, as it discovers God to the soul in his purity, majesty, power, justice; and in Jesus Christ, as a God that pardons iniquity, transgression, and sin: of a merciful nature, that can and will consider our frame, and knows that we are but dust, and who has infinitely more bowels of compassion in him than all the men of the world.

II. Again, there are the darts of wicked men, which are the instruments of the wicked one. And these darts are bitter words, base reflections, vile reproaches, lying accusations, cruel mockings, cunning insinuations, violent spoil, &c. And these are called fiery, because there is such red-hot malice in them; because they are managed with such earnestness and violence; and because they are apt, if the saints do not watch, to provoke, and fret, and cause some inflammation of spirit. For so unreasonable and inhuman is their rage, that flesh and blood cannot, will not bear it, unless it be charmed and overruled. Now it is the work of faith to quench these darts, and keep them from setting all on fire; which it does effect,

1. By persuading the soul that these things are permitted and limited by the Lord, and not a tongue nor hand could move if the Lord did not suffer it; and are purely under his check and government, and can proceed no further than he pleases. He is higher than the highest, and controls the fiercest persecutors as he pleases.

2. That it is not a sign that God is well pleased with the wicked, or altogether displeased with his people; but is truly angry with what the ungodly do, and truly afflicted in his disciples' afflictions and sufferings. He loves his people when they are among the pots: when under the stairs: when in the clefts of the rocks: when tossed, turmoiled, and tormented by the furious assaults of persecutors; and is much delighted and refreshed to behold their faith and patience, courage and constancy.

3. Faith presents the soul with the view of the death and suffer-

ings of the Lord Jesus, the captain of our salvation, who was made perfect by sufferings; how he was mocked, buffeted, spit upon, crowned with thorns, led to judgment and prison, and put to a most shameful, painful, and cursed death. Oh! says the believing soul, has my Saviour suffered so much for me, and shall not I follow him, when he bids me? Oh, blessed reproach for his sake! What an honour has he put upon me, that I should be spoiled, and abused, and imprisoned for his cause! how glorious are these marks of the Lord Jesus! Has the Master need of my ass? [Matt. xxi. 2, 3,] he shall have it with all my heart. And blessed be his name, that counts me worthy of such a privilege. Oh, sweet and precious cross! Lovely Jesus! what glory did he leave for me, to take my sinful infirm nature upon him! He made himself of no reputation, and took upon him the form of a servant, who thought it no robbery to be equal with God. And I, a poor vile wretch, that am made of the same mould with the worms, and dust, and have a nature as vile as the vilest, and cannot say that I am worth a crumb of bread, or drop of water,—shall I think it hard to suffer a little loss, to bear a little reproach, to endure a little hardship? The consideration of Christ's sufferings does wonderfully melt the heart of a true believer, into a rejoicing over his cross, and a readiness and resolution of mind to follow him, through thick and thin, against all opposition and contradiction of sinners; see Heb. xii. 1—4, and so on to the end of the 13th verse.

4. Faith sets before the soul the persecutors as a company of dying men, poor creatures that in a very few days will have their bodies in the grave, and their souls in everlasting flames, if the case be not altered with them; the vengeance of God hanging over their heads, ready to bury them in eternal torments every moment. Oh, poor wretches, miserable souls! Pity them, pity them. Their disturbing you will quickly be over, but the wrath of God will for evermore torment them.

5. True faith gives the soul a clear view of the glory to come, reigning with Christ, that exceeding and eternal weight of glory, for a few, light, momentary afflictions. The clouds are hastening

away, sorrow and mourning fleeing apace, praise waiting for the Lord in Zion, the Lord Jesus at hand, *to be glorified in his saints, and admired in all them that believe. Cast not away therefore your confidence, which hath great recompence of reward: for yet a little while, and he that shall come will come, and will not tarry.* Read over Heb. x. 30, to the end of the chapter. Comfort and encourage one another with these words, and pray for

Your fellow-sufferer and truly sympathizing brother,

THOMAS HARDCASTLE.

But the next morning, being 15th day 9th month, 1675, brother Ellis, brother Ford, brother Snead, Mr. Clarke, and Mr. Hill appeared according to their promise, before Mr. Lawford, deputy-mayor, Sir Robert Yeamans, Alderman Hicks, Alderman Ollive, at the Tolzey; where Hellier also came, and gave an information against them, sworn to by him, his brother George Hellier, and his man Thomas Eyre, That these five persons with many more, he named thirty, subjects of his majesty's realm, were at such a place at a conventicle, or unlawful meeting; and being commanded by the officers, and one of them his majesty's justice of the peace, to depart in his majesty's name, yet would not; nay, though proclamation was made in the meeting by O yes, they stayed, and did not depart for above a quarter of an hour after. Thus they being accused, the alderman would have them find sureties to appear and to answer it at next quarter sessions, which would be about two months thence. These brethren were ready so to do; but Hellier then motions to the said Alderman Lawford, and they must give sureties for the good behaviour in the meantime, till the sessions; whereby he meant, they must not go to meeting in the mean space. But to that they would not give bail nor sureties. Then they, the alderman said, must go to prison. So after long debate of the matter of fact, and unreasonableness of their acting, and their

unrighteously dealing to go to imprison their neighbours for only waiting upon God, and that they had nothing to charge them with but in the matters of their God, &c. ; and that they went to the extremity of the law, and did follow the dictates of this debauched fellow, Hellier, not allowing them the favour the justices would allow to felons ; yet nothing would prevail, but to prison they must all go, unless they would give bond to the good behaviour. Which they still refusing, their mittimus is made to send them to prison ; but some friend standing by, wished the aldermen not to be so rash, but to forbear and consider of it, till fourth day, Wednesday next. Thereupon they commanded them to appear then again.

And so upon the 17th day of the 9th month, 1675, they again appeared ; and finding our brethren in the same mind, not to give sureties, nor so much as promise not to go to meeting, which they would accept of, till sessions ; they were then all five, brother Captain Ellis, Mr. Clarke, brother Ford, Mr. Hill, brother Snead, by the same mittimus, sent prisoners to Newgate. Thus these poor aldermen fulfil Hellier's desire : for Hellier had invited them, viz., Aldermen Lawford, Ollive, Hicks, &c., to dine with him, at Hellier's house, that day. And so after they had imprisoned these brethren, they go to his feast.

The fourteenth Lord's day, being 21st 9th month, 1675, we had rest and peace all this day. Some think the Lord brought [it] thus about. When our brethren aforesaid, the last second day, Monday, were brought before the magistrates, Hellier, and one Mr. Robins, steward of the city, a very debauched man also, and an enemy to us, Hellier had said in open court, before the aldermen, that the parliament were going to make an act to take away charters from those cities and corporations that did suffer such conventicles ; and Robins seconded it, and said it was true, for he heard his lordship (meaning the bishop) had writ down so. Which words one of our brethren certi-

fied up to London, to Mr. Jekell; who, inquiring whether it were so of some of the parliament House of Commons, and of some of the House of Lords, was assured it was an utter untruth, and was commanded by some lords to write a letter to Robins, to know whether it was true that his lordship, the bishop of Bristol, had writ down so, if he would prove it; if not, Robins and Hellier should be sent for up, and called to an account for spreading false news, and belying the parliament. Which letter being sent inclosed to brother Ellis, in prison, the day before the Lord's day, he sent his man with it to Mr. Robins, and required his answer that post. [This] put them in some fear, that it was observed that Hellier and Robins, and some others, went to the Tuns Tavern, to their instrument Alderman Ollive, and plodded what to do, drinking themselves drunk. So through this fear some judged we were let alone this day. But the next week the parliament was prorogued, for fifteen months, until 15th February, 1676.⁵ So they were not called to account, but freed; and we again troubled the Lord's day following.

Fifteenth letter of Mr. Hardcastle.

To the members and auditors of the congregation meeting in Broadmead, Bristol.

DEARLY BELOVED FRIENDS,—I am through the Lord's good providence treating with you about faith. The next step I take I am much induced it should be on that ground, Gal. ii. 20; Heb. x. 38, "The just shall live by his faith." It is a very troublesome, distracting, distressing, and perplexed life that we live. Is there not

⁵ ["The Duke of Buckingham made a notable speech against persecution, and desired the consent of the lords, that he might bring in a bill for the ease of his majesty's protestant subjects in mat-

ters of religion; but while it was preparing, the king, on Monday, November 21st, prorogued the parliament, till February come twelvemonth."—Baxter's Narrative, part iii. p. 175.]

a cause why? We live by sense and reason, by sight and foresight, and make little use of faith; see 1 Pet. i. 5—9. Faith sees somewhat to rejoice in, when all things appear dark and dismal to sense. The less of happiness and comfort any man places in these outward things, the more happy is he. He lives in danger of being broken every day, who has most of his treasure in a worldly bottom. It will be your interest and wisdom to make a speedy removal of all your outward concerns, into the care and keeping of Jesus Christ by faith; lodge your souls in Christ's complete righteousness, and all your outward concerns in the all-wise providence of your heavenly Father, and then you will live happily, when you thus come to live upon your faith. I profess to you, my sense of things, and the circumstances we are under, put me out of my wonted method. I do plainly tell you, that a great many of Job's messengers are upon the way, coming fast, one after another; and scarce a day will pass over your heads, wherein you will not hear of some saddening news or other, either at home or abroad, public or private, relational or personal, about saints or sinners, from men's injustice or God's just displeasure, respecting the souls or bodies of men, disappointments or losses, deaths of one kind or of another; but if we can by faith get above the world, then we shall be able to frown at her smiles, and smile at her frowns; to endure her crosses, and despise her flatteries. Can you believe at last that the world does not love you? Men hate you irreconcilably and mortally. Consider well our Saviour's last words, and amongst the rest, John xv. 18—21. You cannot possibly be safe but by trusting God purely, and living upon him solely. We have sickly souls, sickly churches, and a sickly state; sin lies at the bottom of all. *The blood of Jesus Christ cleanseth us from all sin*; and this blood is applied by a lively faith. But is there no good news? Pray tell us something that may be good tidings to us. There is a great deal that is very good and very true, but you give not that regard to it which you ought.

First. *This is a faithful saying, and worthy of all acceptation, that Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners.* You know where to read this news. He who is saved from sin cannot be

hurt by anything else. God is his father, who is so good, he will do him no harm ; and so just, he will do him no wrong.

Secondly. It is good news, that a sincere desire is accepted with God where there cannot be a suitable and specious performance. The best do but little for God, the weakest can desire much ; he that gives God the best he hath, and heartily wishes it were infinitely better, need not fear evil tidings. The widow's two mites are remarked in scripture, because she gave her all, above the sums of the wealthy, who gave out of their abundance, and yet kept abundance. The poor woman in the gospel, talking within herself, is taken notice of by our Saviour for our encouragement to earnest, fervent wishes, breathings, and longings after Christ, and more enjoyment of him. Your devices may be as large as the ocean, when your doings may be but as a drop.

Thirdly. It is glad tidings what you read, Phil. i. 6. When Jesus Christ has once taken a soul into his covenant and love, he will never reject it or cast it off. And there is a double ground of it, for he is,

1. Omniscient, and knows what will be, and how we shall prove ; which because men cannot, therefore they change their minds many times.

2. The power of his pardon is great, and he can pass by transgressions. He can make mountains plain before him ; but weakness in men causes changeableness in them.

Fourthly. It is welcome news that nothing that falls out can hurt a believer. All things work together for his good ; that which we think worst is best, and the worse the better.

Fifthly. Lastly, That the Lord will save his people with a notwithstanding—How is this ?

1. Notwithstanding their own unworthiness, imperfections, backslidings, and unfitness for mercies.

2. Notwithstanding their fears, faintings, despondencies, unbelief, and positive conclusions against themselves ; their hopes, and the returns of mercy.

3. Notwithstanding all the improbabilities, and growing oppositions and obstructions that seem to lie in the way of their peace and deliverance.

4. Notwithstanding the power, prevalency, expectations, interests, and insultings of their enemies.

5. Notwithstanding many tokens and testimonies of his own displeasure and indignation against them, and a kind of resolution not to show mercy to them any more. See Hosea ii. 4—7; see also verses 14, 15, 23 of the same chapter; Judges x. 11—17. I must conclude with this :—Peter was afraid and he began to sink; our fears are the great cause of our sinkings. But when he began to sink, Christ came to his relief and saved him; he will make you to cry out, but he will not suffer you to perish. The Lord increase your faith. Pray for

Your friend, that loves you at all times,

THOMAS HARDCASTLE.

9th month 20th day, 1675.

The fifteenth Lord's day, being 28th Nov. 1675, in the morning, Hellier, with another man, one Gill, came four times to our meeting, and so interrupted us; for he walked from Mr. Weeks's to ours, and from our meeting to brother Gifford's, and so from one to another, all that morning. And in the afternoon, he came twice before two of the clock, and then had got Alderman Hicks to come to him, and so they went to disturb Mr. Weeks's meeting, and tarried there a long time, till half an hour past three; by which means we had a fine breathing, and a comfortable opportunity, and ended all in peace. But as the people were going forth, a great part having already passed out, Hellier with the constables came, and stopped the rest, and would not let them come forth: and then the Alderman Hicks coming, seeing the people were part gone, and the rest going out, he turned away homewards. Yet Hellier made the constable keep the doors to take their names, and Hellier pulled and hauled the people, [particularly] brother Rieves, and also Mr. John Cornish, and was going to strike him on the head with his staff; but his

brother-in-law, George Hellier, prevented him. And he struck one boy a sore blow. And as the constable there kept one of the doors, putting in his constable's staff athwart the door, the entry being thronged with those people that came down out of the meeting, a little child being next the door, the constable plucked away his staff to let out the child, and then divers people rushed out, and with it. Here the constable was thrust down in the street, at which there was a great *Thay* made by the boys in the street that followed Hellier. And thereupon Hellier, the next day, before the magistrates, endeavoured to make this meeting a riot: whereas we were peaceably met, and peaceably parting, but he hindered us, endeavouring to find the brother that spake; but the Lord had hid him.

Sixteenth letter of Mr. Hardcastle.

To the members and hearers of the congregation meeting in Broadmead, Bristol.

9th month 26th day, 1675.

BELOVED FRIENDS,—My meditations are still willingly employed and busied about your spiritual and eternal concerns. I am comparing two texts of scripture, 1 John i. 4, *These things write we unto you, that your joy may be full*; 1 Pet. i. 8, *In whom, believing, ye rejoice with joy unspeakable and full of glory*. It is possible for those that are in heaviness, through manifold temptations, to rejoice much in believing, and in hoping for the glory of God. This joy of faith, which the blessed apostle makes mention of, I shall consider in its nature and properties.

I. For the nature of the joy of faith.

1. It is such a joy as hath no dependence at all upon external and creature-enjoyments and advantages. The affluence and confluence of worldly comforts cannot produce it. The result of all things of that nature is vanity, and that which is vanity can never be a ground of joy.

2. It is such a joy as cannot be wrought out of all our privileges

and performances. The defects of our duties may, and many times do cause mourning, sorrow, and humiliation; but the completeness of them, as proceeding from ourselves, can never produce full joy.

3. A grounded apprehension of, first, our interest in the perfect satisfaction of Christ; second, the imputation of his righteousness; third, the pardon of our sins; fourth, the acceptance of our persons and prayers; fifth, his purchased and prepared glory; sixth, the immutable covenant; seventh, the promise of his Spirit; eighth, the joint-witnessing of the same; ninth, his constant intercession with the Father; and tenth, our daily experiences of his power, providence, and faithfulness:—I say our faith in these ten things will give us at all times matter, and afford us occasion of unspeakable and abounding joy.

4. The more we admit of the workings of sense and reason, the more does our trouble and perplexity increase; but the more they are checked, and faith and patience put in exercise, the greater rest, peace, and tranquillity abides upon our spirits. Where sense and reason can see nothing but clouds and darkness, there faith can behold a clear sunshine and great beauty.

5. This joy of faith is so far from being dashed by difficulties and hardships, that it is advanced and advantaged much by them. And that upon these grounds:—

(1.) It discovers the lightness of them. They are such as only respect the outward man; troublesome to that which must not enter into the kingdom of God, afflictive to those parts that have been the occasion of much sin and temptation to us, and thereby have caused inward soul-mourning; such little things as the heathens themselves, by the improvement of the light and remaining rectitude of nature, could despise and glory under.

(2.) Faith beholds the momentariness of them. They are such troubles as will be quickly over; clouds suddenly blown away. Persecution will vanish. It is said of them that wagged their heads at Christ upon the cross, that they were *passing by*; and those heads in a few days were quietly laid in the grave, where they could wag no more.

(3.) Faith discerns a great accession and addition to our future glory, by our present sufferings; see 2 Cor. iv. 16—18, and Heb. x. 32—34.

II. For the properties of this joy.

1. It is an abiding joy; the grounds of it are certain and unchangeable. The wells of salvation are always full, from whence this joy is drawn out. It is our want of buckets, or of our making too much use of our own bottles, by which we are deprived many times of our comfort; and that joy that came in the morning, carries not with us till the evening.

2. It is abounding joy.

First. It exceeds all other joy: of riches, relations, friends; the joy of harvest; the joy of the bridegroom and the bride; the joy of them that divide the spoil; the joy of corn and wine and oil, Ps. iv. 6, 7. And because it exceeds and is above all other joys, it does thereby regulate, sanctify, and sweeten all other joys; which, when they are uppermost, do but transport, weaken, and intoxicate the soul; but this joy of faith is our strength, fixation, and stabiliment.

Second. It is abounding, because it excels and swims above all worldly sorrow, and is not capable of being checked, or nonplussed, or overpowered by it. The oil of faith's joy will still be uppermost. See Habak. iii. 17—19; so Job xix. 25—27. You know what made him say, *Though he slay me, yet will I trust in him; he also shall be my salvation, &c.* This property of joy is abundantly exemplified in the psalms of David; which pray take notice of in the reading of them. How low many times was his case, and yet how was his faith and joy lifted up.

Third. It is a purifying joy. Carnal joy is defiling, but this is cleansing. It does not exclude, but joins in partnership with the filial fear and awe of the Almighty God. It is not wanton, but serious, solid, and savoury.

Fourth. It is a strengthening joy. Worldly joy debilitates, weakens, and enfeebles; but this is a great strengthener, an encourager to duty, and helps us with patience and waiting upon God in duty.

Fifth. It is a pure unmixed joy ; no sorrow joined with it, nor added to it. It is free from confusion and consequential perplexities, which are the certain adjuncts and concomitants of all other joys.

Sixth. It is a growing, not a decaying and declining joy, as the joy of the creature is. The joy of faith will be full, perfect, and complete. What we now rejoice in the believing of, we shall ere long in the beholding of. The Lord increase your faith, that so your joy may be more and more ; in both which I shall have cause to rejoice, and for which I do daily pray, not doubting of your continued supplications for me, that I may have the supplies of the Spirit of Jesus, which will help me forward in my work, and especially whilst I remain,

Your companion in tribulation,

THOMAS HARDCASTLE.

The sixteenth Lord's day, being the 5th of the 10th month, 1675, we were in the morning three times disturbed by Hellier, and constables he brought. The last time he brought Alderman Crump with him. The alderman was very civil, it being near eleven of the clock ; after they stayed some time—the people a singing—all departed at the hour. In the afternoon Hellier disturbed us twice.

Seventeenth letter of Mr. Hardcastle.

These to the members and hearers of the congregation meeting in Broadmead, Bristol.

BELoved FRIENDS,—Our next footing, for our further progress in this great point of a true and right faith, we take from Heb. xi. 7. True faith believes the threatenings of God's judgments, and will take warning, and prepares for prevention and escape. Jonah iii. 5, 10, compared.

A counterfeit faith will be secure, and meets with a surprisal ; 1 Thes. v. 2, 3, 6, compared. Fear is the handmaid of faith, and

care and endeavour are the fruits and effects of fear. When the judgments of God are hanging over our heads, and public calamity approaching, true faith has a great deal of exercise and employment:—

1. It affects the heart with fear and trembling, with sensibleness and trouble. The mighty hand of God makes the soul humble, and lie very low. The eye sees the hand of God lifted up, and it affects the heart. This was the frame of king Josiah and the prophet Habakkuk; 2 Kings xxii. 19; Hab. iii. 16. *The lion hath roared, who will not fear?* Amos iii. 8. *Fear ye not me? saith the Lord: will ye not tremble at my presence?* Jer. v. 22. When God rises from his place, and goes forth in indignation, he expects that we should reverence him; make our obeisance to him, and wait on him in the way of his judgments. Our iniquities have provoked him, and the tokens of his anger should make us melt and fall down before him. Indeed his mercies should command our respect; his common providence and daily provisions should make us fear before him; see Jer. v. 22—24. If we will not acknowledge him for the good things he bestows, he will be known by the judgments that he executes. True faith differences a saint from a hypocrite very evidently and eminently in this matter; the one, when under affliction, murmurs, and his heart frets against the Lord, speaks proudly and hardens himself: the other is in a silent, humble, trembling, and submissive frame of spirit, confessing his sin, acknowledging justice, and praising God for the mercy that is left, and the punishment less than iniquity deserves.

2. True faith, in times of impending judgment, discovers to the soul the weakness, instability, and uncertainty of all earthly refuges, worldly securities, and carnal dependences; no city of refuge in the wilderness of this world; no sanctuary below God himself, whose *name is a strong tower: the righteous* in time of distress and tribulation *run into it, and there are safe.* This faith, unfeigned, shows to a believer that the strongest hold upon earth is easily stormed by the just wrath of God; but a counterfeit, hypocritical faith admits of shifting and removing from one carnal shelter to another, as interest, friends, relations, riches, immunity, security,

or a supposition that the evil will not come, compliance, escape by flight, external humiliations and reformings, formal performances, intercessions, and prayers of saints; universality of the scourge, (I shall do as well as others); present enjoyment, (let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die); general apprehension of God's merey, without considering his holiness, justice, and provocations; a groundless conceit that death will put an end to misery, without any provision made for another life; and such like little props and leaning-stocks as these, the hypocrite propounds and promises to himself, in times of straits and difficulties. I might name more; but true faith does not only show the emptiness of the best creature-hold, but,

3. Leads the soul unto God, the Rock of ages. Deut. xxxii. 31; 1 Sam. ii. 2; Ps. lxi. 2, ix. 9, 10. Divine attributes, precious promises, the sons of prayers, seasonable providences, inward experiences, and such like, are a believer's rock and refuge. *When I am weak, then am I strong.* When I am nothing, and can do nothing, can see nothing, can say nothing, then will I trust in Him, stay myself upon Him; he also shall be my salvation.

4. Faith sees through the most dark and dreadful dispensations; and discerns peace, and freedom, and tranquillity, and happiness, beyond them; and can rejoice in hope. Abraham saw the day of Christ, and was glad. Gospel believers can by faith see Christ coming in his glory; sitting on his throne, his enemies made his footstool; bringing salvation and his reward with him. Sense and reason terminate their eye in the midst of the trouble, and lose themselves in the clouds, and conclude that these days of misery will not have an end, or that they will make an end of us; that we shall never get through them alive, that we shall never be able to hold up, to hold on, to hold out, to continue faithful to the last. But this true faith speaketh on this wise:—It is true the calamity is great, it has been a long and lasting hour of temptation, and who can tell when it will have an end? but this I am sure of, that it will have an end, a blessed end: that this time of trouble, compared with the succeeding time of peace and joy, is but very short and momentary. I see the wheels moving very fast; the

Lord Jesus comes apace ; salvation draws near ; it is but a very little while and we shall be in the possession of it. The damnation of wicked men slumbereth not ; their destruction sleepeth not ; their measure is filling up apace. The Lord registers their sins, and records our sufferings. The times of mercy are set, the bounds of it cannot be exceeded. God will be faithful to his people ; he will keep his word and promise. He will not suffer them to faint away ; he will uphold them. I will venture myself upon him. I will take care of my present duty, and leave all issues to his all-wise good providence, which will care for my soul and body ; that shall be my hiding place, and strong tower in time of trouble. Methinks, says faith, I see the wicked tumbling down, and calling on the mountains to cover them ; and saying to the rocks, *Fall on us, and hide us, &c.*, Rev. vi. 15 ; and the saints singing the new song, Rev. v. 9, 10.

To conclude. As Noah, by faith, *being warned of God of things not seen as yet, moved with fear, prepared an ark to the saving of his house*, so let us, being warned of God so many ways, by personal, private, and public trials and afflictions, let us get into the true ark, the Lord Jesus, to the saving of our souls, and the securing of all our concerns. The world now condemns you, but by this you will in the end condemn the world, as Noah did. Let not that which is your honour, to wit, suffering for righteousness' sake, through the interposition of flesh and blood, sense and reason, become your burden, and so you come to fall from your steadfastness. Confidence in God hath great recompence of reward. Banish the very thoughts of fear and falling off. *Be strong in the Lord, and in the power of his might.* You carry Jesus in your vessel, and you cannot sink. When you are ready to let go your hold, remember that your safety lies in the hold that he has of you, and none can pluck you out of his hands. Comfort yourselves with these words. Grace be with you all. Amen.

THOMAS HARDCASTLE.

10th month, 3rd day, 1675.

Upon the seventh day of the 10th month, being our monthly day for prayer, we were met at brother Terrill's. Hellier walks about there in the morning; in the afternoon, brought up Hore the constable with him, but could not get an opportunity to get in: so we were quiet, Praise be to the Lord, though the enemy watched. And at the evening of the same day, sister Robinson the elder, who departed the Lord's day before, was then interred. There were two serjeants watching at the funeral, it was said, to take up brother Terrill; but, he having notice of their being there, they were prevented.

Sister Robinson died 5th of 10th month, 1675.

Sister Vanatturue died the 10th day of 10th month, 1675.

Brother Bodenham's wife died the 9th day of 10th month, 1675.

Seventeenth Lord's day, being 12th of 10th month, 1675, Hellier the day before had, as his usual manner was, prepared his information, and sent it in to Alderman Crump, that there would be two meetings: one at James's Back, which was Mr. Weeks's, the other in Broadmead, in the morning from nine to eleven, the afternoon from one to three. Whereupon the new alderman, Crump, signs four warrants, two for our meeting for morning and for afternoon, and two for Mr. Weeks's, and sends them to the chief constable of James's ward, one Tristram Gill, who was newly sworn with other new petty constables; and they seemed very sober, loth to molest us. Praise be to the Lord, for ordering such in office, and moderating their hearts.

In the morning, the warrants being given to come at nine and one, Mr. Weeks's people put off their meeting until ten of the clock. We did not judge it meet so to do, though it was threatened that Sir Robert Yeamans would come; but to get in and keep our place, and let them come. Hellier goes to Mr. Weeks's. Not finding them, [and] their door fast, [he] comes to us, with his man, up into our meeting, near nine of

the clock ; and finding some already come, goes away, and by and by comes with the new constables, who would not obey Hellier, but only came and declared they had a warrant from Alderman Crump, to command us in the king's name to depart, and then away they went to their homes, and left Hellier ; so we had peace. But Hellier goes to Mr. Weeks's door, and keeps them out ; but some other way they getting in Hellier went in also, and stayed all the morning with them, that they were hindered from preaching. In the afternoon the constables come again to us, and declare their order that we must depart, then they went away ; so we had peace again. Praise be to the Lord.

This twelfth day of tenth month, 1675, Mary Phillips and Mary Mallard, at breaking bread, at brother Ellis his house, were propounded to join with the church.

Hellier this day, as aforesaid, staying all the morning at Mr. Weeks's till almost all the people were gone home, he got John Tucker, one of Mr. Weeks's congregation, to go home with him to dinner ; at which time some discourse passed between Hellier and John Tucker, at Hellier's house, whereby Hellier intimated, that if they would not meet at time of divine service, as he called it, he would not trouble them.

Whereupon Mr. Weeks, and divers of his members, concluded, upon this motion of Hellier's, to alter their hours ; namely, to meet from eleven to one, and to come again after three, and meet till five.

Which intention of alteration of theirs was a trouble to the other three congregations ; whereupon it was desired that some brethren of each of the four congregations would meet to consider the proposition. And, accordingly, upon the 17th day instant, at brother Ellis's, some did meet, and it was generally disliked and spoken against by the friends of Mr. Harcastle's, Mr. Thompson's, and brother Gifford's

people, those three congregations, as not to be consented to, nor taken notice of; by reason it was Hellier's motion, that vile persecutor, that seemed now almost tired, having followed us these fifteen months past by interrupting, abusing, fining, and taking away our goods, and imprisoning—and at this time, seven of our congregation and hearers were prisoners—and yet could not restrain us. And that now we should comply to his proposals or terms, to give him ground to glory he had overcome us, was by most adjudged altogether inexpedient, and not at all our interest, nor the way to obtain peace, to keep our ground, nor to have future liberty so to do.

But if the king or parliament, the magistrates of the nation, had declared, if we would alter our time in the day for our public exercise or worship we might have peace, we should have been willing to hearken to it, though not to a wicked informer.

Yet our presbyterian friends, namely, Mr. Weeks's people, could not be prevailed with to meet at nine and at one, or before, as formerly; but they would and did alter their time to near eleven, and three for the afternoon.⁶

Eighteenth Lord's day, being the 19th, tenth month, 1675, our congregation met as formerly, expecting a great deal of trouble, and that all the weight and burden would lie upon us; because Mr. Weeks's people, who did use to take up some of the persecutor's time, had altered the hour, and left us in that respect. But it pleased the Lord that we had peace all the day; the like we had not had for many months before. Praise be to the Lord, who alone took care of us, when we were in our low estate, Neh. iii. 5, and the meeting grown very poor and lean through fines, imprisonments, and constant worrying of us every day, that we had no rest

⁶ [No letter appears to have been prepared by Mr. Harcastle for this Lord's day.]

for so long time ; that is, our two congregations, namely, Mr. Weeks's and ours, that lay somewhat near together, and were the first onset of Hellier and the magistrates, as the frontiers of the other meetings, so that by that time they could any day end with us, the other meetings had done. So they generally escaped. *Laus Deo. In the mount it shall be seen.*

Eighteenth letter from the pastor.

To my beloved friends, the members and auditors of the congregation meeting in Broadmead, Bristol.

BELOVED FRIENDS,—Our next step for the discovery of true faith we take in Heb. xi. 9, 10, 13. Faith enables a man to look upon himself as a sojourner, stranger, and pilgrim upon earth ; as one that is absent from home ; as a traveller towards his own country. The operations, and exercises, and actings of faith are such as these :—

I. True faith looks upon heaven and the future state of glory, as the promised inheritance,—a land of promise. It cannot properly be said of any of the things of this world, that they are promised things ; that is, for enjoyment and satisfaction. They are the gifts of God, but not the objects of hope, because not the subjects of promise. I grant there is a promise that all these things shall be added to them that first seek the kingdom of God ; but that text answers itself. The kingdom of God is that which is primarily promised, and principally to be sought after. Other things are consequential and cautionary ; secondary helps, made use of as lesser means ; baits, not business. A little of them helps a traveller on his journey more comfortably, but a great deal proves his burden and his hindrance. Heaven is the great deed of settlement ; the earth is but the loose money to bear the charges,—the staff to walk to the kingdom. A formal professor lives in this world as at home, as in his centre. He breathes no higher ; it is his element. He tends no further ; it is his situa-

tion. He may talk of a future state—a remaining rest, but he does not desire to change his station. He thinks it is good being here, and he knows not that it would be so well with him in another place. His faith about another world is confused, indistinct, dark, traditional, and of a thing at a distance; too good for him, more spiritual than he can bear, and something too near the presence of God to be endured. Whereas a true believer, as Heb. xi. 1, hath a clear prospect of happiness; believes it stedfastly; hopes for it earnestly; waits for it patiently; longs for nothing more than to be freed from sin, and to be in the immediate fruition and enjoyment of the sweet, satisfying, soul-ravishing presence of God.

II. True faith keeps the soul much in serious, distinct thoughts of its passage into another world; about which point are considered:—

1. The nearness of it. A believer dies daily. He lives every day as his last. I may die before evening, or before morning; my breath is in my nostrils.

2. The speediness of it. The thread of life is soon cut. The last breath is soon sighed out; see Job xiv. 10—12, 20.

3. The unavoidable-ness of it. Death is not to be prorogued. Wherever a man is, whatever he is doing, whatever he leaves undone, what posture so ever he is in, there can be no delay; not a minute's stay: no, not if it would save a soul, Job vii. 21. A thousand worlds will not purchase a day or a night; Job xiv. 5.

4. The irrecoverableness of it; Job xiv. 7—9, 14, 19. There is no coming back to mend anything that was amiss, or to perfect anything that was wanting; no device in the grave, Eccles. ix. 10.

5. The sudden and wonderful change it makes. Thoughts and designs of a worldly nature, all perish; converse ceases; friends, and relations, and familiar acquaintance [are] seen no more; no knowledge, or intimation of whatever passes; Job xiv. 21.

6. The privilege of it. It is the door into glory; the way to

be with Christ, which is far better; the sting, which is sin, being taken away, it being disarmed of its terror by Christ; the fear of it removed, which keeps hypocrites and unsound professors all their lifetime subject to bondage; Heb. ii. 14, 15; 1 Cor. xv. 55—57.

7. About the pain of it; the consideration of which is alleviated and much removed,

First, By recollecting the scripture phrase about it. It is a sleep; a giving up the ghost; a commending the spirit into the hands of the Lord; a going into the harbour. The Lord is in a more special manner present; his consolations inexpressible. None so full of joy as dying saints. Angels [are] ready to wait upon the soul, and carry it safe into heaven, through the prince of the air's country.

Secondly, By reflecting upon the great deliverance and salvation which the soul, and body too, will be made partaker of. No more sinning, nor weeping, nor sorrowing, nor fearing, nor fretting, nor vexing, nor wearisome pains, uneasy burdens, irksome postures, disturbing sights, distracting cares, troublesome removes, perplexing changes, unsatisfactory converse, insatiable concupiscence, nor successive and unavoidable disappointments and disquietments.

Thirdly, Pain is prevented by a conscientious managing of the conversation, with relation to eternity. If all I act and do in my lifetime have a good aspect upon eternity, it will make death easy, and strangely weaken and enervate its pain, as well as its sting; it will make a man die easy, and well too.

III. True faith, by helping a believer to look upon himself as a stranger, does mightily strengthen him to a grateful contentedness with his present good and conveniences; as, also, to a cheerful enduring of present affronts, injuries, grievances, and afflictions. A little kindness goes far with a stranger. A small matter will serve a passenger; 2 Kings iv. 9, 10. Much uneasiness and unkindness may be easily borne by a wayfaring man, that turns aside to tarry but for a night; that is, not far from home, and knows he shall be welcomed with the best entertain-

ment when he comes at home ; 1 John iii. 1, 2 ; John xv. 18—21 ; and xvi. 20—22. These words were spoken by our Saviour to his disciples, as matter and ground of very great comfort and consolation. But a counterfeit believer is never satisfied with what he hath. His accommodations do not please him. He would have them finer, and larger, and longer. His inconveniences are such as cause much murmuring, fretting, and discontent in his spirit. He wishes his days were not so few, but that they were freer from trouble than they are. He does not desire the change of his place, and state, and condition, but that it might be mended, and repaired, and some additions made to it. Whereas faith's motto is, ' I desire to be dissolved, and to be with Christ,' 2 Cor. v. 5. As Luther, ' Lord, put me not off with these things ; this is not my rest ; I cannot live here ; I cannot live without thee ; thou art my refuge and resting-place. Oh, show thyself to me, or take me up to thee ! '

That Christ may be with you unto death, in death, and after death, is the prayer of yours,

THOMAS HARDCASTLE.

Nineteenth Lord's day, being 26th of the tenth month, 1675, we were all day quiet, though we kept our time as formerly. Praise be to the Lord ! Thus two days together we had breathing.

Nineteenth letter of Mr. Hardcastle.

For my beloved friends, the members and hearers of the congregation meeting in Broadmead, Bristol.

10th m. 25th d. 1675.

BELOVED FRIENDS,—The next step for the trial of true faith we take from Heb. xi. 24—26. This faith is called elsewhere a faith that overcomes the world ; such a faith as refuses and rejects what the generality of the world do earnestly pursue, that chooses and embraces what the most of men shun and avoid with

utmost care. Now the measures of the workings of true faith, upon this account, we may take notice of in the following particulars, which we may find in this scripture:—

I. Moses when he made this choice, he was young, and yet come to years. He had the temptation of his years to make him embrace pleasure, and yet he had ripeness of years to make him capable of a right choice. He was no child, he was grown great, *μέγας γενόμενος*. He was a man of parts, and learning, and singular judgment; he knew what it was he refused, and what it was he made choice of. True believers, whatever mean opinion the men of the world have of their understanding, and reason, and discerning faculty, looking upon them as fools and idiots, and an ignorant, misguided, humorous people, but babes in comparison with others; yet they are wise and prudent, they know the price and value of things. Besides they do not refuse the good things of the world, because they cannot come at them and attain to them; they might be greater and richer, and take more liberty, if they were persons of no conscience and consideration. Again, they do not choose the afflictions and reproaches of the world, because they cannot avoid them. For they could deliver themselves as well as others do, if they could be anything or nothing in religion and worship, as others. But the estimate they make, by the help of their faith, and wherein they exceed the blind world, and the outside professor, is of this nature:—If I follow the pleasures of sin now, they are but shadowy, not substantial; they are sinful and provoking; they are short, and but for a season; and for such enjoyment must I be deprived of everlasting happiness, and endure eternal torments? But if I endure affliction with the Lord's people, the trouble will be but slight and momentary, in the suffering of which God will be well pleased, and after which I shall receive everlasting joy and eternal glory: for faith is the evidence of a hell not seen, and the substance of a heaven hoped for.

II. True faith will suppose the best of enjoyments, the best of promises which the world can make: it acts the wisdom of Solomon, and with him makes an experiment of the best and

choicest of creature-felicities: faith gives the utmost liberty to sense and experience. If you can make anything of self, sense, and the world, faith will have nothing to do with you. If you can live without faith, faith can live without you. Moses refused no small matter; he *refused to be called the son of Pharaoh's daughter*. And he had parts and abilities to entitle him to be as great a man in Pharaoh's court as ever Joseph was, and yet faith chooses *affliction with the people of God*.

III. True faith sees so much into reproaches for Christ, as,

First, Discovers them to be sinful on the reproachers' part, and therefore the example of them utterly to be abhorred; but the enduring of them to be extremely honourable and desirable. In this matter, true faith speaks on this wise:—To be commended by wicked men would be dangerous; to be connived at by them would be suspicious; to be hated by them is safe; but to be persecuted and opposed by them is honourable and advantageous. And hence it comes to pass, that Moses esteemed *the reproaches of Christ greater riches than the treasures in Egypt*. And afterwards the disciples, when they were beaten and commanded that they should not speak more in the name of Jesus, went away *rejoicing that they were counted worthy to suffer shame for his name* [Acts v. 40, 41].

Secondly, True faith discovers thus much: that there is a season and an opportunity of suffering which may be neglected, and, if it be passed by, it may be such another may never be presented in that kind; and yet, sufferings of another kind, and much greater, cannot be prevented and avoided, and that therefore it is better to suffer in God's way than in a man's own way; much more eligible to endure trouble in a way of precept, than in a way of providence: from angry ungodly men wherein God shall be well pleased, than from a wrathful displeased God, which may occasion wicked men to censure and insult. See Esth. iv. 13, 14, compared with Jonah i. 6, 15. If we must be condemned and destroyed by heathens, better it be done by land in God's way, than by sea in our own way. That Jonah escaped he may thank the goodness and faith-

fulness of God ; and not his own faith in God, fear of God, or obedience to God.

IV. True faith sees a reason of all its actings against flesh and blood, sense and reason. It is not blind, nor does it put any man upon ungrounded and unreasonable, or irresponsible actings : *for*, says my author, *he had respect unto the recompence of the reward*. Two things about this, and I have done. First about the object.

1. It is that which is promised. The gospel abounds with nothing so much as with a plain discovery of this. I commend the many scriptures to you upon this account, as you may happen to meet with them.

2. It may be expected by you. It is a reward. Sincerity and suffering may claim it. See the message to the angel of the church of Smyrna, Rev. ii. 8—11.

3. It may be expected speedily. You cannot stay long from appearing before Christ. He will not stay long from appearing gloriously to you.

4. There is no proportion between your suffering and the reward. You have often read, but I pray you once more read and consider over these scriptures : Rom. viii. 18 ; 2 Cor. iv. 16—18 ; 2 Tim. ii. 11—13.

Secondly. The eye is to be considered ; he looked to the reward.

1. It was an attentive eye. He did seriously, solicitously, and diligently look upon it. He was exact and particular in his observation. He did distinctly take notice of the excellency, freeness, fullness, certainty, speediness, satisfactoriness, and duration of the object.

2. It was a constant eye, a fixed eye : it was not wavering and floating, sometimes upon the reward, and sometimes upon the court ; but it was steady, and intent upon what God would give ; for he *judged him faithful that had promised*, and one cast of the eye elsewhere might have proved his great damage, if not his ruin. That this recompence of reward may be always in your eye, and your faith continually employed and conversant about it, to the refusing of all carnal sinful offers, and to the choosing of all

gospel hardships, the enduring of your Christian warfare, the completing of your whole work, and the Lord's expectation from you, is the prayer of your constant well-wisher and fellow-sufferer,

THOMAS HARDCASTLE.

Twentieth Lord's day, being 2nd of the 11th month [January], 1675-[6], we were again assaulted and troubled. In the morning, about ten of the clock, Hellier and his man, Thomas Eyre, and his groom, with the bishop's secretary, with the bishop's new coachman and butler, as said, came first to Mr. Weeks's; where finding some of their people come together, but they not having begun, then Hellier, with the rest afore-mentioned, came to our meeting, of which we had notice in the morning, and although our brother Jennings had been preaching, yet, at their coming up, we were singing. And brother Terrill, against whom there was a deposition filed on record, and divers warrants granted out, time after time, to take him for preaching, that they could prove some months past: and by reason thereof, though he was still at the meeting, was set in such a place that they could not see him. But now he was willing to sit in their view, that they might see him; and when Hellier came up, and saw him sit at the table, where formerly, before the evidence against him for preaching, he used to see him sit, Hellier turned back, and whispered to his servant Thomas Eyre, and sent him away (as we perceive afterward) for Alderman Ollive, he that had been mayor last year. And then when Hellier and the bishop's secretary, with the rest, had walked about and viewed the people, especially brother Terrill, as observed, and they were pleasant among themselves that now they should have him, knowing whom they had sent for: but in the mean space, until the alderman came, they would improve their time, and so they were moved to depart, and went to brother Gifford's meeting, and disturbed them. And when they came back the alder-

man, Ollive, came, and they with him, expecting surely to have taken away brother Terrill, against whom they had so great an advantage as proof that he preached: and so, by the Five Mile Act, they watched to imprison him, as they had done our pastor twice, for six months at a time, and now in prison. But some brethren, in the interim, when Hellier with the rest was gone to brother Gifford's, persuaded brother Terrill to withdraw, into the place whereinto we did use to convey the speaker when officers came in: so that when they came up, and not finding brother Terrill at the table, where a little before they saw him, Alderman Ollive began to be in a rage that he came in vain, and in great passion he commanded the people in the king's name to be gone; but they kept singing, and regarded not what he said. Then, in words, he vehemently fell upon brother Dickason, whom about seven weeks before he had cast into prison, but was afterwards released; and since that brother Dickason was sworn a constable, and therefore the alderman thought he had an advantage against him for being at such an unlawful assembly, being a constable, and threatened to fine him five pounds; but brother Dickason told him he did not look upon it [as] an unlawful assembly. The alderman lays violent hands on him, pulls him out of the seat where he sat, and commands him to do his office (meaning to disperse the people). He told him he was sworn to keep the king's peace, and he saw nobody break the peace as yet; if he did, he would take them into custody: and to that effect. Thus after the alderman and Hellier had taken what names they pleased, they left us, and went away to Mr. Weeks's meeting, and turned them out of their meeting-place. And so when they were gone, our time being expired, we concluded in prayer. In the afternoon we were quiet. Praise be to the Lord.⁷

The 11th month, 1675. Upon the 4th instant we kept our

⁷ [This day passed without a letter from their pastor.]

quarterly joint-meeting, at the Castle, being the third [day] of the week, according to the time appointed by brethren of the four congregations, that we should join together in a quarterly fast; but Mr. Weeks's people, because we would not, viz., the other three congregations would not, fall in with them to alter our time for public worship on the Lord's day as they did, at Hellier's proposal or intimation, that if we did alter our time he would not meddle with us; therefore they sent not two brethren to help carry on the day of prayer, as the rest did. And so they, the presbyterians, broke the union that they formerly did agree to; but the other three congregations joined together, and the day was carried on by six brethren. Thus they began to make a breach, which was occasioned by a young man, one of their members, going to dine with Hellier, who lied unto them, as the last Lord's day showed; and, as we told them, he was to be no more credited than regarded.

The evening of this day, about eight or nine of the clock at night, there was observed to be an earthquake in this city, in divers parts thereof. People as they sat in their houses their stools did rock, and some observed their beds and walls rocked, that some ran out of their houses thinking the house was going to fall; others, their pewter fell down, and things off the racks over their clayves [mantel-pieces]. Many perceived it not, but some houses in the College Green, and some over the bridge, and some by the weir, and some in the midst of the city, hardly a street but some or other that were sitting still felt it. And also this earthquake at the same time was observed at Gloucester, Tewkesbury, and in Wales.⁸

Twenty-first Lord's day. Upon the 9th of the 11th month, 1675, being the next Lord's day, we were very quiet all the day. Praise be to the Lord.

⁸ ["An earthquake in divers counties."—Baxter's Narrative, part iii. 175.]

The twentieth letter of Mr. Hardcastle.

These for my beloved friends, the members and auditors of the congregation, yet (notwithstanding evil men's malice) through the Lord's goodness, meeting in Broadmead.

11 m. 8 d. 1675-6.

BELOVED FRIENDS,—For the next place, we come to consider the obedience of faith, which is mentioned Rom. xvi. 26, and exemplified in Abraham, Gen. xii. 1—4, with Heb. xi. 8. Faith obeys the command, and believes the promise. This commends the apostle's faith, that he was not disobedient to the heavenly vision, and that he *conferred not with flesh and blood*, Gal. i. 16. Where God has a word to command, faith hath an ear to hear, a heart to be willing, and feet ready to go on his errand. Now flesh and blood, which are carnal reason, questions, disputes, and delays, instead of obeying, raise objections about safety, success, and rational consequences. Human reason and gospel reason are many times quite contrary to one another. Gospel reason is gospel command; obedience to it is warranted by the authority of God, supported and encouraged, 1st, By the name and attributes; 2ndly, By the promises; and, 3dly, By the experiences of God. Whereas human prudence sails by the compass of worldly interest, credit, safety, profit, &c., and subjects itself to human power. A counterfeit faith and carnal reason still go hand in hand; you shall seldom see them divided. A true faith, 1st, Has the word for its warrant; 2ndly, Heaven for its reward; 3dly, The power of God for its charges. And therefore no darkness nor difficulty can stand in its way; but with Abraham, 1st, It will go, though it know not whither; and 2ndly, Though it know that the fiery furnace, and the lion's den, lie in the way. The providence of God,

1st, Does blast the foresight and reasonings of the hypocrite, because they made void his faith; and,

2ndly, He disappoints the rational expectation of danger in the true believer's way, because his faith acted beyond his reason.

If, firstly, religion and worship were a human constitution, and,

secondly, That there was no expectation of any other recompence or penalty but what human power could bestow or inflict, then it would be the most rational thing, the most prudent course, to square our practice therein according to men's dictates ; and not, by any non-conformity to their rules, run the hazard either of losing what we have got, or of not getting more by our compliance and conformity.

1st. But if gospel worship depend purely upon divine revelation ; and,

2ndly. Conscience be solely under God's direction and disposal, who can only

(1.) Reach it ; (2.) Rule it ; and (3.) Believe it :—

If, 3dly, The rewards and punishments be to be looked for from him alone, and

4thly, Those too of that nature which does not consist in present and visible things, but in something future and invisible: and

5thly, Those such as men can neither procure for us, or keep from us :—and

Lastly, If the principles from which, the ends for which, the spirit by which we act, and the power through which, be all of them divine and supernatural :—

Then I conclude that it is highly rational, and extremely suitable and agreeable, that we keep the path of duty, according to the direction of gospel-enlightened consciences ; depending upon the faithfulness, and power, and wisdom of God, in all simplicity, purity, self-denial, humility, courage, and constancy ; and take no notice of, nor have any solicitous and anxious consideration and hesitation—

1. About the inventions, impositions, commandments, reproaches, and persecutions of wicked and unreasonable men.

2. The wisdom and policy of flesh and blood.

3. The persuasions of friends and relations.

4. The insinuating arguments of saints and professors.

5. Or the supposed inconveniences of holding on in a plain and public way of gospel worship. See Matt. v. 10, 12, xvi. 21—23 ; Gal. i. 13—17 ; Acts xxi. 11—14.

If any scruple of conscience arise, presently let us ask ourselves, in all sincerity and uprightness,

1. Which way will most honour God, and advance his name?
 2. By which means will the adversary be most convinced and weakened; or hardened and encouraged?
 3. Which will tend most to the edifying, confirming, and strengthening the saints? Philip. iv. 8; 1 Cor. x. 23, 24; 1 Peter iii. 13—17; Colos. iv. 5; Matt. x. 17—20. Compare the whole verses together. Beware of their fear, not of their fury.

4. What will be most for the credit and honour of the gospel to the saints abroad, where the report shall come?

5. Which course would I take if I were presently to give up my account to God?

6. What should I do, if the cross and suffering were not in the way?

7. Whether is it gospel to shun a plain way, merely for the avoiding of the cross, of what nature soever it be? See Matt. xvi. 24—26, xi. 6. If peace be alleged, I answer:—

(1.) No peace to be accepted, though as much as in us lies it is to be followed, no reconciliation between the two seeds.

(2.) We must look after truth and holiness, as well as peace.

(3.) Our Saviour says, Matt. v. 9 compared with 10th, that he was not come to send peace on earth, but a sword; not intentionally, but accidentally; through men's corruptions, that are not able to bear the light of the gospel, which discovers their works of darkness. Take but the candle of the word out of their eyes and then they will be quiet, and you shall have peace; but our Lord and Master who is the peace-maker, and is all for peace, does yet allow no such thing, but will have a war rather than such a peace.

(4.) War with sin, and bearing up a testimony against sinners, keeps our peace with God.

(5.) In doubtful cases it is the rule of prudence to choose the safer side, and suspect that part which interest, and flesh and blood, sides with. If I go this way, I may sin; but if I go the other way, I am sure I do not sin. Better fall forward than backward.

(6.) God never took it unkindly, that any one leaned too much upon him in the plain way of duty ; but delights to have an opportunity of discovering great power and gracious providences.

(7.) God does not allow us to part with an inch of his ground, though we might gain the peaceful possession of all the rest. All looking on an enemy that is attended with less looking up to him, and a [less] firm believing his power and promises of succour and deliverance, by his own ways and means, is greatly displeasing to him, and commonly attended with signal tokens of his vengeance, if there be not repentance. It would be well for us if we can say, as Heb. x. 39, *We are not of them that draw back εις ἀπώλειαν, to loss.* In all drawing back there is considerable loss. The first ground is—1. The plainest. 2. The safest. 3. That kept most easily. 4. It is most effectual against antichrist.

That our way be still made more plain, by the word and command of God ; more pleasant, through our faith in the promises ; and our obedience more ready and resolved, through the supplies of the Spirit of grace, is the fervent supplication of

Your unworthy servant, for Jesus' sake,

THOMAS HARDCASTLE.

On the 12th instant, our brethren and friends, viz., five men, were, at the quarter sessions, discharged from their imprisonment at Newgate, to which they were committed about two months before ; but our pastor, Mr. Hardeastle, was not yet released, but remained a prisoner : his second six months' imprisonment being not quite expired.

Our friends released had a counsellor-at-law to plead for their discharge by law. Hellier pleaded against it, and said he would frame an indictment against them for a riot. The counsel pleaded it was more than he could do by law.

Twenty-second Lord's day, being 16th [of] 11th month, 1675. We expected again great distraction in our meeting, for the troubler of our Israel, Hellier, the day before went to

the mayor, Sir Robert Cann, and to the alderman of the ward in which we met, Mr. Crump, and informed against our meeting and Mr. Gifford's; only those two. "As for that at James's Back," said he, (meaning Mr. Weeks's meeting,) "I have nothing to say; they do submit, and keep their words, and not meet until after ten of the clock." But as for ours and Mr. Gifford's, being also within his parish, he did inform against, and required the said Alderman Crump to be there in person. The alderman told him he would not be there in person, but would send his warrants by the constables. Hellier replied, the constables would not execute his warrants, for divers of them did not go to church themselves. The alderman bid him not take care of that, the constables should do what was their office.

Hellier threatened what he would do to us, and ordered the mayor's clerk to prepare the warrants ready against us. Whereupon the mayor, and the said alderman, sent to brother Terrill privately to wish us to alter our time, and not meet until ten of the clock. But our friends were not willing so to do, because this request was grounded upon Hellier's desires, and to gratify him; which, had it been only and singly the request of the magistrates, we should more easily have condescended; but it being Hellier's foundation, we could not find a freedom in friends. But they came together at their usual time, as formerly, and kept open our doors; yet we sat still about a quarter of an hour, and did not begin, in respect to the mayor and alderman's request; because we heard Hellier had two writs against the said alderman, for not coming formerly with him in person, as often as he would have him, to disturb us.

But, notwithstanding all Hellier's threats, God did so dishearten him, that [although] he had above this twelvemonths persecuted us, [he] could do no good upon us, that this day he came not. So we had rest all day. Praise be to the Lord.

The twenty-first letter from Mr. Hardecastle.

These for my beloved friends, the members and auditors of the congregation yet meeting in Broadmead.

11 m. 14 d. 1675-6.

DEARLY BELOVED,—That which next offers itself to your serious consideration, touching a true faith, is bottomed on Heb. xi. 4. That which rendered Abel's sacrifice accepted, and more acceptable than Cain's, was his faith; which, in the offering of all spiritual sacrifices, and performing religious services, executes those offices.

1. True faith brings the soul into the presence of God, and sets God in the sight of the soul, and thereby preserves upon the heart an holy awe, dread, and reverence; keeps it in an humble, self-abhorring, and self-abasing posture; gives it a sight of that infinite excellency, majesty, purity, and omniscieny that is in God, and a discovery of its own meanness and vileness. And let me add, by all this it frees and delivers the soul from hypocrisy, formality, customariness, commonness, carelessness, wanderings, and distractions, which too often attend, weaken, and make void the duties of religion, and are the constant companions of a counterfeit faith.

2. True faith encourages the soul to plead with God, and furnishes it with pleas and arguments, Job xxiii. 3—7. Faith helps the soul in prayer, against those faintings and despondings which a sense of unworthiness, wretchedness, manifold miscarriages, and multiplied backslidings, would bring it under; and enables it, in the way of deep humiliation and self-condemnation, to take hold of the name and promises of God, the instances and examples of divine grace and pardoning mercy bestowed upon others, the satisfaction and intercession of the Lord Jesus, and the great prerogative and power of God to forgive iniquity, transgression, and sin. All which is followed with an holy, incessant importunity, and patient waiting: so that the soul fails not of a gracious and comfortable answer. For proofs of all these things, see Jer. xiv. 7—9; Numb. xiv. 17—19; Mic. vii. 18—20; Luke xviii. 1—8; Matt. xv. 23—28.

3. True faith rids and cleanses the heart from that superfluity of naughtiness which indisposes the soul to; and keeps it from having, communion with God in worship, and consequently from honouring God by it, or gaining to itself any comfort or consolation from it. Worldliness and malice, covetousness and envy, wicked love and hatred, are two naughty things that choke the word, cut the sinews of meditation, hinder the efficacy of prayer, block up the passage of heavenly influence, and render our sacrifice an abomination to the Lord. See Mark xi. 22—26; 1 Pet. ii. 1, 2; Jas. i. 19—21; Matt. xiii. 22. Cain's offering was not accepted, for he had in his heart an envy to his brother, and an enmity against him. Remember therefore that word, Matt. v. 23, 24. Your worship and services, public and private, will be in vain and to no purpose, if the love of the world, and heart-burnings, and prejudices against the brethren, be not purged away by faith.

4. Faith prepares the soul for duty, and helps to put the soul into a suitable frame and posture; for God works an inward solemnity and fixedness upon the spirit, and forbids a rude, hasty, and inconsiderate coming into the presence of God. Faith makes the soul stand at the door a while by serious meditation, and to talk within itself on this wise:—It is a great thing to draw near to God. I am a guilty person, unworthy to come into his presence, to speak to him, or hear him, or sit down with him at his table. This vain, worldly heart of mine, is no way suited to his pure, all-seeing eye: nor will his exact justice bear these many debts and scores of mine: nor will his holiness endure my formal, lukewarm temper, that am so little affected with sin when I confess it, that am so little melted with mercy when I make mention of it, that have so little compassion and fellow-feeling in my intercessions, and manifest so little love, and delight, and joy; but on the contrary, a slavish, dull, heavy, straitened, and embondaged spirit in all my approaches and performances. How shall I do to appear before him? At first sight he will discover a great deal amiss in me! If I do not appear, I cannot hide myself from him; besides he has commanded me to appear, and it will be disobedience in me

if I do not. I will therefore venture into his presence, and take with me the words he has prescribed, Hosea xiv. 2, 3; and the words of the prodigal, which gave him acceptance with his father, Luke xv. 18, 19.—And thus faith helps the soul to take the advice given by Solomon, Eccles. v. 1, 2.

5. True faith watches the heart, and calls it to an account after duty, and is careful to observe what divine impressions are made upon it, what divine teachings are rained down upon it, what gatherings and experiences for time to come, and what humiliation is necessary for defects and comings short; and endeavours to keep the savour of God fresh upon the heart, by recollections and frequent spiritual ejaculations, with fervent longings after more enjoyment of God.

6. True faith does all it does in the name, strength, and for the honour of Christ. Faith speaks in the apostle's language, *I can do all things through Christ strengthening me*. Faith will venture upon the greatest and hardest service, though of itself it cannot act in the least. Faith prays, and reads, and hears, and meditates, and gives alms, and goes about the occasions of calling, and family trade, and business, and all under the name, and in the power of the Lord Jesus, and likewise to his praise and glory. Faith keeps the eye fixed aright, and keeps the soul clear from self, squint-eyedness, sinister and secular respects and interests, and speaketh on this wise:—If I can but glorify God, with soul and body, in my generation, it is all I aim at. I would have every action of mine, both civil and religious, to have an aspect upon the honour of my heavenly Father. My Saviour hath done all for me. I need not work for myself, all my service must be for him; and therein lies my interest, and salvation too.

That you and I may be enabled, in all things, by true faith, to aim directly at the honour and interest of the Lord Jesus, and the propagation of his gospel, and his grace in our hearts and lives, is the prayer of

Your yet surviving, unworthy brother, though a prisoner,

T. HARDCASTLE.

Twenty-third Lord's day after our pastor's second imprisonment, being 23d, 11th month, 1675.

The twenty-second and last letter from Mr. Hardcastle.

These to my beloved friends, the members and auditors of the congregation meeting in Broadmead, Bristol.

11 m. 22 d. 1675-6.

DEARLY BELOVED AND LONGED-FOR,—I am now coming to a period of conversing with you by writing. I hope the next time, through your prayers, and the supply of the Spirit of Jesus, to deliver the mind and message of Jehovah unto you by speaking. For a close therefore to the discourse about faith, I shall a little take into consideration that excellent and full phrase, recorded Rom. xvi. 26, *The obedience of faith*; which words I shall take notice of in their conjunction and order.

I. In their conjunction and connexion. And so they do reciprocally and mutually embrace and uphold each other; there is obedient faith, and faithful obedience.

1. An obedient faith. This manifests itself,

(1.) In its assent to revealed truths, upon the sole account of the authority, testimony, and veracity of God, although they are above and against reason. Reason is the greatest enemy faith hath, and now faith obtaining the victory makes reason obedient. See 1 Cor. iii. 18; 2 Cor. x. 45. A worthy author observes well, that a greater opposition is made to our faith by our reason, than by our affections: for when our faith is encountered by our affections we do gather many times some succour from our reason; but when our faith is laid at by our reason, the temptation is not more strong than dangerous. For if our reason get the better of our faith, in any particular, our affections follow amain; and such temptations, where they once take, shake and stagger the strongest Christians. Now faith makes reason obedient to it, and then it becomes obedient to God.

(2.) This obedient faith discovers itself in its consent to and

closing with promised good, notwithstanding great improbabilities, nay, impossibilities, (Rom. iv. 18—21,) personal unworthiness, persisted-in provocations, great transgressions, frequent neglects and refusals, and manifold backslidings. This faith helps the soul to take what God offers, though he does not deserve it, and he knows of right it does not belong to him. It will accept of a promise, contrary to all reason and right reckoning, because God will have it. If the Lord will love me, and marry me, for all my blood, and filth, and wounds, and corruption, and will bestow himself upon me, and beautify me, and bring me to live with him in everlasting glory, I must not, dare not, will not refuse him, because of the dirty, doleful pickle I am in; but let him wash me, and clothe me, and do what he will with me. Blessed be his name, I will follow him, and observe him, and, with all humility and gratitude, accept of what he frankly and bountifully bestows upon me.

(3.) This obedient faith commends itself in a willing observance of the Lord's commands and calls, notwithstanding any darkness, difficulty, or danger that may seem to attend the performance of them. This has been already exemplified in the case of Abraham, Heb. xi. 3, and therefore I forbear further mention of it; only adding this, that the obedient faith fixes its eye upon a precept, and will mind that, whatever the providence of God, or the prudence of men, may seem at present to cast in the way, as a stumbling-block and hindrance. There is,

II. A faithful obedience, as well as an obedient faith; which shows itself,

First, For the universality of it; in having respect to all God's commandments; Luke i. 6.

Secondly, For the cheerfulness of it; doing all things heartily and freely, without murmurings and disputings.

Thirdly, In the singleness, simplicity, and sincerity of it; aiming at, and designing, the honour of God, conformity to Christ, edification of others, meetness for glory.

Fourthly, In the constancy of it; not turning back, nor turning aside, nor making abatements; no yielding in one circumstance, wherein the authority, honour, and interest of God and

the gospel, may be in the least touched and concerned. Such was Daniel's obedience; Dan. vi. 10. God is a jealous God, and takes notice of the least punctilios about his worship; especially in two cases:—

1. When the least thing is done without his warrant; upon the account of human invention, or imposition.

2. When the least circumstance is omitted, with respect to the fear or flattery of men; not regarding so much his displeasure, nor trusting in his almighty power.

Fifthly, In the growth of it. A true Christian desires to know more of the mind and will of God, that he may do it; and he does it, that he may know it. The formalist and the hypocrite, as they are strangers to the spirituality, so are they to the extent and largeness of obedience. We come very much short in what we know: and we know but little of what is to be known.

II. I come to consider the order of the words; first faith, and then obedience; obedience from faith; *for without faith it is impossible to please God*. There is a great deal of obedience, if it may be so called, of worship, service, and exercise. Bodily exercise is to be found amongst idolaters, but it profiteth little; it pleaseth not at all. As faith without works of obedience is dead, so works without faith cannot be living, nor acceptable to God. Gospel obedience is bottomed upon faith, and the new covenant [is] a doing from life, not for life; which was the tenor of the first covenant. The sum is this; faith works by love, unto an universal, cheerful, sincere, constant, and growing obedience, according to the pattern and rule of the gospel; to the praise and glory of the rich grace and love of God in Christ Jesus our Lord; to whom be power and dominion for ever. Amen.

And now, my dearly beloved, should not we pray fervently, that we may not be deceived with a counterfeit, instead of a true faith? The Lord write all these characters upon our hearts, or else it were better they had never been writ on paper; for they will be evidences and witnesses against us upon record. We have been for above twelve months closely persecuted; we have great cause both of humiliation and thanksgiving.

1. Of the former, that our sins should provoke the Lord to permit it, and lengthen it out so much ; that we have got no more advantage by our affliction, and our dross and corruption no more purged away ; that we have not followed the Lord, in this suffering path, with more cheerfulness and gladness, but have been under so many faintings, and fears, and doubtings, and perplexing thoughts ; that we have engaged the enemies of God too much in our own strength, and have not made more use of gospel weapons in this spiritual warfare ; and for many things more, which, upon a due and diligent examination of ourselves, we shall quickly understand.

2. Ground, likewise, we have of much thanksgiving, that we are yet alive ; that we are not given up to the wills of our enemies, though we have been in their hands ; that the Lord has blessed us in any degree, or measure, to bear a testimony to his ways and worship ; that we have not fallen down before our adversaries ; that the gospel hath not lost, but gotten ground by our sufferings. Beloved, it is now a season for suffering ; this season may quickly be over. Let us be willing to honour the Lord in that way he would have us. Let us not cross the method and course of divine pleasure. Let us follow and observe the vein of the cross as far as it goes, and not make a peace for ourselves by such means as God would not have us use, and before he thinks it good for us. When tranquillity and liberty shall be best for us, we shall quickly have it. The providence of God will quickly make all fair weather. In the mean time, let us bless God for any mitigation, any relaxation, any intervals of calmness ; but whilst the wind sits in the quarter where it does, let us not promise ourselves a total immunity from trouble ; and, therefore, let us keep the plain even path wherein we have met with, and may still promise ourselves, the Lord's presence and assistance. But if we once deviate, through the insinuations of carnal reason and prudence, though but in a circumstance, we know not where we may stop, and whether we may not be left to be weakened and bewildered, by our own counsels, besides losing the efficacy of all our past sufferings. None can be more desirous to

avoid trouble than myself, but I dare not sin against conscience to procure ease, and safety, and freedom, for the outward man.

I shall conclude with a quotation out of *The Call to Archippus*, writ by a nonconformist minister, stirring up his brethren to preach publicly, though persecutions, and fines, and imprisonments lay in the way. 'Hath Christ suffered for us,' he says, 'both as our surety and as our pattern? And have we such a cloud of martyrs that have so stoutly led the van, and shall we shift off, or shuffle in our work, for fear of persecution? View the encouraging promises which Christ hath made to sufferers for his name. Are not these the very things which we have over and over preached and pressed on our people? and shall we make them believe by our flinching, our hitching, palliating, daubing, and compounding, merely to avoid the cross, that those things were not so? Are these things true, or are they not? If not, why have we taught them? If they be, why do we not live up to them? Oh, that we did but act as if ourselves had believed in what we have preached! Will it not be a real confutation of what we have taught, concerning the blessed advantage and glory of the cross, if we, when put to it, shall decline the cross, notwithstanding all the blessedness we made people believe we thought to be in it? God forbid that we should tempt men to atheism and infidelity, and make them believe there is no more in preaching, no more in promises, than a flourishing talk.'⁸ Thus far that worthy minister; and much more he has to the same effect. Pray earnestly for me, that I may come to you again in public in the fulness of the blessing of the gospel; and that, if it be the good pleasure of God, an effectual door of liberty may be opened. However, that we may be fitted and prepared for whatever dispensations the Lord, in his way, work, and wisdom, shall be pleased to bring us under; that we may know our duty, and be enabled to keep close to it, to the glory of his name, the propagation of the gospel⁹

⁸ [An Alarm for London: to awake and mourn for sin, &c., in a dialogue between Archippus, a minister, and Phile-

mon, a godly Christian. Lond. 4to, 1643.]

⁹ [The closing sentence is lost from the manuscript.]

Now ends our pastor's second imprisonment for six months; namely, twenty-eight days to the month, which the law allows, not to count calendar months, for so it was not expired. But six months, according to the satisfying of the law, being expired, our pastor, Mr. Harcastle, would not abate the adversary one hour; he being carried away to prison that day six [times] twenty-eight days, between nine and ten in the morning, he comes, at the expiration of twenty-four weeks,¹ which is according to law, at the same hour, into our public meeting, and preacheth openly, as before, in the morning; brother Terrill having begun the meeting with prayer, and by that time, before he had done, our pastor came in, and preached, and was quiet. And so in the afternoon again, and not disturbed by the informers. Praise be to the Lord, that discouraged the adversary, and gave such a spirit of courage to our pastor under all his circumstances of trouble, time after time, not only from foes, but from friends with arguments for prudence, so called; but he accounted his still persevering, with Daniel, in open duty, the best policy and safety.

The next Lord's day, being sixth of twelfth month, 1675, [February, 1676], our pastor keeps on in public preaching with us as formerly, and we were quiet all day. Praise be to the Lord; which we take as an earnest of further liberty. This day, in our public meeting-place, after the multitude departed, the church-members staying, notice is given to the church, by the pastor, for keeping next third day of the week a day of prayer, in order to the next Lord's day, in our monthly day, to break bread. And now, this sixth of the twelfth month, two are proposed to join with the church, namely, Mr. Hill, one of the hearers that was

¹ [That is, on the 30th January, committal, August 15th, 1675. See 1675-6. He had been in prison just before, p. 253.]
twenty-four weeks from the date of his

imprisoned, and Mrs. Orchard, one of the hearers whose goods were distrained for meeting.

On the 12th of first month, 1675-[6], the bishop coming home from Dorsetshire, he sends a letter to the mayor, Sir Robert Cann, to inform him, and stir him up to disturb the castle meeting (Mr. Thompson's, deceased); who this day sent some constables and a serjeant, with a warrant, to them; who, when they came there, and read their warrant, which acquainted them of the bishop's information, and therefore desired them to depart, the officers went away without any more trouble. But we were quiet hitherto, ever since our pastor came forth, the second time aforesaid, out of prison. Praise be to the Lord!

Upon the 14th of March, first month, 1675, at our day of prayer in order to the Lord's supper, the four persons before propounded were spoken with; namely, Mr. Roger Hill, Mrs. Orchard, Mary Mallard, and Mary Phillips. They declared, before the whole congregation, how the Lord wrought upon them, and how they came to be converted.

At the same instant, three more, that had desires to join with the church, did then propound to join; namely, Grace Parsons, servant to sister Vanatturde deceased, and one Goodwife Mary Hughes of Horfield, and one Mrs. Combe of Horfield, daughter of Mr. Dorny, town-clerk of Gloucester. These, likewise, at the same hour, declared what God had done for their souls.

With five of these seven, namely, first named, the church were all satisfied to receive them the next Lord's day, at breaking bread; but the two last, namely, Goody Hughes and Mrs. Combe, though in some measure satisfied with them, yet the church will not admit them at present, until they have some further acquaintance with their spirits, this being but the first day they knew of their desires to join. Wherefore our pastor is ordered to desire them to wait some time, as the rest had done.

Upon 15th of the first month, 1675, these four were baptized; namely, Mrs. Orchard, Grace Parsons, Mary Mallard, and Mary Phillips.

Upon the 19th instant, being the Lord's day, at our breaking of bread, in our public meeting-place in Broadmead, these five were added members to this congregation; namely, Mr. Roger Hill, Mrs. Orchard, Grace Parsons, Mary Mallard, and Mary Phillips.

Upon the 20th day, first month, 1675, Jane Fry deceased, and [was] interred the 23rd day at John's Yard.

ANNO 1676.

Upon the 26th of the first month, or March, 1676, being the Lord's day, being in peace, and in hopes that persecution here was over for a time, our elders, with the brethren, order that our church-meeting [be held] after the sermon, once a fortnight, for the members to stay, and the members' names to be called over, to see who neglect their duty in assembling, and thereby then to have an opportunity to rectify other defects in any.

Upon 16th of the second month, April, 1676, being the Lord's day, after the afternoon sermon, the members of the church staying, these five persons were propounded to join with the church, they having before been with the pastor and desired it; namely, Mrs. Phelpes, Mrs. Mosely, Goodwife Cott, Elizabeth Smith, Cary's maid.

Upon the 18th day, at a day of prayer, in order to breaking bread, these three, namely, Mrs. Phelpes, Mrs. Moseley, and Elizabeth Smith, made their declaration of their conversion, and the work of God upon their souls; the church was satisfied therewith to receive them.

Upon the 22nd day of the second month, 1676, Goodwife Mary Hughes, and Mrs. Combe, were baptized in the river Frome, by brother Terrill's house.

Upon the 23rd day, being the Lord's day, at breaking of bread in our public meeting-house, these were received members, namely, said sister Mary Hughes of Horfield, sister Combe, sister Phelpes, with sister Mosely.

Upon the ninth of third month, 1676, at our monthly day of prayer, our pastor being gone to Yorkshire, aged Mr. Robertson, husband to our late deceased sister, was propounded to join with the congregation.

Upon second day of the fifth month, 1676, at a church-meeting on the Lord's day, after the afternoon sermon, in our public place in Broadmead, said Mr. Robertson gave his declaration before the whole church, how the Lord wrought upon him in his old age, being above seventy years old; the church was satisfied to receive him.

Upon the seventh of the fifth month, 1676, the said Mr. John Robertson, and Elizabeth Smith, were baptized in the river Frome. Mr. Robertson was very aged, and very feeble, weak, and short-breathed. Wherefore some discouraged him not to take up the ordinance of baptism; whereupon he was in some fear, and would put [it] off; but he being persuaded it was a Christian's duty, some advised him to trust in the Lord for strength to yield obedience to his own command, and for preservation in it. And so he did resolve not to tarry longer, and then he was baptized, and received no harm, notwithstanding his age and great weakness. Praise be to the Lord! And upon the ninth day of the fifth month following, at the Lord's supper, he was admitted a member of this congregation; and also Elizabeth Smith.

Upon the second day of the eighth month, 1676, sister Joan Ewins, widow, deceased, aged seventy years, the relict of our late dear pastor, Thomas Ewins; which was about six years and a half after her said husband's decease.

Upon the 26th of the eighth month, 1676, after the

sermon upon the fifth day of the week, at our public meeting-place in Broadmead, the brethren stayed that were then present, whose names are underwritten, and considered of the providence that now presented, of five elders and brethren that were coming down from London, to visit a neighbouring church in the country, about fifteen miles off, near Bradford or Trowbridge, to settle some disorder there, as the pastor thereof, T. C., holding forth some unsound doctrine, or new notions, contrary to the general reception of sound and orthodox men. The names of the London brethren were, brother Kiffin, brother Deane, brother Fitten, brother Cox,² and brother Moreton. Now the brethren all agreed it would be a fit opportunity for us to invite them to Bristol, when so near, to ordain our pastor, brother Thomas Hardeastle.

The brethren present were,

Brother King,	Brother Child,
Brother Jennings,	Brother Bryan,
Brother Gwilliam,	Brother Willis,
Brother Ford,	Brother Thos. Jones,
Brother Dickason,	Brother Bodenham,
Brother Fry,	Brother Evans,
Brother Snead,	Brother Town,
Brother Dennis,	Brother Purnell,
Brother Bland,	Brother Morgan,
Brother Lewis,	Brother Hall,
Brother Rivers,	Brother Terrill.

These brethren concluded and appointed brother Gwilliam, brother Rivers, brother Dickason, brother Jennings, and

² [Probably Dr. Nehemiah Cox, whom Dr. Du Veil thus characterizes :—"That great divine, eminent for all manner of learning." He was at this time pastor of the church in Petty France, and in

the following year assisted at the ordination of Mr. Andrew Gifford, at the Pithay.—Ivimey, ii. 403, 546. Du Veil, Lit. Expl. of the Acts, p. 92.]

brother Terrill, to go from them to our said pastor elect, and desire his concurrence with them to send to those London brethren, when come down, to come hither the next week; and that a day for fasting and prayer be appointed by the church, principally to ordain him pastor to this church, by laying on of hands; that so those elders from London, at the request of the church, may join with the church in the said work.

Answer.—Those brethren and elders that came to Trowbridge from London, when they had done there, could not be prevailed with to come to Bristol, because of great personal concerns at home, but returned to London: and so ordination was deferred.

Upon the 12th day of the ninth month, anno 1676, at our breaking bread in Broadmead, Mrs. Anne Hardcastle, our pastor's wife, and sister Barbara Whitehead, brother Whitehead's wife, being both members of two churches in London, were, by letters of recommendation, admitted into the congregation, fellowship, and to breaking of bread.

Mrs. Hardcastle's letter was from Mr. Thomas Vincent, pastor of a congregation in London,³ who is a reputed presbyterian; but as we do, so [do] they. That church doth admit members, namely,

First, Upon inquiry of the parties' knowledge of God, and the doctrines of salvation.

Secondly, Upon inquiry of the work of grace upon their hearts.

Thirdly, Upon inquiry of a good and blameless conversation.

³ [He was ejected from the living of Milk Street, London, on Bartholomew day, and became particularly eminent for his perilous labours during the great plague, visiting the sick, and ministering to the wants of the dying. He was a

man of eminent piety and great humility. His congregation assembled in New Broad Street, Petty France. It is now extinct. Wilson's Diss. Churches, ii. 193.]

These three things his letter did express.

Sister Whitehead had no letter to us, but there was a letter of recommendation for her to brother Gifford,⁴ from Mr. Kiffin's congregation; but she was not willing to sit down with them, but with us.

Upon the fifth day of the 10th month, 1676, Goodwife Knight, in Baldwin Street, and the widow Hickman, were both propounded, being our monthly day of prayer; and they were spoken with at the same time, and gave their declaration of the work of God upon their hearts. Both of them [were] ancient, or long hearers and attenders upon the means of grace. The first, Goodwife Knight, spake but little, though very serious, grave, and sober; the widow Hickman, a woman of many temptations, [was] liberal in her speech, and experience. The congregation declared their satisfaction for both their admission into the congregation; but some desired that they might be made to wait some time yet on the congregation before admitted, to try their spirits and to inquire into their conversations.

Upon the 31st of 10th month, 1676, brother King, that had for about eight or nine years walked with us, by virtue of a letter of recommendation from a church in London, was this day wholly added to the care, and oversight, and power of this congregation, as a member of it and of no other congregation, by virtue of a letter of dismission from the said church in London, walking with Mr. Palmer,⁵ pastor, to this congregation, walking with Mr. Hardcastle; which letter was read

⁴ [Although not ordained till the next year, Mr. Gifford had exercised for some years the office of pastor, assisting the aged and infirm but holy man, Henry Hynam, who died in 1679.]

⁵ [He was forcibly ejected from the rich living of Bourton-on-the-Water at the Restoration, and gathered a congrega-

tion in London, which met at Pinner's Hall. He was held in high esteem for his piety and worth. Mr. Geo. Fownes, the successor of Mr. Hardcastle, was for a time his assistant. He died in 1678. He was also the author of several excellent works on practical godliness.—Wilson's Diss. Ch. ii, 256.]

to the congregation, who stayed after the public assembly was departed, after the afternoon sermon this Lord's day.

Upon the seventh of the 11th month, 1676, sister Martha Suter, who had walked some few months with this congregation, by virtue of the communion of churches, being a member of the congregation about Llantrission, was this day added as a member of this congregation, by a letter from the said church to this, who did commit her to the care and watch of this church.

Memorandum.—That 31st 10th month, 1676, before mentioned, being Lord's day, was the first day of our pastor's (brother Hardcastle) changing and preaching at the Castle, in the morning, once a month, for them; and their pastor (Mr. Way⁶), at the same morning, changing and preaching with us.

This day some trouble began again—having had just a year in our meetings free from trouble; for [on] the second of the 11th month, 1675, were the last Lord's day troubles—by threatenings, and often expecting them; and some of our presbyterian friends, two, were excommunicated, Mr. Chock and Greenway, and writs upon the excommunication sent for them last term. And some of our brethren, as brother Bodenham among others, [were] under proceedings for excommunication, but our meetings quiet; only this day, 7th January, 1676, two serjeants were sent to Mr. Weeks's meeting.

Upon the 14th day 11th month, 1676 [January, 1677], the bishop sends to the mayor with information of our meetings, and gets warrants; which the mayor sent to the constables, (and sent not his serjeants,) who went, as it were for a show,

⁶ [Mr. Benjamin Way succeeded Mr. Thompson. He was educated at Oxford, and lived for some time after his ejection from the rectory of Stafford in Dorsetshire, at Dorchester. He died Nov. 9, 1680.—Palmer, i. 474.]

to brother Gifford's meeting, before they began in the afternoon, and so departed.

Upon the Lord's day, being the eleventh day of the 12th month, 1676 [February, 1677], sister Knight and sister Hickman were added members of this congregation, at breaking bread in our public meeting-place.

ANNO 1677.

Upon the sixth day 1st month, 1676-7, at our monthly day of prayer, in order to the Lord's supper, this sad occasion happened. Brother Tho. Jacob, a member of this congregation, had of late declined his duty, and neglected the assembling of himself with the congregation [not] only Lord's days, but very seldom on the week-day meeting, or at days of prayer; and also he had been observed to have drunk too much, so that he did reel, and was drunk more than twice; kept bad company, and proceeded to bad words in his drink. Of which, some of the members that saw it or heard of it, did go to him after the first time, and tell him of it, between that person and himself alone. He seemed to be sorry for it, and repent of it; but falling again another time, and that brother hearing of it, he took two or three other brethren with him, seeing by his actions he did not hearken to his private admonition, and they admonished him of his sin, and exhorted him to his duty; and at his house in a room by themselves, at that time, they prayed with him, and he seemed to be sorry for his evil, and to repent of it in words. But he was observed again to be in drink, pretty late at night at an inn; this coming to the ears of the church, being revealed to one of the elders of the congregation, two were sent to said brother Jacob to order him to be at the church-meeting this day sevensnight last, which was also a day of prayer upon an extraordinary occasion; but he came not. Therefore the church sent two brethren again to said brother Jacob, to acquaint him that he

must attend the church-meeting this day, and that if he did not come it would hasten their proceeding to cast him out of the church; so he came. And being present, in the after part of the day, after five or six brethren had prayed, and some spake short in the interims of prayer, and when none there but the members of the congregation, the pastor calls for the said brother to draw near the table; and by reason he had before received the private admonition, and secondly the witnessing admonition, the said pastor proceeds to give him the church's admonition. Which, after his two evils (1st, of his neglecting due attendance to the meetings of the church; 2nd, of drunkenness) were laid to his charge, and he not denying them, but confessing the matters of fact (here the church must be asked, after the charge declared to them, and charged upon him, whether they did all agree he should have a church admonition from them? which they show by their silence) laid to his charge, which, if he had denied, the elders could prove it, for they had the matters of fact writ down in two several papers: the time when, and places where done, and the words spoken, and who [were] witnesses, by those brethren to whom the knowledge of it came, and that had dealt with him as aforesaid for it. Which one of the elders ordered to be done, and prepared it, and did look that those brethren that told of it had first done their duty towards him, before it should be brought before the church, that so he might have no opportunity to complain of a disorderly dealing with him; but that he might be regularly proceeded with, to the end he might be thoroughly convinced of his sin, and reclaimed from it; which is the end of Christ's command for dealing. So that after the charge aforesaid [was] laid to him, the pastor laboured to show the evil nature, danger, and consequence of the sin unto him, before all the congregation. Then he pronounced the sentence in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, and this congregation; to which all the

brethren put off their hats, the sisters not to sit but to stand up, when he began so to speak:—That he did admonish him, the said brother Jacob, of those two sins—forsaking the assembling of himself with the church, and of drunkenness.

Then, after it was demanded of him whether he did repent of it, he declared he did; and answered, he did hope the Lord would give him strength, for time to come, against it. Then, seeing he did submit, one of the elders declared to him, the church would wait some time to see if he did bring forth fruits meet for repentance, and bid him take notice and understand, he was not cast out of the church, but stood only under the church's admonition, hoping he would amend, and not give them ground to proceed further with him to final rejection, but to restoration.

After all this, the same day, there were three persons, upon their desire, propounded to join with the congregation, namely,

1. Mr. Kineton's daughter, named Joyce Kineton.
2. A dark woman, that lives on Austin's Back, named Atkins.
3. A poor woman, named Sarah Edwards.

These were proposed to join with this congregation, the sixth day of 1st month, 1676-7.

Upon the eighth day of the 2nd month, 1677, being the Lord's day, and our day of breaking bread, at the close of that ordinance these two were propounded to join, viz., Thomas Army, a baker, and Ann Vaughan, servant to brother Terrill. Their desire to join to the church was declared to the congregation, and then we ended with prayer.

Upon the twenty-second day of the 2nd month, 1677, a blazing star was seen here in Bristol by one of our congregation, brother Towne, and some others, between two and three in the morning. By his description, [it] should rise north-

east, the tail bending south south-west. This was seen divers days here by some, and at London also.

Upon the first day of the 3rd month, 1677, being our monthly day of prayer before the supper, these six persons following, that had been most long before propounded to join with this congregation, they now gave their several declarations of the work of God upon their spirits, all declaring they were born again, and the manner how God wrought the change upon their hearts, and that brought them to believe upon the Lord Jesus Christ; viz., Thomas Arny, Goodwife Atkins, Sarah Edwards, Joyce Kineton, Anne Vaughan. Also Mrs. Rowley was this day propounded, and spoken with at the same time, after the rest.

Note.—Mrs. Rowley, for some months before, had declared to brother Hardcastle and brother Terrill her desires to join; but her circumstances were such, by opposite relations to the truth, that we did not propound her publicly to the church at no other meeting before, until this day that she was spoken with by the church, at their being entirely together: and then she declared how she came to be convinced of sin, and to close in with Christ.

After they were withdrawn a little while, the church discoursed about them between themselves, and upon the whole, in the judgment of charity, did hope they were sincere; therefore sent for them in, and the pastor, in the name of the church, declared the church's satisfaction to receive them as members. This meeting was at brother Terrill's house.

Upon the second day of the 3rd month, 1677, these three of those above mentioned were baptized at brother Terrill's, in the river by his house; viz., Thomas Arny, Goodwife Atkins, and Anne Vaughan.

Upon the sixth day of 3rd month, 1677, being the Lord's day, and our monthly day for breaking bread, after the afternoon sermon in our public meeting-place in Broadmead, when

the bread and wine lay on the table in order to celebrate the Lord's supper, just before the entrance of that ordinance, these six persons before mentioned were admitted into this congregation; and by our pastor, brother Harcastle, according to our usual manner, the privileges and duties [were] declared to them how they ought to behave themselves in the house of God, one towards another, to receive and give reproof, according to Matt. xviii. 15—18, and towards them that are set over them. In all which they are referred to Christ, their great prophet's rules in the holy scripture, and to the guidance of his Holy Spirit; that they must hearken to Christ as their teacher, and obey him as their king, as well as take him to be their priest to make atonement to save them. And then the pastor names them, one by one, they standing up all the while in the midst of the congregation, and so at last declares them members, in the name of Christ and this church, saying, We give you the right hand of fellowship as members of this church; viz.,

Thomas Arny,	Ann Atkins,	Joyce Kineton,
Anne Vaughan,	Sarah Edwards,	Mrs. Rowley.

Upon the twenty-fifth 3rd month, 1677, these six persons following were baptized in the river Frome, being members of this church, at sister Young's house, in the evening:—

- | | |
|----------------------|---------------------------|
| 1. Sister Skinker, | 5. Sister Davis, widow of |
| 2. Sister Rowley, | Capt. Davis, |
| 3. Sister Harcastle, | 6. Sister Hickman. |
| 4. Sister Browne, | |

Upon the nineteenth of the 4th month, 1677, Guy Carleton, the bishop of Bristol, again at his coming home from parliament, sent a letter by his secretary to Sir John Knight, to acquaint him of a meeting in the Castle this morning, being Lord's day; who being with the present mayor, Alderman Crabb, at his parish church of Temple, the secretary came

and rushed open the pew upon Sir John as he was at his devotion upon his knees, and delivers him the paper from the bishop. Whereupon Sir John, advising with the mayor, sends four serjeants to disperse the meeting of Mr. Way, in the Castle, and so they departed; and afterwards those serjeants turned informers, and upon their oaths, and sware against six of the men there met, and they were convicted upon the Conventicle Act.

Upon the twenty-fourth day of 4th month, [the] bishop again sent to Sir John Knight to disturb the Castle meeting, and they were disturbed by some serjeants that turned them out, and would not go away till they were all gone.

Upon the twenty-ninth day of the 5th month, 1677, sister Lydia Syms's husband having two days since arrested sister Murray (a sister that of late was struck with the palsy on one side, and aged, and grown to some decay by frowning providences) for the 3*l.* 10*s.* principal, residue of 6*l.*, with some interest, and she having done this to arrest a member contrary to the rules of Christ:—And this Lord's day, in the morning, after this fact, our pastor, and one of the elders, sent a brother to her (she being now in the city) to tell her he would speak with her after the evening sermon; but she came not then to him. Whereupon, by consent of the church, the elders ordered sister Lux and sister Rose Teague to go to her, and to admonish her of her not attending the appointment of our pastor, and to tell her the church orders her appearance before them the next Lord's day, to answer what shall be laid to her charge. This was done before all, because she had sinned openly; that is, broken the rules of Christ, to go to law with a member before the [unbelievers]. She, sister Syms, ought first to have admonished sister Murray privately, for not paying. 2ndly. If sister Murray did not pay her, to have taken one, two, or three members with her, and have given her the witnessing admonition. 3rdly. If she, sister Murray, had not

satisfied her upon that then she, sister Syms, was to have told it to the church, that they might have dealt with sister Murray for not paying; and if she was able to do it, and [did] not pay her, sister Murray ought to have been cast out of the church, if the church saw reason so to do, and then she, sister Syms, might have arrested her.

Upon the second of the 6th month, 1677, sister Forde, the wife of brother John Forde, a deacon of this congregation, being departed, was interred at Redcliffe.

Upon the third of the 6th month, 1677, brother Andrew Gifford [was] ordained elder to that congregation, by brother Dyke and brother Cox, elders of several churches in London.⁷

Sister Syms being ordered, as before, to attend the church the last Lord's day, she came not, being, as [she] said, sick. Therefore that day the church sent to her again, to attend the church the third day of this week, the seventh instant, being our monthly day of prayer. She came, but went away before the work of prayer was over, saying, she thought she was not able to stay. Therefore the church, considering she was with child, was willing to deal tenderly with her, otherwise would have declared our withdrawing from her; therefore again ordered two sisters, sister Smith and sister Cornish, to go to her, and order her to attend the church-meeting upon the fifth day of the week, after sermon: to stay, or else we should withdraw from her, till she gave the church satisfaction in all. So upon the

⁷ [He "was ordained the third of the 6th month, 1677, by laying on of the hands of brother Daniel Dyke and brother Nehemiah Cox, elders in London, with fasting and prayer in the church." Ivimey, ii. 546, from the original Records. Mr. Dyke was at this time assistant to Mr. Kiffin, at Devonshire Square, where he was ordained 17th Feb. 1668.—Devonshire Square Records, MS. B. In 1640, this excel-

lent man abandoned the valuable living of Hadham to unite with the baptists, and for a time enjoyed the friendship of Cromwell. Though urged at the Restoration to conform, he resisted, not believing "that the king was sincere in his show of piety." The result justified his anticipations, and he continued a faithful-witness for Christ till his death in 1688, at the age of seventy.—Crosby, i. 357.]

ninth of the fifth month, 1677, she accordingly came to the sermon; but after it was done, the members of the congregation present being bid to stay a while after the people were gone down, sister Syms also got down into a low room that belonged to our meeting-place, where repetition of the sermon was by one of the younger brethren used to be made, and she would have some of the church to come down unto her, saying, she could not come up and speak in the presence of so many. But the elders of the church sent down two sisters, again and again, to tell her [her] duty to attend the church, and not they upon her; and if she did not come up, they would presently withdraw from her. So at last she came up to the church, in our meeting-place in Broadmead; and then our pastor laid to her charge the report and common fame, that she was the cause that her husband arrested sister Murray, and so scandal came upon the ways of God, as being contrary to the rule, 1 Cor. vi. 1—5. And therefore he charged her to deal faithfully, as in the presence of God and his people, to tell the truth; if she was guilty to confess her sin, and give glory to God, and manifest repentance. But she declared that she was free from the charge, and did never persuade him to arrest sister Murray, but on the contrary.

This the church rested satisfied with; because her husband also, to our pastor and some other brethren, had owned the thing as his own act, and without her privacy, and so released her. He being no member, we could say nothing unto him.

Upon the 7th day of the sixth month, 1677, Mr. Sam. Hunt and Mr. John Shuter, husband of sister Shuter the younger, were proposed to join with the congregation, at our day of prayer.

Upon the 26th day of sixth month, 1677, Benjamin Warren was proposed to join with the congregation, by one of the

ruling elders, after sermon in the evening of the Lord's day, when the church stayed, our pastor being out of town.

Upon the 4th of the ninth month, 1677, being Lord's day, Mary Webb, daughter of sister Webb, was propounded to the congregation. The next day, being the fifth of November—the nation's anniversary day of thanksgiving, for the parliament's deliverance from being blown up by the papists' gunpowder treason, on the said day, anno Domini, 1603—a day of leisure from employment for the people, we kept that day for our monthly day of prayer, that was to be that week, in order to the Lord's supper. At which time, in the close of the day, three of the persons before propounded, gave, before all the congregation present (the room full), their account, how the Lord wrought the work of conversion upon their hearts: viz. Mr. Hunt, Benjamin Warren, and Mary Webb, with which the congregation was satisfied, and they, the congregation aforesaid, declared their consent to receive them members the next Lord's day, 11th Nov. 1677.

Upon the 8th day of the 9th month, 1677, these six brethren went to brother Jeremy Courtney's—some of which, with others, had been with him several times before,—to reprove and admonish him of his sin of drunkenness that he was fallen into; and was upon the fifth instant at an ale-house, when the church kept a day of prayer, the same time. He seemed, as formerly, to declare his repentance and sorrow for his sin, and we put him to pray against his sin, which he . . .⁸ But we expect the fruit of repentance; viz. reformation.

Brother Daniel Gwilliam,	Brother Snead,
Brother Cornish,	Brother Bodenham,
Brother Richard Towne,	Brother Terrill.

Upon the 9th day of the ninth month, 1677, brother Benjamin Warren and Mary Webb, daughter of sister Webb, in

⁸ [The sentence is not completed in the Record.]

Corn Street, were baptized in the river Frome, by brother Terrill's house.

Upon the 11th day of the ninth month, 1677, brother Henry Fieldust, as soon as sermon was ended, and after the last prayer, in the afternoon, he began to exclaim against one Mr. Young, husband to sister Young, about some worldly business and dealings between them; for that somebody had, the Lord's day before, given in a bill to our pastor, as if for one to be prayed for, wherein was signified, that Henry Fieldust did by law endeavour to ruin a family, but mentioned not what family, nor any name to it, which our pastor did not read, but concealed it: only in private, at another day, [he] told brother Henry Fieldust of it. He was much troubled at it, and, supposing it to be some of Mr. Young's family, he did therefore, this day as aforesaid, aloud and openly, publish the matters between them; and Henry Fieldust's wife also, who was not a member, did second her husband, and kept a loud, open talking of their money, and the matters of the world in difference, exclaiming thus before the whole assembly, besides the church in the face of many strangers, to the great disturbance of the congregation and people. And although our pastor, being surprised at that noise and clamorous discourse, bid him be silent, yet they began again, and loudly clamoured: that the pastor, calling out to them again, and showed what a shame it was that they should so act upon the Lord's day, and profane the sabbath, to endeavour to justify themselves, contrary to the rule, Isa. lviii. 13, yet could scarcely restrain them from this disorderly acting. And then they went forth.

Whereupon, after the Lord's supper was ended, the church sent an admonition to the said Henry Fieldust, by their joint order unto two brethren, namely, brother King and brother Gwilliam, to admonish brother Henry Fieldust, 1st. Of suffering passion to reign in him.

2nd. That he should thus openly disturb the whole multitude and the church, just at their going to break bread.

3rd. That upon the Lord's day, so publicly, [he should] break the sabbath, and be so bad an example.

4th. That he should not only speak to the people without leave of the elders, but that when bid by our pastor, the chief of the elders of the church, he did not cease to dishonour the Lord, and grieve his people.

Upon the 4th day of the tenth month, 1677, being our monthly day of prayer, at the close of the day, these three things were considered:—

1st. The answer of the messengers, as above said, sent to admonish brother Fieldust; but brother King, not being at the meeting, the answer could not be had; because brother Fieldust at their first speaking to him, he desired he might give his answer to brother King another time.

2nd. It was by the pastor demanded of the church, especially of the members that lived near to Thos. Jacob—a member under dealing by the church, their first admonition—what reformation they had observed in him since? Answer. They had not seen nor heard that he was guilty of drinking too much, except once since.

3rd. Whereas brother Jeremy Courtney also had been formerly guilty of the sin of drunkenness, observed by some of the members, and by such alone he had been dealt with several times, and by others, after they had taken with them [other brethren] to admonish him by the witnessing admonition, endeavouring to reclaim him from excess in drinking, and had hoped several times he was made so sensible of his evil that he would be guilty no more: but seeing he was about a month since overtaken again, they now bring his evil before the church, that the church should proceed to deal with him, by giving him an admonition from the whole church, that they might shut him up from the ordinance of the Lord's supper, and see

if that would cure him ; and if that another admonition from them did cure him, then it was not such a leprosy that would cause them to cast him out of the church—the camp, Lev. xiii.

But whereas he had been guilty several times, some considerable time before, some did reflect privately that one of the elders was partial in that matter. He declared, before the church, that it was not partiality in him, if he knew his heart, that he had not brought his evil before the church sooner; but that the said brother Courtney deceived him several times by such good words and savoury expressions, when privately admonished of his evil, and that one would have thought he was very sensible, he using in seriousness such words as these:—at one time he said, If ever I am guilty again of excess in drinking, let me be as Jonah, cast out of the ship. And yet [he] fell again; and being again dealt with for it, seemed to have such abhorring, that he said he would not sell his birthright for a mess of pottage. And now again, after this last fall, when six brethren went of themselves together to deal with him for his sin, he gave very good words, and condemned his evil and himself.

But now they would take his word no more, but look for fruit, viz. reformation; and so brought his evil before the church. But he being since fallen very sick, the elders, with the church, thought not meet to send at that time the church's admonition to him.

Thus stand those three members, brother Jacob, brother Fieldust, brother Courtney.

Upon the 13th of the eleventh month, 1677, [January, 1678], being Lord's day, and our day of breaking bread, brother Lingwood, by our pastor, desired communion with the church, that he might be permitted, and received into his place again: who, near three years since, for some indiscreet words, had been withdrawn from the church. He spake of and against the bishop of Bristol. He was by authority cast

into prison, and lay there about —⁹ weeks; and thereby, for his so impudent behaviour, the church would not own him, nor come near him in his sufferings, because he suffered as an evil-doer: for we are commanded to speak evil of no man; and by that, through his means, the ways of the Lord were evil spoken of.

Upon the 12th day of the twelfth month, 1677, [February, 1678], being a day of prayer, the church proceeded to deal with those three members, after one of the ruling elders had read the thirteenth chapter of Leviticus, and expounded divers parts thereof. Showing that chapter was a rule, showing a method how a church should proceed to deal with offending members, the order of discipline [being] laid down under the type of dealing with leprous bodies under the law, which signified the sin of the soul under the gospel; and showing, for some sins, they must be cast out personally: that is, pronounced unclean at first, as third verse:—

1st. Showing that flesh did signify the body of sin in believers; as Romans vii. 5, and Romans viii. 8, 5, 10, and Galatians v. 16, 17.

2dly. That by skin was meant the infirmity of the flesh; that is, as James iii. 2. We have all common infirmities, and all believers are covered therewith.

3dly. That the hair in the plague turned white signifies decay of grace in the soul, and decays of their duties in the church, or in their families, as grey hair signifies decay of nature in the body, as Lev. xiii. 3. Now if there be a thing clear and plain (that is, the *rising, or bright spot*, in Lev. xiii. 2), seen to be evil in any man or woman in the church, then it must be examined whether it be deeper than the skin, that is, than the common infirmities of believers. And if the hair be turned white, the party begins also to decay, and leave off his Christian duties, then, if his evils be such (as Lev. xiii.

⁹ [Not filled up.]

3), when he is brought before the church, the minister is to pronounce him unclean, that is, cast him out of the church—the camp, as 46th verse: 1 Tim. v. 20; that is, presently, for some gross sins. But if the sin the member be accused of be but a common infirmity, and not deeper, though that have risen high, and that it is a rising more than is common, and it be a bright spot:—and if the hair [be] not turned white, his duty be not decayed, then such a person is to be shut up; that is, to be admonished, and withdrawn from seven Lord's days, or seven times of breaking bread. Then on the seventh Lord's day following, or seventh time of breaking bread, such person is to be looked upon, that is, admonished again; and if his sin be at a stay, and spread not in his infirmity or skin, then he is to be admonished again to repent, and so shut up, that is, withdrawn from seven Lord's days more. Then on the seventh Lord's day, or seventh time of breaking bread, the church is to look upon him again; and if the person manifest repentance, that the sin or rising be somewhat dark, not to be seen, and that the sin spread not in the infirmity, the skin, then the church is to pronounce him clean: that is, to receive him: that is, to admit him to break bread, and to have communion as formerly; as Lev. xiii. 6. But if the scab or sin spread in his infirmity, the pastor is to pronounce him unclean: that is, cast him out of the church, as Lev. xiii. 8, compared with verse 46.

So upon the said twelfth day of the 12th month, 1677 [February, 1678], the church upon Mr. Lingwood's motion to join again with the church, and to return to his place as a member, the church on the Lord's day before, sent a brother to him to order him to come to the church's meeting on this day of prayer. And now being come, the church, in the afternoon, demands of him, by the pastor, what is the reason he left the church now these two years, and his duty, and place? He answered, he had not left his place, but that [the] evil he fell

into of talking against the bishop, and so [was] put in prison, and suffered as an evil-doer, the trouble of it lay upon him. 2nd. Our pastor [then] laid to his charge, his compliance with the bishop, of promising to go to the College to get out of prison; and after that, he did go twice. He said he was sorry for what he had done, but would not do so again. 3rd. The church, by one of the ruling elders, taxed him for his timorousness still, and did fear, if he was received, he would decline the church and his duty again, if any trouble did arise, as persecution; because he was very shy now of any professor, or member of the church, if some of the officers of the customs (of which he was one) should be near him. 4th. The church dealt with him for the sin of drunkenness, the root-sin, that brought all that trouble upon him. For it was at an ale-house he spake those words laid against him, "That he would dash out the bishop's teeth, or could find in his heart to do it," or to that effect, which he did not remember he spake. And that he had been seen overcome with liquor since that, and but lately. But that he had been lately overtaken, he seemed to deny. Therefore the church, by the pastor, pronounced the sentence of withdrawing from him, and to admonish him to repent of his evils; which, because of the troubles then upon our meetings, and his not coming near us, we had not so convenient an opportunity till now he desired to come in again. For by his departing from us, he did, as it were, excommunicate himself; which was the worst excommunication, as self-murder is the highest murder. So he judged himself not worthy of a place in Christ's church, nor of a part in the Lord's supper, as the apostle saith, Acts xiii. 46.

2nd. Then brother Jeremy Courtney was dealt with for drunkenness also, being now present. He hoped [if] the Lord would keep him, he should fall into that sin no more: yet because he had so often given good words and failed, the

church would trust him no more, but wait to see some fruit ; and therefore pronounced, by one of the ruling elders, the sentence of withdrawing from him also.

3rd. Brother Henry Fieldust, that the church had sent an admonition to formerly for his passion and disorderly speaking in the church, he declared he was sorry he had so done ; therefore the church ordered him to withdraw the room for a little while, and finding all to accept of his repentance, [he] was called in again, and declared he was received into the church again.

Upon the 17th day, 12th month, Mrs. Parsons by Clifton, was propounded, at breaking bread.

Upon the 20th February or 12th month, 1677, our aged brother Robert Simpson departed this life, in the eighty-fifth year of his age ; was interred in Philip's yard, by his wife and daughter, at the back door of the meeting-house there, called the church. He could read the smallest printed bibles without spectacles. A week before he died, he said, as he laid upon his bed, in the day time, he told brother Rivers, the Lord had been preaching to him better than an hundred sermons. Brother Rivers asked him what it was. He said, he had been meditating, as he lay a little upon his couch in the day-time, about the Israelite's servant, in Exod. xxi. 5, 6, that had served his master six years. He was to go free the seventh year ; but if he said he loved his master, &c., that he *will not go out free*, then his ear was to be bored to the door-post with an awl, and he should serve him for ever. "Now," said brother Simpson, "I have served Christ so long, and I love my Master still ; and if I were to live a hundred years more I would not leave my Master, and upon the resolution (my thoughts) the Lord came in upon my soul, and said, I should be his servant for ever."

Upon the 27th of the 12th month, 1677, Sister Browne, the widow, departed this life, and left ten children, six sons

and four daughters. She was interred by her husband in John's ground.

Upon the first day of the first month, 1677, our sister Elizabeth Smyth the younger, in Broadmead, departed this life: interred in James's yard. Her race was soon run, it being not two years since shewas added a member to this church.

Upon the fifth day of the first month, 1677, being our monthly day of prayer, viz. the first Tuesday in every month, Mrs. Parsons made declaration of the work of God upon her soul, how she came to be changed, and to close with Christ, and the church received satisfaction to admit her the next Lord's day. Sister Parsons was baptized the eighth of ditto month, and added to the church upon the tenth of this instant month of February [April].

Upon this said fifth day of the first month, 1677, Thomas Jacob, that before was a member of this congregation, and had been under dealing by the church, for drunkenness and neglect of his duty in the congregation, in attending in his place Lord's days and days of prayer, frequently absent, and for which he was admonished by the congregation the sixth day oft he last month, and the church having waited now a whole year, expecting reformation; instead thereof there came late sad tidings to the congregation, that said Thomas Jacob, about ten days since, was much in drink, and very rude, fighting in the street, and that he had given his wife some blows, and said he would be revenged on a man that, it seems, he owed a grudge to, and would not be persuaded to stay in his house when brother Willis entreated him. For this open sinning, the said Thomas Jacob was withdrawn from by the church, and so cast out, and the sentence pronounced before the whole church by our pastor, that we withdraw from the said Thomas Jacob, and that from henceforward he was no member of this church, nor to partake of the communion, nor privileges thereof: and Thomas Jacob was present.

ANNO 1678.

Upon the sixth day of the second month, 1678, there were three brethren came down from London, from the church that Mr. Jessey, deceased, was formerly their pastor, to get our pastor, brother Hardcastle, from us; claiming their right in him, as a member with them, as they would have it, although he had walked with us now near seven years.

The state of our case lay thus:—

After our pastor, dear brother Ewins, deceased, we hearkened for another minister of our persuasion, that was a learned man in the original, and that was not engaged in office in any church; and brother Terrill sending to that worthy and eminent servant of God, Mr. Vavasor Powell, then in London, to desire him to consider of a man fit to be pastor of this congregation, to succeed brother Ewins, and telling him we heard of one Mr. Hardcastle, a member of Mr. Jessey's congregation,—to ask his advice if he were not already engaged, [and] to know whether he did judge him to be a man fitly qualified for us. Which said brother Vavasor Powell answered, Mr. Hardcastle would be a fit man for us, if we could get him, and he was not settled there, only upon trial for eldership. We being by him and others certainly informed [that] Mr. Hardcastle was not otherwise engaged, but only upon trial, this church sent a letter to him, and tendered him a call also, to come to us, leaving it with and before him whether he would accept of their call, or accept of ours; and we argued, he would be of more use here in this part of the land, where there were so few learned men of our persuasion, than he would be in London, where there were so many learned men.

Then it happened, before he concluded which to accept of, he was cast into prison there, in London, upon the Conventicle Act for preaching, for six months: during which time

this congregation, and that in London, did, by letters, argue where he would be most useful. And after divers letters from each to other, they in London offered to refer it to other ministering elders; to which we agreed, and pitched upon six ministering brethren in London, and desired them to name six more, and we would stand to what they should determine, and judge betwixt us in that matter, which they did not [do], although it was their own motion. And when we had waited long for an answer of this, we had none. Till at last we heard Mr. Harcastle was coming down to visit us for a month. And when he was here, before he went away, upon the 29th day of the third month, 1671, we gave him a call in writing, with every member of the church's hand, written by every one that could write, and ordered to be written by them that could not. To which he would then give us no promise of coming to us again, but said, he would consider of it; because, as we understand since, he had not given them a denial in London.

But when he came to London he did, after some time, seeing they did not agree together, and set him apart then neither, nor fasten him, although they heard what we had done. Whereupon brother Harcastle came down to us again, about two months after.

But the church in London was very angry with us for giving him a call, and therefore when he came to us the second time, we gave him a new call, on trial, to be our pastor to this church, upon the eighth day of the 6th month, 1671, after he had given them in London a denial. At which they were more offended with us, when it was their own fault that they had not come to a conclusion among themselves, and settled him to be their pastor, having been so long with them upon trial as he was before. We sent to him a year, if not two years, and then he was nine months with them after we had sent to him to desire that he would come to us; and yet,

notwithstanding, they had not come to a conclusion to ordain him pastor, but he only stood upon trial still.

And again, they miss a third opportunity after he had been with us to visit us and was returned to them again, that they had not then closed, and fastened him by giving up themselves to him, and getting him to do so to them, and to have concluded to have ordained him to be their pastor by laying on of hands. Then we would not have looked after him, no more than after any other minister that was settled over any church; but seeing he was only upon trial, we claimed a church's right, to give an invitation to a gift in any church to come to take office with us under Christ, if he were not in office there, if that he were minded and willing to come to us. For the call of a person to office in a church bears the similitude of marriage, and it was lawful for us to make an offer, to be a suitor to him as well as they, and it was also lawful for Mr. Hardcastle to accept of which he would; because the command of God was so, that the daughters of Zelophehad should marry to whom they thought best, only to the family of the tribe of their fathers, Numb. xxxvi. 6. And surely we are of the same tribe, baptists, as they; and if he had been married to them, we would not have sought to him.

Yet, notwithstanding we so fairly proceeded, according to rule, and they neglected their duty, yet they were offended, and sent an angry epistle to us, charging us with sin in calling brother Hardcastle; but showed us no rule that we had broken. Therefore we had peace, having done but our duty, although they had omitted theirs. And brother Hardcastle had a letter at that time, signed with ten ministers' hands to it in London, that understood our call, pastors of churches, whereof Dr. Owen was one in commending of him to us.

But, for order-sake, we sought to that church from whence Mr. Hardcastle came, viz., Mr. Jessey's people, that they would give Mr. Hardcastle a letter of dismissal from them to

us, because he was a member of that church when he came to us; but they would not grant it. We waited till they had chosen one Mr. Fitten¹ to be their pastor, and then we sought again: yet they would not grant a letter of dismissal. And thus having waited near three years, and could not obtain it, we came to conclude our call to brother Harcastle upon trial. And so, upon the nineteenth of the 3rd month, 1674, being a day of prayer, the congregation having had so long time of trial of brother Harcastle's gifts and graces, they now chose him to be their pastor, and declared it by lifting up their right hands to the Lord; which being unanimously done, brother Harcastle declared his acceptance of the place.

Thus the business of election was terminated, finished, and done, and the church declared their readiness to ordain him when he would. And, upon the 28th October, 1676, they seeing an opportunity, moved it to him, but the brethren from London came not to the city, as thought. But the laying on of hands being not essential to the election, but the church's unanimous choice of him, and his acceptance declared being done, that gives the being of the office, and ties each to other. Ordination, by laying on of hands for order, may be done at convenience.

But now this church in London, having buried Mr. Fitten, comes, and would fain have our pastor that we have enjoyed near seven years. And although they married another since, and buried him also, thought to get Mr. Harcastle back, and so sent three brethren to us, but no letter; but only a certificate, a copy of which is as follows:—

These are to certify the congregation at Bristol, that the bearers hereof, namely, John Mason and Christopher Booth, are messengers appointed by the church at London, of which Mr. Thomas Harcastle is a member, and chosen an elder, to inquire of you the

¹ [See before, pp. 111, 155, 198.]

reasons of your withholding Mr. Thomas Harcastle from them as they are informed, being neither a member nor minister regularly called amongst you, and the church at London standing in great need of him,—to which we do, in the name of the church, subscribe our names,

WILLIAM NUTTALL, }
JOHN BUCKMASTER, } *Deacons.*

Signed at London, the 31st of the 1st month, 1678.

There came another brother with them, namely, brother William Thomas, that they added. These being come from London, we gave them a meeting upon the eighth day of the 2nd month, 1678, at brother Terrill's, where we debated the matter with them. They asked divers questions about six particulars, to which we gave answers that did very much silence them; and so far satisfied them, that they confessed the church in London had missed their opportunity of fastening Mr. Harcastle, and they said we were quick in embracing the season put into our hands. And so, seeing what we had done, and finished the election several years since, they returned the next day, despairing of getting Mr. Harcastle to them. *Laus Deo.*

Upon the twenty-eighth day of the 2nd month, 1678, brother John James deceased, and was interred at George's parish, two miles from the Pill, where he lived.

Upon the seventh day of the 3rd month, 1678, brother Jeremy Courtney was again, the second time, admonished by our pastor, in the presence of the church, to repent of his evil and sin of drunkenness. Our pastor said, he had reference to the sin of leprosy, Lev. xiii., that after seven days the priest was to look upon the leper again; which showed a certain and due convenient space of time that the sick person must be looked after, as well as physic given to them. Therefore he sent for the said brother Courtney the last week, and laid

his sin before him ; and since that, received a letter from brother Courtney confessing his evil, and finding the deceit of his heart and hardness, that he saw where strength and help was, but did not know how to come at it. He seemed as one in a sight and view of his sin, but not come up to a thorough resolution against it, yet seemed in his conscience not to like it. Therefore one of the elders, after the pastor had again admonished him as aforesaid, read unto the said brother Courtney the word of the Lord, written Deut. xxix. 18—21 ; showing that man or woman that shall add drunkenness to thirst, and think in his heart he shall have peace though he so walk, that the Lord will not spare that man ; but all the curses in the scripture shall lie upon him, and blot out his name out of the church ; and whereas, God had once separated him to good by bringing him into the church, now God would separate him to evil, as saith the scripture. Oh sad state !

Upon the twelfth day of the 3rd month, 1678, our aged sister Sterne departed this life, and was buried the 15th instant, in James's Yard, near the Kirk.

Upon the nineteenth day of the 3rd month, 1678, our aged sister Wade, wife to Major Wade, departed this life, at the week [wake] in Arlingham, in the county of Gloucester ; and was brought in a coach, and buried with her eldest son at Stephen's, in this city, the 22nd instant, at midnight.

Upon the nineteenth day of the 3rd month, 1678, the pastor and brethren of the congregation [considered] the back-sliding and declining condition of brother Jeremy Courtney, that stands under the church's second admonition for the sin of drunkenness, and yet again guilty, and trespassing therein. Therefore, at the motion of sister his wife, the brethren conclude to keep a day of solemn fasting and prayer, for him in particular ; if it might be the Lord would be entreated to cast the drunken devil out of him, which did overcome him and carry him captive at his will ; and considering the Lord saith,

some *kind goeth not out but by prayer and fasting.* [Matt. xvii. 21.]

And accordingly we kept a day of fasting and prayer, at brother Courtney's house, the twenty-first day of third month, 1678. After one of the elders spoke to it, and a brother prayed, our pastor, brother Hardcastle, spake, to lay open his sin and the evil thereof. He asked the said brother Courtney if he were willing to part with his sin? He answered, he was willing, if he knew his heart. Then, after the pastor and some other brother [had] prayed, one of the elders asked him, what demonstration would he give the brethren and sisters of the church, that he was heartily desirous and willing to leave his sin? Then, after pretty much ado (for he would know of us what we would have him oblige himself to), we told him, we should not lay any bond upon him; but if he were real in his heart against his sin, he would take revenge upon himself, and clear himself, as 2 Cor. vii. 11. And having read unto him the case and practice of the Rechabites, Jer. xxxv. 2, &c., at last he concluded and said, he would refrain and abstain from wine and strong liquors for a year. And then we finished the day with prayer for him.

Upon the sixth day of the 6th month, 1678, being our monthly day of prayer, in preparation for the Lord's supper, Mr. Wm. Kemp and Mrs. Codner, having formerly, at several times, to the pastor and elder, declared their desires to join, were propounded to join to the congregation. And towards the close of the day of prayer, they gave a declaration, in the midst of the congregation, of the work of God upon their souls; telling the church how they came to be changed, repent, and believe. With which their several declarations, after they were put forth for a space, the congregation, considering what they had said, declared their satisfaction to receive them into their communion as members. Then they were called into the room where the church was, and the time

appointed for baptizing of them. And so they were baptized upon the ninth day of said sixth month, 1678. And upon the Lord's day following, being the eleventh day of sixth month, just before breaking bread, after the evening sermon, they were admitted into the congregation, and declared members of this church. Brother Kemp and sister Codner.

Upon the third day of the seventh month, 1678, being our monthly day of prayer, these two were proposed to join with the congregation, but did not then give in their declaration of the work of God upon their souls, viz.,

Joseph Clarke of Honiton, in Devonshire, nine miles from Lyme, a young attorney; and

— Bowen, wife of Lewis Bowen.

Also brother Jeremy Courtney, having some time before declared his desires, to the pastor and one of the elders, to return again to his place in the church, was now also proposed to the church, for their consideration thereof, and watching over him against the next day of prayer, that he should declare to the church how the Lord turned him to leave his sin of drunkenness.

Upon the 29th day of the seventh month, 1678, about three of the clock in the morning, being the sabbath day, our pastor, brother Thomas Harcastle, departed this life. His death was very sudden, for he seemed to have been as well when he went to bed as he usually was at other times. But he went to bed a little after ten at night, and slept till about one. Then waking, complained to his wife, in bed with him, of a great pain that took him about the shoulders, in his back, and breast; and said, he supposed he had taken some great cold. His pain continued, with motions to reach and vomit, with which he was often troubled in the night, that his servant maid, in the next room, hearing him, thought it but that which was usual. He arose and put on his doublet, and went to stool, and came into bed again. His

pain increased, very violent, that made him groan aloud. The maid arose, but before three the rattles came upon him, and so [he] died. In this great agony, his wife, big with child, was much affrighted. He laboured to comfort her, saying, he hoped it would go off again; 'for,' said he, 'I had such a fit took me in my journey, but it pleased the Lord it went off again.' But this fit did not; for he had been a great journey, as far as West Chester, occasioned by a letter from his wife's brother; and he came home but two days before.

He was a man, as it were a champion for the Lord, very courageous in his work and sufferings. His zeal provoked many, before he came to Bristol. After he had thrown off conformity, he suffered about eight months' imprisonment in York Castle; and then, because he would not give bond to preach no more, as some ministers, his fellow prisoners, did, to get free, he was carried thence, out of his county eighty miles, to Chester Castle, and there he was kept fifteen months more, close prisoner; and then, by an order from the king, he was released without bonds, and he came to London, and there he was baptized. After that [he] was taken up for preaching, and by the Conventicle Act was six months prisoner in London. And then being called by this church to be their pastor, for the defence of the gospel, [he] was twice imprisoned in Bristol, two six months; still preaching as soon as ever he came forth, and so continued till his death, having been our pastor about seven years and a quarter. He was seven times imprisoned, for Christ and a good conscience, after he left off conformity.

It is observable, this last summer God's providence led him to London, and took his leave of his friends there; and now [he] was, by the same providence, led to Chester, and took his leave of his friends there, where he had suffered;

and in mercy brought home to die in his bed, though sudden, where was his work, and had last suffered here for the Lord.

Upon the 15th day of October, the church kept a day of humiliation for the death of their pastor, and concluded to keep the dwelling-house for another.²

Upon the fifth day of the ninth month, and monthly day of prayer, there was a young man, namely, Mr. James Lewis, proposed to join with the congregation, very desirous for communion; but being but lately wrought upon, they put him to wait sometime before they would take an account of him, how he came to be changed, or born again, and believe.

This hymn the church sang, being select together at their monthly day, upon the fifth day of the ninth month, anno 1678; upon the discovery of the then popish plot³ to destroy the king, and to set up popery in the land. And also upon the remembrance of this church's then condition, being destitute, without a pastor, brother Harcastle deceasing a month before. This hymn composed, and brought into the congregation, for its edification, by brother E[dward] T[errill].

As papists still do seek to kill
the governors of our land;
The Lord of might, doth bring to light,
the plots they take in hand.

² [Besides the works already mentioned, of which Mr. Harcastle was the author, he published a volume of sermons by Mr. Garbett, entitled, "One come from the dead to awaken Drunkards." He also united with Mr. Edward Bagshaw in a recommendation prefixed to the Concordance of his brother-in-law, Mr. Vavasor Powell. It is not improbable that he likewise wrote the anonymous "Sober Answer to an Address of the Grand Jurors of the city

of Bristol," in 1675, already referred to.]

³ [This was the celebrated plot concocted by the infamous Titus Oates, but which gained universal credence. "So wildly and widely had the panic spread, that all protestants, clergy or laity, conformists or nonconformists, royalists or republicans, considered their lives in danger, and, in many instances, adopted the most ridiculous precautions against an unseen enemy."—Pict. Hist. iii. 721.]

Therefore let we, give praise to He
 that still doth show His love :
 And let us live, and always give
 the glory to God above.

The papist kinds have bloody minds,
 as well it doth appear :
 Yet God is kind to us we find ;
 let us live in his fear.

When we knew not of any plot,
 so secret was it laid :
 Yet God knew well, what they, like hell,
 had secret done and said.

Why should not we, then, holy be,
 and do no wickedness :
 But walk upright, as in His sight,
 that loveth righteousness ?

For God will sure be with the pure,
 and of them takes a care,
 That keepeth still His holy will,
 and liveth in His fear.

For it is plain, once and again,
 our God this land doth keep
 From papists' plots, that wicked sots
 had laid in hell so deep :

Therefore we must, still on God trust,
 and live unto His praise,
 That is so kind, as still to mind,
 His church's good always.

Then what God saith, let's live by faith,
 that sure he'll do the same :
 And let us joy, and always say,
 Praised be His holy name.

Though now we be, orphans you see,
 as children without bread ;
 Let's live upon our God alone,
 and look to Christ our Head.

Upon the sixth day of the ninth month, 1678, sister Hardcastle had speedy deliverance of a son, born as an answer of prayer.

Upon the twelfth day of the ninth month, 1678, there was carried into sister Hardcastle, the widow of our late deceased pastor, by brother Ekeley, brother Hunt, brother Gwilliam, and brother Terrill, £150 as a gift from the congregation, and some few friends that were hearers, towards her and her children's relief, after her husband's decease.

The manner how it was raised was thus. The same day as our pastor was buried, brother Ekeley and brother Terrill advised together, that some two brethren did go to all the congregation, that was any way able, and to some of the hearers, and ask them what they would subscribe, and give freely, as a token of their love to our pastor, now buried, his wife, and children. Which brother Ekeley and brother Hunt voluntarily undertook to go about, presently, whiles persons' bowels were warm. And they did get these persons following to subscribe, and some weeks after received of them as follows:—

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Brother Edward Terrill	20	0	0	Mrs. Clarke (his mother)	10	0	0
Brother Edward Ekeley	5	0	0	Sister Lux	3	0	0
Brother Samuel Hunt	5	0	0	Captain Thomas Listun	5	0	0
Brother Benjamin Warren	3	0	0	Brother Robertson	3	0	0
Brother Daniel Gwilliam	7	0	0	Brother John Forde	4	0	0
Brother Robert Bodenham	5	0	0	Sister Brookes	4	0	0
Brother King	5	0	0	Sister Hill (widow)	3	0	0
Brother Henry Davis	3	0	0	Mr. White	2	0	0
Brother John Fry	5	0	0	Mr. Tyler	2	0	0
Mr. John Grant	7	0	0	Sister Shuter (the elder)	2	0	0
Brother Jeremy Courtney	2	10	0	Sister Spurgin	2	0	0
Sister Phelps (widow)	3	0	0	Sister Kimbar	1	0	0
Brother Purnell	5	0	0	Mr. Richard Williams	1	0	0
Brother Nathanael Snead	5	0	0	Sister Rose Teague	1	0	0
Mr. Samuel Clarke	10	0	0	Sister Saunders	3	0	0

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Mr. Wike, jun.	2	0	0	Brother Cornish	1	0	0
Brother Dennis	1	10	0	Brother Dickason	2	0	0
Mr. John Shuter	1	0	0				
Mr. Wasbrow	3	0	0				
Mr. Moseley (brazier).	1	0	0		£150	0	0
Sister Dawson	2	0	0				

Total one hundred and fifty pounds.

The praise be to the Lord, who stirred up the hearts of his people so willingly to give, to the glory of his name, and for the better support of the widow and fatherless. (But of the Lord's own we gave him.)

At the funeral of said brother Hardcastle, we gave no wine, but some bread to the poor, gloves and hat-bands to the six ministers that went by the hearse; yet it amounted well towards thirty pounds, all charge paid, with putting his widow and children in mourning apparel, and putting a tombstone over his grave; all which cost the church was at.

Upon * the third of the tenth month, 1678, the aforesaid two young lawyers, namely, Joseph Clarke and Mr. James Lewis, that were before proposed to join with the church, this day being our monthly day for prayer, in the midst of the congregation, they gave a declaration of the work of God upon their souls, how they came to be born again, and to close with Christ. After they were withdrawn into another room, the church considered of what they had delivered as their experiences; but would not receive them presently, but deferred it till the church's next meeting.

Upon the 13th day of tenth month, 1678, the said Joseph Clarke and James Lewis were baptized in the river Frome.

* [In the margin is the following list without any explanation whatever.]

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Sister Williamson	1	0	0	Brother Morgan	0	10	0
Mr. Roster	1	0	0	Sister Hughes	0	10	0
				Brother Hall	0	10	0
				Sister Ellis	0	5	0

Upon the 17th day of the tenth month, 1678, the said Joseph Clarke and James Lewis were, at a day of prayer, admitted members of this congregation, although we had no pastor, by our two ruling elders laying before them, in the presence of the church, their duties to God, the church, and the world.

Also, upon this said day, the church took it into consideration about getting a pastor. Several were discoursed of, as Mr. Ralphson,⁵ Mr. Founds [Fownes] of London. But they concluded to send a letter to Mr. Robert Browne of Worcester, who formerly, near eight years since, after the death of our pastor, Mr. Ewins, in the interim of our endeavours to get Mr. Hardcastle, and fearing that we should not get said brother Hardcastle, we then sent a conditional call to said Mr. Browne, then at London ;⁶ namely, that in case Mr. Hardcastle could not come to us upon the call, or invitation, before sent him, then we did call Mr. Browne. But Mr. Hardcastle came, and so we had not Mr. Browne. And now hearing, by several, that said Mr. Browne was not yet engaged to any church, as their officer, this day we ordered a letter to be sent to Mr. Browne, as follows, judging it most orderly to begin where we left off.

⁵ [His real name was Jeremiah Marsden ; he assumed the other to escape from a charge of being party to a plot in Yorkshire. He was a great itinerant, preaching for many years in various parts of the north of England, though often hunted and pursued by his foes. He reckoned it as a mercy, that he was never silenced in preaching Christ, "but by human law or external force." In 1682, when Bampffield, Griffiths, and others were imprisoned for preaching,

he would not desist, until being seized, he was committed to the same prison, from whence he and Mr. Bampffield were translated to a better world. "He was of narrow principles," says Calamy, "in admitting to baptism and the Lord's supper, and blamed others for their latitude." He is said to have been inclined to millenarian views."—Palmer, ii. 534. Wilson, ii. 467.]

⁶ [See before, p. 131.]

From a church of Christ in Bristol to honoured Mr. Browne.

We have been for some time again under the chastisement of the Lord, in his taking away our late pastor, brother Hardeastle. And, therefore, for some months it hath been a time of widowhood and mourning with us. And oh, that the Lord would say the time of our mourning was over; for now we begin to consider, and look after the supply of that our loss. And being told by some, that you are not as yet engaged to any church as settled in office among them, which, if it be so, we shall look upon it as a great mercy, there is a door open for us to renew our former call to you, that we intended to have fastened upon you, if we had not been prevented, by the anticipation of that providence that was then in agitation before we knew you. Wherefore, dear sir, we do by these entreat you to send us word, whether you are at liberty in that case, or not. And if you are so at liberty, and free, that you would be pleased to come to us as soon as conveniently you can. Thus expecting a few lines from you, in answer hereunto, by the first opportunity, we commend you to the Lord, waiting upon our great Shepherd, the Lord Jesus, to make provision for us; and so remain,

Your brethren in the fellowship and order of the gospel,

By us signed, by order of the congregation, in behalf of the rest,

EDWARD TERRILL,
DANIEL GWILLIAM,
WILLIAM DICKASON,
JAMES BLAND,
WILLIAM EVANS,

NATHANAEL SNEAD,
RICHARD TOWNE,
JOHN PURNELL,
ROBERT BODENHAM,
JOHN FORDE.

The 17th day, tenth month, 1678.

Upon the fifth of tenth month, 1678, Mr. Tyler and his wife, living at Bedminster, were proposed to join with the

congregation, it being on a Lord's day, in the evening, when the church stayed after the evening sermon.

Upon the 21st day of the eleventh month, 1678, said Mr. Tyler and his wife gave their declaration, how the Lord wrought upon them to turn them from darkness to light. They, as all others, spake before the congregation, assembled on a day of prayer. They being an elderly couple, that had been hearers with us about a dozen years, and so suffered with us in the troubles of these times, the church took the more satisfaction to receive them.

Upon the fourth day of the 12th month, 1678, brother Tyler and his wife were declared members of this congregation, by one of the ruling elders, at our day of prayer; the church having no pastor at present on earth, but their great Shepherd, the Lord Jesus Christ, in heaven.

Also, this same fourth day of 12th month, 1678, these three persons were proposed to join with the congregation; viz.,

A young man, named John Cornish; an ancient maid, namely, Jane Daniel; and a young gentlewoman, namely, Mrs. Cicely Lewis. They desired to join with the church.

Upon the eighteenth day of the 12th month, 1678, being a day of prayer, Mrs. Martha Ridley was propounded to join with the congregation; and because she formerly desired to be proposed, near a year since, to one of the elders, who deferred her, or put her off for trial, and now she again desiring it, was this day proposed; and because three others were to be spoken with, she was permitted to give her declaration with them.

And so these four (John Cornish, Mrs. Cicely Lewis, Jane Daniel, Mrs. Martha Ridley,) gave, one after another, an account before the whole church, by what means the Lord wrought upon them; when and how they came to be changed or converted, and to see their lost state by nature, and their closing with Christ. Which when they had done, they were desired, all four, to withdraw out of the room. And then the

church together considered what they had said, and were all satisfied to receive them all; which, after debate about each, the church declared their consent by their silence. And then these four were called in, and told by one of the ruling elders, that the church, in the judgment of charity, was satisfied with their declarations, hoping they were sincere, and should now next inquire into their conversations; and so the church, therefore, deferred the receiving of them as members until the next day of prayer, and so told them then they would hear farther from the church.

Upon the twenty-eighth day of 12th month, 1678, these three persons were baptized in the river Frome, by our brother Jennings, he that used to administer that ordinance of baptism unto this congregation, being a member with us, and was above twenty years since sent forth a minister, by the church in Gloucester; who did, all the time of our late pastor, brother Hardcastle, administer that ordinance; who the Lord in mercy spared to us, and was serviceable upon all occasions, after the loss of two pastors. So that the work of the Lord is carried on among us, only we do not break bread, until we have a pastor. The persons now passed under the ordinance, were—

John Cornish, Mrs. Cicely Lewis, Mrs. Martha Ridley,
baptized.

ANNO 1679.

Upon the fourth day of the first month, 1678-9, those three persons, were admitted; viz., brother John Cornish, sister Cicely Lewis, and sister Martha Ridley, at a day of prayer were added members of this church, by one of the ruling elders. The other person that was propounded, and spoken with by the church, viz., Jane Daniel, being not at this day of prayer, and some other reason, was omitted.

And this said day the church chose four sisters of the

church that were widows, each of above sixty years of age, to be deaconesses for the congregation, to look after the sick sisters; namely,

Sister Smith, the elder; sister Spurgeon; sister Webb, the elder; sister Walton—deaconesses.

Upon the eighteenth day of the first month, 1679, three of those four persons for deaconesses, were, by fasting and prayer, commended to the work and office of widows, or deaconesses, to this church: and so, solemnly, they were set apart to that work of looking after the sick members of the congregation; namely,

Sister Smith, the elder; sister Webb, the elder; sister Walton,—deaconesses instituted, all above the age of sixty years, as 1 Tim. v. 9.

They being, the day of prayer before, elected, the elders sent two sisters unto them, to acquaint them of it, and to know whether they would accept of it; which they all did, except sister Spurgeon. She was by no means willing, and by some providence, of her relation's sick family, was hindered from being here this day of prayer; but sister Smith, sister Webb, and sister Walton, that were willing to accept of the charge, the church, in the after part of the day of prayer, did depute those three to their work thus:—

First, it being demanded of the church whether they would now set them apart, which by their silence was granted:—

Secondly, it was demanded of the sisters, sister Smith sister Webb, and sister Walton, whether they were willing to bring themselves under an obligation, in themselves, not to marry, because of that scripture, 1 Tim. v. 11. If they were willing, we should know it by their silence. If they were not willing to bring themselves under obligation, that then they might tell so to any sister, who might speak to any brother to declare

they, or any of them, were not willing to bring themselves under such a tie or bar.

But by their silence they acquiesced, to engage themselves not to marry. After which they were declared by one of the ruling elders, namely, brother Terrill, to be deaconesses, set apart to that work and service in the church, to look after the sick members. Their work was further declared to them in these particulars:—

1. To visit the sick, to have their eye and ear open to hearken and inquire who is sick, and to visit the sick sisters; in an especial manner to see what they need, because it may not be so proper for men in several cases.

2. To visit not only sick sisters, but sick brethren also; and therefore some conceive [this] may be the reason why they must be sixty years of age, that none occasion [of offence] may be given; and as 1 Tim. v. 14.

3. Not only to take care of their sick bodies, of the brethren and sisters, but that their wants may be supplied; and therefore to make reports back of their condition, to the elders and deacons of the congregation.

4. It is their duty also to speak a word to their souls, as occasion requires, for support or consolation, to build them up in a spiritual lively faith in Jesus Christ. For, as some observe, there is not an office of Christ in his church, but it is dipped in the blood of our Lord Jesus.

5. Some think it is their duty to attend the sick; and if so, then they are to be maintained by the church.

This being declared, those three sisters were set apart, as deaconesses of this congregation, by fasting and prayer, said day.

Upon thirteenth day second month, 1679, Mrs. Allen was proposed to join with the congregation, upon a Lord's day, when the church stayed after evening sermon.

Upon the twenty-second day of second month, 1679, said

Mrs. Allen gave her declaration of the work of God upon her soul, at a day of prayer, in the midst of the congregation; and the church received satisfaction to receive her.

Upon the same day John Messenger, and his sister Elizabeth, were proposed to join with the congregation.

Upon same day, the brethren, having received an answer from the church at Westmancoate, that they would not spare brother Browne to come to us, took it into consideration to send to Mr. Fownes of London, a minister there.

And they also, the same day, agreed to pay one half, with brother Gifford's people the other half, to buy a burying-place for ourselves, a garden in Redcross Lane,—and there they buried that weak, but holy, lamb-like servant of God, Henry Hynam, pastor before brother Gifford,—that we might bury our dead without the ceremonies of the parish parsons in their yards.

Upon seventeenth day 3rd month, 1679, sister Mary Mallard departed this life at Chew, and there interred at Capt. Vicaridge's.

Upon the twentieth day of 3rd month, 1679, John Messenger, and his sister Elizabeth Messenger, they gave their declaration of the work of the Lord upon their souls, before the congregation present at their day of prayer. The congregation, in the judgment of charity, did agree to receive them; but John being but lately wrought upon, [they] concluded to let them wait a while before they be received, and to inquire into their conversations, if it be suitable to what they profess.

Upon twenty-fifth day of 3rd month, 1679, sister Murray departed this life.

Upon the tenth day of the 4th month, 1679, Mrs. Goodman was propounded to join with this congregation, at a day of prayer.

Upon the twenty-fourth day of the 4th month, 1679, Mrs. Elizabeth Ewins, (daughter of Major Clarke, deceased, and

wife to Mr. John Ewins, the only child and son of Mr. Thomas Ewins, our late pastor,) she was propounded to join with this congregation.

The church, having had a denial from Mr. Browne, or rather from the church he walked with, upon the twenty-second day of the 2nd month last as aforesaid, agreed to send to Mr. Fownes, a minister in London, to come to us. And accordingly, by our endeavours through friends there, and letters to invite him, he came down the twenty-sixth day of 4th month, 1679.

Upon the fifteenth day of the 5th month, 1679, being a day of prayer, the congregation assembled, and gave Mr. Fownes a call. First, they sought the Lord, and then proposed the question to the church, whether they would unanimously call him? To which they all assented. Then one of the elders, to wit, Edward Terrill, drew out a writing or instrument, for all the members to sign, and to deliver to Mr. Fownes, as their call, under their hands. And so [he] read the same to the congregation, if they did like it so to do: a copy of which is as follows.

The brethren approving of it, after the elders and deacons subscribed, the brethren were called, one by one, and they subscribed their names. And after them the sisters were called upon, by the church's roll, to answer their names, and to ask them every one in particular, one by one, whether they would as their act have their names subscribed for them, to call Mr. Fownes on trial for pastoral eldership? And they all were unanimous, and so it was signed.

Which when done, the church sent two of the brethren to call Mr. Fownes to the meeting; and being come, one of the elders made a speech to him, acquainting him, that after seeking the Lord they unanimously pitched upon him to be their pastor, and that by God's grace having been counted worthy to be a church of Christ, and by him had been a remnant of

poor souls, kept in much peace and unity hitherto, and did hope the Lord would make him an instrument to carry on the Lord's work in this church or congregation, to his praise; and then delivered him the call in writing under our hands. And then next acquainted him, that he might know it was all our unanimous consent and act, he should see the sign of the church, which was this;—every member presently lift up their right hands to the Lord. And so the room being thronged, as it were a cloud of naked hands were erected towards the ceiling of the room.

Then Mr. Fownes beholding the same, so joint an act of the church, said he could not tell what to make of the providence of God; but this their act did seem to interpret it to him. But for the present, as he did think they would not expect, so he could not give them answer, till he had returned home to London. And if that, through his outward occasions, he did not give them a sudden answer, yet he would not have us to think it was a slighting of us.

And then he prayed with us, and after departed, because he was entreated to preach that evening at Mr. Weeks's meeting-house.

A copy of the call to Brother Fownes, as followeth :—

In pursuance of the command of God, and our Saviour Jesus Christ, to worship the Lord in separation from the world, according to his institutions and the examples of the saints in holy scriptures, as 2 Cor. vi. 17; Matt. xxviii. 19, 20; Ezra vi. 21; Neh. xiii. 3, x. 28, 29; Rev. xviii. 4; Jer. li. 6—10; Acts ii. 41, 42, 47, xiii. 2, 3, and xiv. 23, &c.,—We, whose names are under written, having obtained mercy from the Lord to become a congregation of Christ, in Bristol, formerly walking with brother Thomas Harcastle, deceased, being a remnant of poor souls that, time after time, by the grace of our Lord Jesus with some power upon our hearts, was made sensible of our lost state by nature, and moved to

fly for refuge to the hope set before us, and having laid hold by faith on that eternal life in Christ Jesus, and so given up ourselves to him to be our King, Priest, and Prophet: whose holiness we desire to dread, as being Him that walks in the midst of the seven golden candlesticks, Rev. ii. 1; and therefore would keep in remembrance his late chastisements of us, by his sudden stroke removing our pastor from us, and taking of him to himself, as we fear, for our omissions, transgression, and sins:—Yet, under all his corrections, we would hope in his merciful promises, that he will be with us to the end of the world, Ps. lxxxix. 28—34. And eyeing his gracious providence towards us, as it is written, Eph. iv. 8—15, when he ascended up on high he gave gifts unto men; some to be pastors and teachers, for the edifying of the body of Christ: till we all come to the unity of the faith, and the knowledge of the Son of God, unto a perfect man, in the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ.

Therefore, to the end we may keep the faith, as it was once delivered to the saints, Jude 3, and not be corrupted from the simplicity that is in Christ, 2 Cor. xi. 3:—We do by these presents call you, our dearly beloved brother, George Fownes, minister of the gospel, to be our pastor under Jesus Christ, our great Shepherd: to preach to us the doctrine of our Lord Jesus Christ in the gospel of his free grace: and to administer unto us all the ordinances of our Saviour Jesus Christ, according to the primitive institution and practice of the saints, recorded in the holy scriptures, laying aside all traditions and inventions of men, from which we desire in the Lord's fear to separate, as our bounden duty, and to follow the Lord in sincere obedience to his divine will, laid down in his holy word, contained in the Old and New Testament, left to us and all generations, praying that we may have the guidance of his Holy Spirit to understand that rule of his word, that we may walk thereby to the praise of the glory of his grace, who hath called us out of darkness into his marvellous light: so rendering unto the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, all glory, dominion, and praise, world without end. Amen. And as a testimony of this our joint and solemn call, given to you, our said beloved brother,

George Fownes, on trial for pastoral eldership among us, we do, in the behalf of ourselves, and the rest of church that walk with us, give it under our hands this 15th day of the 5th month, anno Dom. 1679.

Tho. Ellis, ruling elder,
 Richard King,
 William Dickason, deacon,
 Edw. Willis,
 Robert Lewis,
 Jos. Clarke,
 James Lewis,
 James Bland,
 Tho. Reeves,
 Sam. Hunt,
 Tho. Jones,
 Tho. Arney,
 Nich. Gregory,
 Edward Terrill, ruling elder,
 Nathaniel Snead,
 John Fry,
 Henry Davis,
 John Morgan,
 Fran. Whitehead,

Wm. Kemp,
 Edward Ekeley,
 Joshua Bryan,
 Benj. Warren,
 John Robertson,
 Tho. Hall,
 Wm. Evans,
 John Ford, deacon,
 Roger Hill,
 Tho. Tyler,
 John Purnell,
 Richard Dennis,
 John Cornish,
 John Messenger,
 Thomas Jennings,
 Richard Town,
 Robert Bodenham,
 Tho. Child,

Margaret Webb, } *Deacon-*
 Dorothy Smith, } *esses,*
 Anne Ellis, sen.
 Mary Jennings,

Susan Dennis,
 Rose Teague,
 Joan Dickason, and eighty-
 nine other females.

Upon the fifth day of the 6th month, 1679, Mr. Fownes being yesterday gone on his journey towards London, it being our monthly day of prayer, Mrs. Ewins and Mrs. Goodman were spoken with before the church. They gave the work of God upon their souls, and the church was satisfied with it to receive them members. The Lady Waller, Sir William's

wife,⁷ being a member of another church, was there present.

Upon this fifth day of the 6th month, 1679, sister Webb, one of the deaconesses, was interred after the meeting was done at Walborrows. She was about sixty-four years of age. Departed the fourth day of the sixth month. She left a good savour behind her: did much good with her little. She laboured hard in her way of distilling waters, and gave constantly while she lived forty shillings a year for the pastor, and left 50*l.* to the use of the congregation.

Upon the nineteenth day of the 6th month, 1679, Mr. Joseph White, and his wife, and Mrs. Clarke, the younger, the wife of Mr. Sam. Clarke, were proposed to join with the congregation. And by reason these had been well known to us many years, having kept constant to our meetings in the times of our persecution, and of blameless conversations, we took an account of the work of God upon their souls the *same* day, being a day of prayer that the church kept once in fourteen days since the decease of our late pastor, until we have another. And so Mr. Joseph White, and Mrs. White, his wife, and Mrs. Clarke, they gave their declarations, one after another, how the Lord wrought upon their souls; and the church was satisfied therewith to receive them all. Mrs. Clarke especially made many of the members weep for joy to hear the gracious work of the Lord upon her soul, and all had much communion in the spirit with her in her sincere breathings.

Upon the 29th day of the 6th month, 1679, these following were baptized in the river Frome, at sister Young's house, by brother Jennings, our usual administrator; viz., Mr. Joseph

⁷ [She was the third wife of Sir William Waller, the well known leader of the parliamentary forces in the civil

war. He was attached to the presbyterian party. He died in the year 1668.]

White, John Messenger, Mrs. Ewins, Mrs. Allen, Mrs. Clarke, junior, Mrs. Goodman, and Elizabeth Messenger.

Upon the 2nd of Sept. 1679, these following were received, and declared members of this congregation, being a day of prayer:—Brother Joseph White, and sister White, his wife; brother John Messenger, and sister Elizabeth Messenger, his sister; sister Clarke, junior, sister Eliza Ewins, sister Sarah Allen, sister Goodman; added members. The church having no pastor at present, these were taken into the congregation, as members thereof, by one of the ruling elders, brother Terrill, on a day of prayer, laying their duty before them, how they ought to behave themselves in the house of God, 1 Tim. iii. 15: 1st, their duty towards God; 2nd, towards the church, or every member; 3rd, towards the world, as becometh saints.

Upon the sixteenth day of the 7th month, 1679, being a day of prayer, Mr. Fownes being the second time come from London, on the 5th instant, spent two Lord's days more with us, and this one day of prayer being come, and the church assembled to seek the Lord, in the after part of the day we did by one of our elders, viz., brother Ellis, put the question to said Mr. George Fownes, whether he did accept of our call that we gave him two months before? He answered, he owned our call to be the voice of our Lord Jesus Christ unto him, and therefore was willing, as the Lord should help him, to serve this church whilst he lived, or the rest of his days: desiring our prayers, and to overlook and pardon all weaknesses and human infirmities that we might see in him.

He thus declaring his accepting our call, then we did, by the said brother Ellis, desire the church to declare their unanimous consent and token of their choosing him to be their pastor, by lifting up their right hands to the Lord; which

they did immediately, every one of them. And then said brother Ellis concluded the day with prayer.⁵

Upon the 24th day of the 7th month, 1679, (our pastor elect being two days before returned to London to fetch down his family,) it happened that a very grievous and sad tidings came to the ears of the church, concerning one of the members, namely, Mary Smith, that had walked with us about five years four months, being a servant maid, living at a place called Woolland, four miles from this city, with one William Ship, a country yeoman, being a widower. She was reported to be with child. One of the elders, the same day, sent two sisters of the congregation, sister Dickason and sister Dennis, to her to examine the matter, and they found it to be true. And she confessed the matter, and said it was by her master, who, she said, at first forced her. And then, a day after, the elders sent over two brethren to her and her master, and had them face to face. She charged him with it, he could not deny it; yet they could not prevail with him to marry her, seeing he had wronged her. The sisters sent were ordered by brother Terrill to summon her to appear before the congregation the Lord's day following. So, accordingly, with great shame and weeping, and covering her face, she came.

So upon the 28th day of the 7th month, 1679, being the next Lord's day, when the afternoon sermon was ended, the members of the congregation were desired to stay, and those that remained that were not of the congregation, nor proposed to it, nor members of other churches, were desired to depart.

⁵ [Mr. George Fownes was educated at Cambridge, and regarded as a good scholar. Having become a baptist, he left the church of England and his living of High Wycombe, Bucks, some time before the Restoration. For a while he travelled about, preaching as occasion offered, but finally settled in London as

assistant to Mr. Anthony Palmer, at Pinner's Hall. He also preached a lecture in Lothbury. Mr. Palmer dying in January, 1678, the church at Pinner's Hall chose for a pastor Mr. Richard Wavell, an independent, and Mr. Fownes's connexion with it ceased. --Crosby, iii. 28; Wilson, ii. 258.]

And thus only the church being together, and the aforesaid offending member, Mary Smith, being present, according to summons that was sent her, she was then cast out of the congregation by one of the ruling elders, namely, brother Terrill, although we had no pastor.

The manner of proceeding in this sad work was thus:—First, he showed that there were some cases wherein a congregation might proceed to their duty of excommunicating a member, without previous admonitions: that is, such offences as were open, notorious, and publicly scandalous, of which this was one. Secondly, he declared before the whole church her crime, or sin committed. Thirdly, proved from the holy scriptures, that this her offence was an evil that God would enter into judgment against; therefore the church might condemn and cast out that person that had done that evil deed; 1 Cor. v. 3—5. Fourthly, declared that although this was in hatred, abhorrence, and detestation of her sin, that the flesh might be destroyed, yet it was in love to her soul, that it might, if possible, be saved in the day of Christ, or final judgment. Fifthly, he declared, that in faithfulness to God, and obedience to our Lord Jesus Christ's commands and institutions, that the church might be cleansed, and not be partakers of sin and wickedness to provoke the Lord, she having run away from the Lord, and his paths of holiness, it was their bounden duty to cast her out of the ship; Jonah i. 11, 12. Sixthly, therefore, then, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, and [by] the power and authority he hath given to his churches, the sentence was passed upon her; and at the beginning of the name of 'Lord' all the brethren put off their hats; namely,—We do declare that thou, Mary Smith, for thy sin of fornication, art from henceforth no more a member of this congregation; but art cast forth into the world, and to enjoy no longer the privileges of God's house, nor partaker with us in his holy mysteries, and the Lord have mercy on thy

soul. And seventhly, said brother Terrill declared, that though by the command of the Lord we were thus to separate her from us, she having separated herself by such sin, that was not the spot of God's people, and so entered herself again into the power and dominion of sin and kingdom of Satan, in not avoiding the appearance of evil, but rejected the grace and teaching of God's word and Spirit of holiness, and so forsaking the congregation and path of the righteous: yet, this act of the church, and sentence pronounced against her, was not so decretal, but that if God should grant her repentance to life not to be repented of, such as should be to the satisfaction of the whole church, she might be received in again hereafter.

After which he prayed for her, and prayer was made by the church for her, that she might not sin any more, lest a worse thing come upon her. But rather, if she belong to the Lord, she might be thoroughly humbled, convinced, converted, and restored to Christ, that she might not be continued under the sentence, and at last cast out of heaven also. Thus this sad work was ended, that we never knew the like evil committed in this church before.

Also, the same time (after) an admonition was sent to sister Ship, who lived near her, at Woolland, for not watching over her, and reproofing her, the said Mary Smith, for some evil sister Ship now saith she knew her guilty of a year since and more, as lying, &c., and yet did not deal with her according to her duty, Levit. xix. 17; and Matt. xviii. 15—17. And secondly, a reproof to the said sister Ship for her own late absence, and neglecting of assembling with the church. The messengers appointed were brother Bodenham and brother Gwilliam, and that they go to the master of the poor maid cast forth, and endeavour to persuade him to marry her, seeing he had abused her.

Also, the same time, an admonition was sent from the church to another member, namely, sister Watkins, a widow

woman, for her scandalous walking disorderly, not tending her business, but making it a common practice to go up and down borrowing money, of any whomsoever she could, and not endeavouring to pay it again, taking no care therein; to the reproach of the gospel and ways of God, and of which she had been several times reprov'd, and therefore the church would be forced to withdraw from her; 1 Thes. iii. 6.

The same evening, after Mary Smith was cast out of the church, as the sisters were departing, brother Terrill moved to the brethren, that notwithstanding we had done our duty and cast her forth, yet we should endeavour to put a stop to the dishonour brought to the ways of the Lord by this her evil. And our first way to attain that end was, that the church should send some brethren to ride over to the man, the said Mary Smith's master, that had done this fact, and persuade him to marry her; that two brethren should go the morrow, and two after if they could not persuade, and more after to follow it now betimes: to which they agreed. So brother Bodenham and brother Child went over to the man, but could not prevail; his own natural brother, one Rich[ard], then stood in the way and much hindered. Next day, brother Bryan went, and he took with him brother Gwyn, and could not prevail with the said brother.

On the fifth day of the week, being the second day of the 8th month, 1679, brother Terrill himself rode over, and took with him brother Gifford, pastor of the other baptized congregation. And the Lord favoured them with his presence; although, coming to the house, they could find none within, but were led to the man, William Ship, in the field with his plough. Who, riding up to him, took him aside, desiring to speak to him about the matter of his sin, in abusing his maid; and that seeing he had done so, it was his duty to marry her, by the command of the Lord in that case: naming two scriptures to him, viz., Exod. xxii. 16, and Deut. xxii. 28. He

seemed to be very opposite, and in a bad humour; but we prayed him to walk to his house with us. And there further discoursed him, and read those scriptures to him, and desired him to read them himself, which he did; telling him our end was only the glory of God, and the good of his soul, that brought us thither, to lay before him life and death: whether he would sin more by not obeying the Lord in such case to marry her, which was his first step to repentance, if God should afterwards grant them the grace of repentance unto life; with many other arguments we used to him.

As we were thus persuading him, his brother Ship came in, by providence, to us. We reasoned with him about the matter, and those two scriptures before named, that showed it his positive duty, and asked him what he would say against it. For that was no ceremonial law, but part of God's judicial law: what man was to do between one another, and what the magistrate was to require and see done; and that it was distinct from the ceremonial law that was for Aaron and the priesthood and Levites to perform. His said brother argued several other things against his marrying of her, but we told him that it was written his positive duty, seeing he had humbled her. And therefore, he that should break one of the least of God's commands, and teach men so, he should *be called the least in the kingdom of heaven*; to bid him beware of dissuading him to the contrary; and with many other arguments, that the glory of God should be stained and thrown in the dirt by him, that had formerly sometimes come to meetings.

The Lord, at last, did bend the man's heart, that he said, he had thoughts to marry her. We pressed him to the present doing of it, that, if possible, he might put some stop to the reproach cast on the gospel; and he consented. We considered of a parson to do it, and hearing of a parish priest that did use to marry persons privately, brother Terrill would needs ride away presently to find him out, and so did. And

the Lord favoured [brother Terrill] by his providence, that he, parson Davis, was at home, and got him to come to the said William Ship's house, promising him he should have money to fetch a licence and also [be] paid for his pains. So he came, and by persuasion got him to marry them presently, in the presence of the said brother Terrill, brother Gifford, and Richard Ship, the man's brother. So the Lord prosperously effected the matter, blessing the endeavours used to regain the glory they had lost. The like evil, through grace, had not been known amongst us since we were a church, near this forty years. Therefore was cause of great lamentation, that Christ should be so wounded afresh by us.

Upon the fifth day of 8th month, being the next Lord's day, after evening sermon, the congregation staying, they ordered that two brethren, namely, brother Bodenham and brother Snead, should be sent to brother Jeremy Courtney, that stands under the church's admonition, and [to] sister Watkins, that they should attend the congregation at their day of prayer, next third day of the week, being the church's monthly day.

Upon the seventh day of the 8th month, 1679, being a day of prayer, Jane Daniell was added a member of this congregation, by one of the ruling elders. She was long since spoken with and accepted by the church. Her conversation being inquired into, she was now received solemnly, and in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ and this church, she had the right [hand] of fellowship given her, with exhortations to mind her duties, first, towards God; secondly, towards every member of the church, to watch over them, and to reprove them, according to the rule of the Lord, Matt. xviii. 18; and, thirdly, her duty to the world.

Jeremy Courtney cast out 7th day 8th mo., 1679.

The church, being willing to set members in order against the coming of our new pastor from London, did also, upon

this same day, proceed with Jeremy Courtney, that had for a long time been under admonition of the church, who waited for his repentance, and reformation of that his sin of drunkenness; but not finding him to return to the congregation to be restored to his full communion, nor reformation of his evil, the congregation considering of it, did agree together to cast him out of the church: having sent two brethren, the Lord's day before, to him to summon him to attend the congregation this day of prayer; but he came not. The reason rendered [was], he had been lately ill. Yet, notwithstanding, the congregation proceeded to their duty. And therefore, one of the ruling elders, namely, brother Terrill, by consent of the whole congregation then assembled, did pronounce the sentence; viz., In the name of the Lord Jesus, and [by] the authority he had given to his churches, we did declare, that Jeremy Courtney, for his sin of drunkenness, of which he stood convicted, and several times thereof admonished by the church, but not reforming, was from henceforth to be no longer a member of this congregation: but was cast into the world, and no longer to be partaker with us in the holy mysteries of the Lord, nor fellowship with us, nor to enjoy the privileges of God's house;—and the Lord have mercy upon his soul.

This being ended, with lamentation and sore trouble that we were forced, for the preservation of the glory of God and the church's purity, thus to proceed to our duty, as the last means to endeavour his recovery:—first, the said brother Terrill showed his crime, and the evidence that it was true and obvious. Secondly, that this crime was a sin that whosoever should live and die in it without repentance, should not inherit the kingdom of God; as 1 Cor. vi. 10. Therefore, those that did continue in such sins, should not be continued in the church: for what Christ will judge hereafter his people should judge here, and have no fellowship with such works of darkness.

Sister Watkins withdrawn from, 7th day, 8th month, 1679.

This affliction and trouble was not all; but the church having also summoned sister Watkins, for tidings came to the ears of the church, that she walked disorderly and scandalously in the borrowing of money, up and down, of many persons—of some ten shillings, of some twenty shillings, of some more, some less, as she could get them to lend—and took no care to pay it again, promising people and not performing, spending much if not most of her time going up and down: and so did not work, or but little, to endeavour honestly to live, and eat her own bread. And thus, she walking disorderly and scandalously in borrowing, contrary to the rule, 2 Thess. iii. 6, 10—12. The church, after her crime was declared, and proved to her face by divers in the church, and what they had heard she had so served some not of the congregation, they consented all, universally, to withdraw from her. Then the ruling elder, brother Terrill, declared to her, before the church, how that for her so sinning against the Lord, she rendered herself among the wicked ones, as Ps. xxxvii. 21⁹: and therefore the church, in faithfulness to the Lord and to her soul, must withdraw from her, seeing she had by several of the members been admonished once and again, and by several together witnessing against her evil in so doing: yet she had lately done the like, so that there was a necessity upon them to do their duty. And also acquainted her, that if the Lord should hereafter give her repentance of her evil, that she should reform to the satisfaction of the congregation, they should be willing to receive her into full communion again.

And then the sentence, by the said ruling elder, was passed upon her; viz. That in the name of our Lord Jesus

⁹ ["The wicked borroweth and payeth not again."]

Christ, and by the authority he had given to his church, we did declare, that sister Watkins, for her sin of disorderly walking, borrowing and not paying, making promises and not performing, and not diligently working, was withdrawn from, and no longer to have full communion with this church, nor to be partaker with them in the holy mysteries of the Lord's supper, nor privileges¹ of the Lord's house; and the Lord have mercy upon her soul.

Upon the same 7th day, 8th month, 1679, being a day of prayer, these persons following were propounded to join with the church:—Eleanor Morgan and Elizabeth England, propounded.

Upon the 21st day of 8th month, 1679, being a day of prayer, those persons, Elizabeth England and Eleanor Morgan, gave a declaration of the work of God on their souls, and the congregation was satisfied therewith to receive them.

Upon 22nd day of 8th month, sister Tilly departed this life, and was interred at Philip's yard.

Upon 23rd day of the 8th month, 1679, our new pastor, brother Fownes, came down with his whole family, to settle with us, from London; whom we hope the Lord in mercy hath sent to us, and that God will fill him with a double portion of his Spirit, to bring many souls to Christ, and build them up in the holy faith.

Upon the 24th day of the 8th month, 1679, those persons following were baptized in the river Frome, at sister Young's house, by brother Jennings, the usual administrator, he being a minister that was sent forth to preach above twenty years since, by a church in Gloucester walking with one Mr. Forbes. And, therefore, we understand that whoever is made and ordained a minister, to preach the gospel of our

¹ No privileges; viz. If she doth to stay when any business of the church come to the meeting, not to be suffered [is] transacted. [Note by Mr. Terrill.]

Lord Jesus Christ, being set apart to that work of the ministry—although he be not chosen a pastor to any particular people,—yet he hath power to baptize those that profess repentance, and faith in Jesus Christ. Yet we do not understand nor hold that every gifted brother in a church hath power to baptize, until he be set apart to the work of the ministry, as Barnabas and Saul were, Acts xiii. 2.

Every gifted brother, it is his duty to minister or exercise his gift in the church whereof he is a member, 1 Cor. xiv. 29—31; 1 Pet. iv. 10, and 1 Thess. v. 11; but not his duty to preach to the world, nor to go forth to preach before he hath a call to the work, nor hath not power to baptize, although he hath a gift to preach, until he be sent forth to preach the word. Then he hath, by virtue of that mission, power to baptize also; for so we see Philip, though but a deacon, when sent to preach had power to baptize, Acts viii. 26, 35, 38. And so is the Lord's commission, *Go teach all nations, baptizing them*, Matt. xxviii. 19. And therefore we having such a brother amongst us, that walked with us, that was formerly sent forth by a church to preach, and did go up and down preaching in the country about, from place to place, although we did not think him fit to choose him to be our pastor, and so could not break bread to us unless we had chosen him to be our pastor; yet we made use of him to preach amongst us some time, and always to baptize. During the time of our brother Hardeastle, he did baptize all that were desirous of that ordinance, and so he did baptize these, viz. Elizabeth England and Eleanor Morgan, baptized.

Upon the 5th day of 9th month, 1679, being our monthly day of prayer at our public place in Broadmead, John Shuter, husband to our sister Shuter the younger, who above a year since, upon his then desire, was proposed to join with the church, but for some reason was delayed: but he now again earnestly pressing for communion, and now being

settled in his understanding about baptism and order, was admitted this evening to declare the work of God upon his soul, before the whole church, after the sermon in the public meeting-house. He declaring his conversion, repentance from sin, and faith in our Lord Jesus Christ, the church received satisfaction to receive him.

Upon the 7th day of 9th month, 1679, the said John Shuter was baptized, or dipped in the river Frome.

Upon the 9th day of the 9th month, 1679, being the first Lord's day that brother Fownes brake bread to us, viz. administered the holy sacrament of the Lord's supper to this church; and then these persons following were admitted members of this church, by him, in our public meeting-house, in Broadmead:—(that is to say) brother John Shuter, sister Elizabeth England, sister Eleanor Morgan, added to this church.

Memorandum.—To the praise of the Lord be it recorded, that, in the vacant time that we had no pastor, it pleased the Lord to add nineteen members to this church, and tried us by casting out three members, from the time brother Hardcastle deceased, till brother Fownes settled to us, near fourteen months' space.

THE STATE OF THIS CONGREGATION THE 9TH DAY OF THIS 9TH MONTH, 1679. OR, THE NAMES OF THE MEMBERS OF THIS CONGREGATION, in being when brother Fownes, whom they chose for their pastor, came down to settle with us; showing who and how many there were baptized after believing. In all the numbers were one hundred sixty-six, that were in being the first time he brake bread unto us, which was the 9th day of the 9th month, 1679; committed unto his care and charge under Jesus Christ our Head, King, Priest, and Prophet; on whom we live, depend, and trust alone from his word, by his Holy Spirit, for increase of all grace, and growth in numbers; to have supplies and fresh anointings, at all times, from him, our High Priest that ever lives and never changes, although he takes

away and gives us new pipes of conveyance. But our king Jesus is *the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever*. To whom be glory, world without end. Amen.

BRETHREN.

Fownes, pastor, baptized.	Robertson, baptized.
Ellis, ruling elder.	Thomas Jones, baptized.
Terrill, ruling elder, baptized.	James Lewis, baptized.
Jennings, baptized.	Snead, baptized.
Forde, deacon, baptized.	Towne, baptized.
Dickason, deacon, baptized.	Fry, baptized.
Gwilliam, baptized.	Dennis, baptized.
Ekeley.	Purnell, baptized.
Robert Cornish, baptized.	Davis, baptized.
Bodenham, baptized.	Hill.
Willis, baptized.	Hunt, senior, baptized.
Fieldust, baptized.	Whitehead, baptized.
Bland, baptized.	Clarke, baptized.
Rivers, baptized.	Kemp, baptized.
Hall, baptized.	Morgan, baptized.
John Cornish, baptized.	Evans, baptized.
Messenger, baptized.	King.
Warren, baptized.	Tyler.
Child, baptized.	White, baptized.
Robert Lewis, baptized.	Gregory, baptized.
Bryan, baptized.	Shuter, baptized.
Arny, baptized.	Forty-two. ²

SISTERS.

Brookes, baptized.	Hickman, baptized.
Gwilliam.	Mainard.
Williamson, [since] deceased.	Pope, baptized.
Cornish, baptized.	Edwards.
Ekeley, baptized.	Messenger, senior, baptized.
Walton, deaconess, baptized.	Messenger, junior, baptized.
Allen, baptized.	Bowles, baptized.
Ellis, junior.	Stephens, baptized.
Hughes, of Horfield, baptized.	Turtle.
Combe, baptized.	Eleanor Morgan, baptized.
Field, baptized.	Phelps.
Hall, baptized.	Dennis, baptized.

² [If the pastor, Mr. Fownes, be reckoned, the number of names is forty-three.]

SISTERS—*continued.*

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|-----------------------------|------------------------------|
| Rose, baptized. | Dayos. |
| Whittington, baptized. | Shute, baptized. |
| Pockeridge, baptized. | Snead, baptized. |
| Hill, baptized. | Rachel Clarke, baptized. |
| Fran. Hill, baptized. | Ewins, baptized. |
| Smith, deaconess, baptized. | Shaells, baptized. |
| Clarke, baptized. | Prior, baptized. |
| Jourdan, baptized. | Evans, Castle, baptized. |
| Sterry, baptized. | Lingwood, baptized. |
| Ellis, senior, baptized. | Boyer, baptized. |
| Griffen. | Betterton. |
| Davis, baptized. | Rowley, baptized. |
| Jones, senior. | Lewis, baptized. |
| Jones, junior, baptized. | Hughes, baptized. |
| Bland. | Ridley, baptized. |
| Lux. | Smith, Philips, baptized. |
| Atkins, baptized. | Jennings, baptized. |
| Parsons, Clifton, baptized. | Poulden, baptized. |
| Hill, Key, baptized. | Young, senior, baptized. |
| Daniell. | Mary Young, baptized. |
| Webb. | Morgan, baptized. |
| Moseley. | Anne Vaughan, baptized. |
| Knight. | Jervis, baptized. |
| Gough. | Goodman, baptized. |
| Morgan, Back, baptized. | Webb, junior, baptized. |
| Williams, Thom: baptized. | Dickason, baptized. |
| Mary Phillips, baptized. | Williams, baptized. |
| Dawson. | Whitehead, baptized. |
| Papewell, baptized. | Kimbar, baptized. |
| Skinker, baptized. | Dapwell, baptized. |
| Joyce Kineton. | Saunders, baptized. |
| James, baptized. | Spurgin. |
| Shuter, senior. | Evans, senior, baptized. |
| Shuter, junior, baptized. | Mary Evans, baptized. |
| Codner, baptized. | Rawlins, baptized. |
| Orchard, baptized. | White, widow, baptized. |
| White. | Shipp, baptized. |
| Tyler. | Trigg, baptized. |
| Munday, baptized. | Sarah Lewellin, baptized. |
| Morgan, Temple, baptized. | Margaret Williams, baptized. |
| Forde, baptized. | Elizabeth England, baptized. |
| Lydia Waters, baptized. | Loyd, baptized. |

MEMBERS REMOVED BY HABITATION.

Brother Pritchard, Bath Easton, bap.	Sister Parlin, had a letter, Waterford, bap.
Brother Teather, Hollow, Trow, bap.	Sister Clarke, London, bap.
Sister Marsh, by Abergavenny, bap.	Sister Hazeley, London, bap.
Sister Oviatt, at Southampton, bap.	Sister Collins, Sherston.
Sister Barnes, by Magor.	Sister Simms, Axbridge, bap.

MEMBERS UNDER DEALING.

Anne and Mary Virgin, Cork, bap.	Brother Lingwood, of Bristol, since received in again and baptized.
Brother Robert Jones, at New England.	Sister Adams, at Nevis, bap.
Brother Henry Forde, London.	

TOTALS.

[Brethren]	42
[Sisters]	108
[Members removed]	10
[Under discipline]	6
	<hr/>
[Total]	166
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The total was one hundred and sixty-six members then living—whom, O Lord, increase in number and grace!—whereof just one hundred and fifty, and with our pastor, brother Fownes, one hundred and fifty-one, were in actual, present, and common communion, living in and about this city of Bristol; other ten members removed by distance of habitation as above; and six under dealing by the church, and most of them at distance by habitation; besides the four more that were lately cast out of the church, viz. Thomas Jacob, Jeremy Courtney, Mary Smith *alias* Ship, and the widow Watkins.

Sister Williamson departed the 9th day of 10th month, 1679; interred in James's yard³

³ [At this point the Records of the church cease to be in the hand-writing of Mr. Terrill; the next four pages, with three others at the close, being by

ANNO 1680.

NOW BEGINNETH OUR NINTH PERSECUTION.

The 4th day of the fifth month, being the Lord's day, there came in two informers into our meeting-place in Broadmead, in the morning, presently after the text was named, and stayed there until the meeting was ended. Our pastor, brother Fownes, was preaching from Job xix, 25, *I know my Redeemer liveth*; and the informers were George Hellier, John Hellier's brother-in-law, and one Bennett, the bishop's apparitor. This George Hellier, the 6th day of the 6th month, was brought before the mayor for several misdemeanours, being taken up by the watch of the city, by whom he was for that night put into Bridewell, for being drunk, and speaking contemptuously of the mayor, bidding him kiss ——, and for swearing and abusing the watch; for which, together with his ill-behaviour when before the mayor, he was bound over to the next quarter sessions, and to the good behaviour—which such men have always been strangers to. Howbeit as a wild beast is the more enraged by being chained, so he that same day, being Tuesday, goes to Mr. Weeks's meeting-place (Mr. Young then preaching), being drunk, with two other informers, viz. Lewis Harris and Aaron Watts, and making a noise, commands the minister to come down, who, having near ended, goes down a private way, and avoided them.

The 8th day of the fifth month, 1680, the said George Hellier, with the bishop's apparitor, and Lewis Harris, with Andrew Ball and George Wilkins, two of the sheriff's serjeants, comes up into the meeting again, being our lecture

an unknown person, but drawn from a waste-book, in which Mr. Terrill appears to have entered the events as they arose,

in order, subsequently, more at large to continue his narration. This waste-book is lost.]

sermon, whilst brother Fownes was in his first prayer. The informers were very rude, and would hardly suffer him to conclude his prayer—having a warrant signed by two justices, viz. Sir Robert Cann, and Alderman Ollive, to break up the meeting,—willing our minister to come with them before the said aldermen; they showed their warrant, which brother Fownes reading to himself, replied, his name was not in the warrant to bring him before them; but the serjeants clamorously and violently pressing in the midst of the meeting, saying, that they had orders to bring him with them, and Ball taking hold of brother Fownes, who said unto him, If you will sit down, and let me alone until I have done, I will go along with you:—thus conditionally he promised to go with them; but they would not accept thereof, nor stay, but would have him go presently.

Then Mr. John Grant, a mercer on the bridge, being then at the meeting, comes to the serjeants and prevails with them to go down the stairs a little while. Now George Hellier, the informer, hastened away to fetch an express warrant for the minister. In the meantime, we persuaded brother Fownes to go home, down the other stairs: for we knew if Alderman Ollive could get the minister before him, he would send him to prison by the Five Mile Act, for preaching the Lord's day before; but the people assembled stayed in the place, intending to stay out our time, though we were thus obstructed. Then brother Terrill spake to the people, to sing part of the forty-sixth Psalm, and read it to them. And as we were singing, George Hellier comes in, having got a warrant signed by Alderman Ollive, expressly to bring the body of George Fownes before him, and brings with him a constable of the city, that he had picked up by the way, to execute the warrant. But the minister being gone, George Hellier was in a rage, and would have the constable lay hold on somebody. He asked him, Who? He answered, He that holdæ

forth. But the constable not being willing, for we were all singing, at last, seeing himself disappointed of his prey, departed in a rage, and thus our pastor escaped. Praise be to the Lord.

Upon the 11th day of the 5th month, being Lord's day, those informers, viz. George Hellier, Bennett, the apparitor, and Lewis Harris (that was a base child, a vile fellow, an informer), they having first been with the mayor, Joseph Creswick, Esq., and gave their information of a meeting being assembled, require of him aid, and his order to suppress our meeting: upon this, according to the act made against conventicles, anno 1670, he could do no less but send two serjeants, viz. Thos. Chatton and Aaron Watts; who coming up into our meeting,—after they had been at the Castle meeting, and at Mr. Gifford's meeting—and being come, Hellier said, "Here's Mr. Fownes again!" For he was then preaching, it being our morning meeting. And Thomas Chatton aforesaid, by order of the mayor, in the king's name, he commanded us to depart. And thus they clamorously talked several times; but our pastor went on preaching on this subject, 2 Pet. i. 10, *Give all diligence to make your calling and election sure*, and answered them not. At last they stood still, and hearkened a good while, but the said George Hellier and the apparitor went up and down the meeting, writing down the names of such as they knew, that they might be convicted and fined according to the aforesaid statute:—brother Terrill being convicted for the last meeting, and fined £10 15s.: but praise be to the Lord, he suffered no such loss as yet. Thos. Chatton commands us again to depart, and makes proclamation, crying, O yes! three times; and in the king's name, by order of the mayor, commands us to depart. But our minister kept on preaching, and the people moved not, and the informers went away to Mr. Weeks's meeting.

In the afternoon we were quiet; praise be to the Lord. But the said informers were at the Castle meeting all the afternoon: for the doors being shut, they could not enter.

Upon the 17th of July, 1680, a certain man, who was a stranger, was taken up near the Tolzey, said to be much like brother Fownes, and by Kemp the serjeant, and Lewis Harris the informer, taken up for brother Fownes, and brought before Alderman Ollive; but finding themselves mistaken, sent the man away. Thus the Lord showed us their design, and preserved our minister.

The 18th and 25th days of July, being the two Lord's days following, we were in peace. Only the Castle meeting was haunted by the aforesaid informers, having Alderman Lawford for their assistant; but could not get in, the doors being shut.

Upon the 27th day, the aforesaid informers having notice of Mr. Weeks's meeting, on James's Back, when the people were coming together, and prevented their waiting upon the Lord for that time.

Upon the first day of the sixth month, the said informers come to Mr. Wey's meeting in the Castle, and Sir Robert Yeomans and many more, broke open the doors—but they conveyed away their minister before the informers came in—and by proclamation commanded the people to depart, and sent Mr. William Wade, and Nathanael his brother, to Newgate, and beat another until all bloody.

Upon the first day of the 6th month, being Lord's day, one Allien, bookseller, and two more with him, some of the new raised artillery, came up into our [meeting], and wrote a list of the names of some persons present.

Upon third day of this month, two questions were proposed to the congregation by our pastor, brother Fownes.

Question first. Seeing great troubles were like to come,

what course we should take upon the Lord's days, when our enemies came in to disturb us ?

Answer first. If the informers, with serjeants or constables, come in, that our minister keep on preaching, and the people sit still ; generally concluded on by the church. But, secondly, in case, with the informers, there come the magistrates, or a justice of peace, and make proclamation, and in the king's name command us to depart, then it was concluded by the major part of the congregation then present, that the minister should desist and come down. See the reasons hereof in the waste-book.

Second question. If proclamation be made by a magistrate, &c., as aforesaid, and the people commanded to depart, whether they ought presently to depart or not, before they laid hands on some of them, and forced them out ?

Answered unanimously, and concluded not to go presently out as soon as commanded. But, second, if they did begin to use violence, and force some, we concluded they would others also ; and therefore, we concluded, when they did begin to haul and pull persons violently, that then all should depart for the present, and return again the next opportunity at due season.

Upon the fifth day of sixth month, about twenty brethren met at our pastor's to consider who should, on all occasions, meet with some brethren of other churches to advise what to do, and to consider about the charge, and to bring in the money, if any need happen at any time ; as lately there was of £30, to keep the keeper of Newgate prison in his place, whereof we were to bear £3 10s.

The brethren named to take this care were,

Brother Ellis,	Brother Snead,
Brother Terrill,	Brother King,
Brother Bod[enham],	Brother Gwil[liam],
Brother Hunt,	Brother Ree[ves.]

Upon the 13th of the sixth month, 1680, in the morning, sister Jennings, the wife of our brother Jennings, departed this life, and was interred at Philip's, in the evening. She was a good woman, of great experience, faith, and holiness from her youth; lived much in the house of God, and before she died, was exercised with long sickness. She bare all with great patience, and would say to some she was full of the love of God in her soul, and sensible to her; bidding all to prize precious time.

On the 24th of this month, sister Rowley departed this life, and was interred at Philip's. She was a gracious young widow, that it may be said of her, she feared the Lord above many.

Upon the seventh day of the seventh month, the church agreed and concluded to change our monthly day of prayer from the first third day of the week that happens in any month, to the second third day of the week that shall be in every month. *Vide* the reasons hereof in the waste-book.

Upon the twelfth day of the eighth month, 1680, being our monthly day of prayer,—the church on the last day of prayer took into consideration the want of a deacon, because brother Forde had removed his habitation five miles off, and then gave notice to the members they would choose two more deacons this day,—which being come, the pastor laying open the qualifications and duty of deacons, spoke to the congregation to choose out two from amongst them for that work: and so he withdrew for a little space. And then the elders nominated six brethren, that the congregation should choose two of those six, or who else they pleased. When those six were assented to, for to be put in the election, they were desired to withdraw. And then their names were written down in a paper, and a straight line drawn from each name, and every brother took the pen, and with it gave a stroke upon two of those six lines, against those names he would have to stand in this office. This course we took

that every one might be free, silently, to prick who he was for, to avoid all prejudice that might otherwise happen. So brother Bodenham and brother Snead were chosen by majority of voices. Brother Bodenham had about twenty voices, or strokes; brother Snead about sixteen. None of the rest had ten; some none.

This was done in the close of the day of prayer. The next monthly day it is intended solemnly to set them apart, by fasting and prayer, to their work and office of deacons. Oh, that our Father in Christ would grant them his gracious Spirit and presence in the work!

The persons besides those two in the election, were brother King nine strokes, brother Fry four, brother Hunt none, brother Hill none.

Sister Spurgin, being a widow about sixty years old, departed this life this 23rd of the eighth month, 1680, and was interred at Redcliffe, by her husband.

Upon the 31st day of the eighth month, the church being apprehensive of the great designs and endeavours of men to undermine the interest of our Lord Jesus in these nations,⁴ and the many dangers and judgments that were impending, &c., did agree together to spend two or three hours every week in prayer, as many as could assemble together, from five o'clock till eight, each third day evening, changing the meeting of conference, that used to be the second day evening, into this of prayer. See more of their reasons in the waste-book.⁵ No brother to exceed half an hour in

⁴ [Great fears were at this time prevalent of the succession of the Duke of York to the throne, and the re-establishment of popery under his auspices. In the parliament which assembled on the 21st of this month, five days after the opening, Lord Russell moved, "That they might, in the first place, take into consideration how to suppress popery, and prevent a popish successor." The

exclusion bill, which passed the Commons, was, however, thrown out by the Lords.—Rapin, ii. 716.]

⁵ [Mr. Bernard Fosket, chosen pastor of Broadmead in the year 1720, here commences to extract from the waste-book mentioned above, continuing the narrative of the church's persecution in an abridged form.]

prayer; and if any did exercise his gift in speaking, not to exceed half an hour. And so the first of November we began, and in three hours six brethren prayed, and one spake.

On the ninth November brother Robert Bodenham and brother Nathanael Snead, were set apart, by fasting and prayer, for the office of deacons, which they were before chosen to; hands were not laid on them because the pastor somewhat scrupled it, though it was the judgment of the church to use that ceremony for admission and confirmation. The waste-book quotes several scriptures, and Hooker's Survey,⁶ for this practice. The pastor showed them their work, and showed that the money collected should not only be for the poor, but for any other use for the good of the congregation, which had been the judgment of this church for thirty years, as brother Terrill, one of the elders, declared; but they must not lay it out without the consent of the church, at least the elders.

On the 14th January, 1680-1, Eliza Dayos, — Knight, and Avis Bodenham, were baptized by brother Thomas Jennings, Mr. Fownes the pastor being not well.

On February 8th, 1680-1, being our monthly day of prayer, Mr. Thomas Whinnell was again proposed to be a member in this church, he being a member at Christchurch, in Dorsetshire, some years ago, and by them recommended to a free-will people in this city, walking with Captain Kitchen,⁷ but since broken and scattered. The church was not willing to admit him, fearing he might hold Arminian errors; but the pastor and elders, having discoursed [with] him several times, thought he was clear in the doctrine of free grace. But the church at Christchurch would not send him a letter, therefore this church wrote to know if they had anything to charge him with as to morals.

⁶ [A Survey of the Sum of Church late pastor of the church at Hartford, Discipline, &c., by Thomas Hooker, Conn. 4to, Lond. 1648.]

⁷ [See before, p. 213.]

On the sixth of March, 1680-1, sister Alice Bowley, widow, departed, being sixty-six years of age, and was buried in James's Yard.

ANNO 1681.

On the tenth of May, 1681, sister Ship, wife of Richard Ship, returned to the communion of this church, after long absence.

On 27th of May, 1681, sister Eliza Sparling died, in Ireland, and was buried there.

On the 14th of June, 1681, sister Skinker died, and was buried in Austin's church.

On the twelfth of July, 1681, sister Hollister and Ann Martin gave in their experience, and on the 15th following, sister Griffin, the doctor's wife, and Ann Martin, were baptized by brother Fownes. On the 17th day, sister Hollister was also added to the church; and on the same day, sister Gwilliam died, and was interred in James's Yard, by her children.

On the 28th of August, 1681, John Hellier, Chapman, Lugg, with a constable, and Hellier's son, went to Mr. Gifford's meeting-house, found brother William Harford preaching.^b Hellier pulled him out of the pulpit, and carried him away to Newgate, without any warrant, or bringing him before a justice, and there detained him till the next morning, when they had him before the mayor, Sir Richard Harte, there being also [present] Aldermen Ollive, Hicks, Lawford, Cramp, and Mr. Cranfield, on the bench. Hellier

^b [Mr. Harford was "ordained to the office and service of elder and minister, according to the glorious gospel of the ever blessed God, the 13th of the third month, 1680." In the list of burials in Redcross Street, he is described as

"once a worthy minister in the congregation whereof brother Gifford is pastor; and interred in the same grave where brother Hynam was interred."—Fuller's Dissent in Bristol, p. 229.]

and two more swore they found him preaching in a conventicle; the mayor tenders him the oath in the Corporation Act, which he refused to take. Whereupon they would have committed him to prison for six months, but Mr. Nathanael Wade and counsellor Freck pleaded, that they not proving him to have been in holy orders formerly, nor lecturer, nor stipendiary, but only preaching, could at present only convict him for preaching, and could not send him to prison on the said act, until after this they found him in the corporation. Whereupon, though they said they might, they did not send him to prison, but fined him £20, to be levied by distress on his goods, and so let him go. Mrs. Clark followed brother Harford to the entry of the prison, and Hellier in his great rage first pushed her down, and then put her also in prison till next morning, and then brought her before the mayor, and would have her find sureties for her good behaviour. Thus they acted contrary to all law.

On the 13th day of September, 1681, sister Sylvester, a member of Mr. Nobbs's⁹ church, at Sodbury, was admitted to communion with us. On the same day, brother Richard King, aged sixty-eight years, having been lately sick, gave us some trouble by marrying his maid, who had lived with him seven years. He kept it private. The day before, however, one of his sons knew of it, and he and the rest stormed much at it, and acquainted one of the elders and the pastor with it, who went the next morning and dissuaded him from it, urging Phil. iv. 8, and Col. iii. 21. In the evening of the same day, the two elders went to him, and asked him, Whether he had promised her? He said, he had; but asked their advice. They put him in mind of Prov. xx. 25; but proposed that, for the peace of his family,

⁹ [Mr. Nobbs's name also appears appended to the Confession of Faith, published in the year 1656, by several churches in Somersetshire and the adjacent counties, as minister at Sodbury.—Ivimey, ii. 522.]

he would endeavour to gain her consent to live as they were, and he should give her assurance, in writing, to leave her something at his decease, to make her life the more comfortable. And they mentioned an example of a good man that had done so, in the like case, twenty years since. However, they desired he would not do it presently, since he had not promised for the time. Besides, they feared she was not gracious, and proposed 1 Cor. vii. 39, and 2 Cor. vi. 14, to be considered, and told him, God's glory was like to suffer by it, &c. He promised them he would not be hasty; but, nevertheless, was married the next morning, at which many of the church were much offended. The elders dealt with him privately, some days after, about his rashness, and breach of promise to them. He said, he forgot his promise to them. Some days after, one of the elders, and brother Tyler, went to him again; but not finding him sensible of his evil, the pastor, on the day abovementioned, brought it before the church, and he being present, laid the evil before him. Then, he being withdrawn, the church concluded, that if he manifested repentance he should continue [in] his place, or else be withdrawn from. He being called in again, declared, with tears, he was sorry he had offended the church by not marrying in the Lord, by bringing any dishonour to religion thereby, and by breaking his promise to the elders. The church being satisfied with his repentance, he kept his place.

On the 14th of September, 1681, brother Hill, seventy years old, died, and was buried in Philip's Yard.

On the fifth October, 1681, Jane Lowe, a baptized member, first at Salop, and afterwards at Abergavenny, was received to full communion here, by letter from the church under the care of Mr. Henry Maurice.¹

On the ninth October, 1681, the members, considering the

¹ [See Addenda, Note B.]

parsons would not suffer those whom they pleased to excommunicate to be buried in their grave-yards, concluded to join with the other congregation, walking with brother Gifford, to buy a garden in Redcross Lane, for a burying-place. They must buy a life and the fee, which would cost about £120; and the members subscribed for that purpose.

NOW BEGINS THE TENTH PERSECUTION.

On the 26th day of November, the Lord's day, in the middle of the afternoon sermon, there came up into the meeting-house, in Broadmead, four or five constables; viz., John Tilly on the Weir, Dyer a hosier in Broadmead, Thomas Lugg a hosier, Jasper Cause a tanner. John Tilly, at the stairs' head, commanded all, in the king's name, to depart; and then called brother Fownes, who was preaching, to come down. Brother Fownes asked, who or what that man, that so spake, was? He was told by brother Terrill, he was a constable, though they had not their staves. Tilly still clamouring, Mr. Fownes asked him by what authority he spake? and whether he had any warrant? He answered, they had; and bid the other constables, who stood on the stairs, come up. Mr. Fownes said, they had no power by the laws of this nation to execute any warrant, order, writ, execution, or decree, on the Lord's day, except for felony or breach of the peace. Tilly said, that was a breach of the peace; and so still commanded to depart, &c. Our pastor said, they were there met to worship the Lord in quietness, and asked Tilly, whether they did see any of us armed? or whether he did believe in his conscience we were come there with any such intent? Tilly said, we must come to church, canonically established; and so, with many words, calling and bidding to pull down brother Fownes. And because he

would not come down, he asked our pastor what his name was? He said, his name was well known, and he supposed he knew it; but did not tell him, though not ashamed of his name or work. So brother Fownes speaking to them boldly, as one undaunted, brother Terrill advised him to go on with his sermon. And they, after much noise, seeing many people there, and that they would not disperse, took some persons' names, and went away.

On the 27th November, 1681, being Lord's day, after evening sermon, the brethren were desired to stay, to consider what might be our duty as Christians to do in such a time; how we might prevent such trouble, as we had last Lord's day, by the unruly constables who so abused their office. There was a new warrant, or sessions' process, against our pastor, for living in a corporation, and above a hundred dissenters in the city indicted last sessions for not coming to church, upon several statutes of Queen Elizabeth. And they also persecuted us on the Conventicle Act, coming into our meeting-houses, taking names, and then getting the warrants to distrain our goods. To prevent this last, and that they might not take our pastor, it was moved, whether, when the people were come to the meeting, one door should not be shut, and the other watched, which might be shut on the sight of constables or informers; but if any of the justices, or mayor himself came, to open the door to them. The question was put, whether the doors should be shut on Lord's days, and our lecture-days on Thursdays? Thirteen brethren, namely, brethren Dickason, Fownes, Williams, Snead, Messenger, Arny, Reeves, Lewis, Morgan, Willis, Cornish, Jones, White, would not have the doors shut at all; five, namely, brethren Clarke, Page, King, Gwilliam, Hunt, would have them open on the Lord's day; twenty, namely, brethren Ellis, Ekley, Bodenham, Bland, Hall, Warren, Thomas Child, Bryan, Fry, Dennis, Purnell, Davis, Hutton,

Whitehead, Kemp, Evans, Tyler, Teather, Shuter, Terrill, were for keeping the doors fast. So we resolved to turn up the upper stairs of the new meeting-house, and come in at the left door.

On the fourth December, 1681, being Lord's day, John Tilly, Dyer [a] stocking-maker, Hoar a freemason, Walter Watkin, marshal of the new-raised artillery, Dennis, one of Hellier's men, and Joyner the keeper of Bridewell, came up into our meeting, some others being below at the door. As soon as Tilly was come up he calls out, and commands our pastor to come down, and commands several of the brethren, one after another, to pull him down; but they regarded him not. Brother Fownes would not come down, but reasoned with him about his having no authority; for they had produced no warrant. Then they rushed through the people towards our minister. Watkin, with great fury and much pressing, gets up to him, commands him to come down, and was going to lay hands on him: but our pastor desired him to forbear, saying, None of the magistrates would do so. Then Tilly said, he would send for an alderman, and bids them go and call Alderman Crump; but none going, Watkin said he would go; and away he went, the rest staying. Our pastor then, after some more discourse with them, told them, that, if they would sit down and be quiet, they should hear what rebellion they taught the people (as it was said they did) against the king's laws. They would not sit, but stood, and Mr. Fownes went on preaching from Heb. iv. 14—16, and afterwards concluded, continuing about half an hour in the whole. Then the people went down those stairs that were turned. Tilly calls after Mr. Fownes to come along with him the other way, but he would not. Then they would have went that way to take him; but he was conveyed away into a room of a neighbour's house, under the meeting-house, and there stayed till they were gone. As the people

were going down they threatened brother Terrill, Tyler, &c., saying, they kept fast a hatch-door, and conveyed the minister another way that they knew not of.

On Tuesday, 13th Dec. 1681, being our monthly day of prayer, Mrs. Nicholas, in the Marsh, declared the work of God on her soul, with which the church was satisfied to receive her to communion.

On the same day, John Hellier, who came from London the night before, Captain Edward Arundell, and his lieutenant, and many constables of James's ward, &c., went between four and five in the evening to Mr. Weeks's, the presbyterian minister's meeting-house, on James's Back; and there, after many people were come in, expecting to hear a lecture-sermon as usual at that time, Hellier and his company commanded them to depart; and then ordered a smith, and several other labourers he had provided, to pull down the pulpit, which he called the prattling-box, and the pews; and they broke and tore them all to pieces as fast as they could. As this was doing much rabble and boys came in, and Hellier encouraged them to help, and said, he would send up their names to the king, and they should have 20*l.* a piece. So about fourteen labourers, and the rabble, continued late at night, breaking down the galleries, and tore their very windows in pieces; and the rabble carried away the plunder as fast as they could, so that an hundred pounds would not make it good again.

On the 14th Dec. 1681, Walter Watkins broke open the door of the house that goes into Mr. Weeks's meeting, and fetched out the broken stuff and timber plucked down, and had it hauled away to Bridewell. In the afternoon of the same day, the same Hellier, and Captain Arundell, with their petty constables and workmen, went to Mr. Gifford's meeting-house, broke open the door, pulled down the pulpit and seats, and glass windows, and carried all away. And then from thence, the same day, went to the quakers' meeting-house, and

did the same there; and, as we hear, afterwards appraised the goods they carried away, valuing Mr. Weeks's at twenty-two shillings, the quakers' at fifteen shillings, and Mr. Gifford's at twelve shillings and sixpence. Thus they did what they pleased: for upon good consideration it was judged, two hundred pounds would not make good what they ruined.

But our meeting-house, and that in the Castle where Mr. Stackhouse then preached, were not then meddled with, they having no warrant from the mayor to that purpose. Some of us learned what pretence they had for rifling those meeting-houses; viz., they said they had a warrant from the king's deputy-lieutenants, to make a distress for five pounds laid on all or each of those houses, as a fine, for [not] sending a soldier in arms to the last muster, when the Lord Herbert was in this city about three months since. Wherefore we agreed to pay them the five pounds, if they came to our meeting with a warrant to distrain, signed by three of the deputy-lieutenants; and this was signified by our brother Gwilliam to Sir Richard Crump, one of the lieutenants, and to Captain Arundell, and Hellier. And the Castle people did the same. The next day they said they had got a warrant to distrain upon us, and on the last day of the week, we paid five pounds to Arundell and Hellier.

The next day, being our lecture day, we were afraid they would come and rifle our place also; and about half an hour before brother Jennings had done preaching, there rushed up, in great haste, Alderman Ollive's son, called a merchant, and two or three constables with him. We desired brother Jennings to cease, and conveyed him away secretly. Ollive, hearing nobody preaching, thronged through the people, and commanded us to depart; but the people sat still, though a rabble and boys followed him, expecting some spoil. They, seeing such a multitude of people, asked what they did there? None answering, after a while, Ollive cried O yes! three

times; but could hardly speak, he was so drunk. But the people stayed till the time was up, and then departed. And then we had much ado to get Ollive and the constables out, being not willing to leave them behind us. Ollive laid hold on Mr. Nicholas, and would know his name; but he would not tell him, because he was no justice. Boulton, the constable, would have hauled brother Dennis to Bridewell, because he asked him whether he had any warrant; but, through mercy, at last we got them all away, and locked up our doors.

On the sixteenth, Mr. Nicholas was baptized, by brother Jennings, in the river by Mr. Young's.

On the 18th Dec. 1681, being Lord's day, about three in the afternoon, as brother Fownes was preaching, tidings was brought that the justices were coming; but he went on. Presently, Sir Robert Yeamans, an alderman, with some mayor's officers and serjeants, came up one pair of stairs, and some constables with them: and up the other stairs came J. Knight, a sheriff of the city and deputy-lieutenant, with Mr. Rumsey the town-clerk, Powell the bishop's secretary, and Blinkhorn his registrar: all the three powers, civil, ecclesiastical, and military, with a rabble behind them. Sir Robert and the sheriff, at the stairs' head, called and commanded our pastor to come down; but our pastor standing still and speaking to them, Sir Robert throngs through the people to find a way to come at him. At last, Chatton, the serjeant, finds a hatch-door for him, and then he comes through the people to the pulpit, and opens the door thereof, and in great fury, says, "Sirrah, come down!" Our pastor, having quieted the people, said to him as he was coming down, "You see we own authority and are subject to it, though, it may be, as well descended as some others, therefore such rude language might have been forborne." Sir Robert commanded all the people to depart, and went down stairs, and sent our

pastor to Newgate by Ball the serjeant. There had been a warrant granted against our pastor several months before, and he was liable to be carried to prison whenever they took him ; so that he kept in on week-days, but always went out on Lord's days, and sometimes would also venture to preach our lecture on week-days.

Then Sir Robert stayed at the foot of the stairs, to take the names of the people that came out that way, Hellier and Dennis writing them : Sheriff Knight, and the bishop's men, taking the names of those that went down the other stairs. They sent also several to Bridewell from our meeting and Mr. Weeks's, about twelve that day ; who, in the evening, were brought before the justices to give sureties for their good behaviour, and to answer it at the next sessions. By good behaviour, the justices meant, they should not go to any meeting. They offered sureties for their appearance at the sessions, but they would not accept of that. Therefore brother Gwilliam and others, about ten persons, were sent to Newgate, and their mittimus made for a breach of the peace. Brother Gwilliam came that morning to a meeting, which the young men keep under our meeting-place on a Lord's day morning, and though there was none in exercise, for brother Robert Lewis had just concluded, Hellier followed Mr. Gwilliam in, and clapping him on the shoulder, said, he arrested him in the king's name ; and so carried him to Bridewell.

On Thursday, 22nd Dec. 1681, our lecture day, as soon as the people came, before we had begun, Hellier, with several constables, came into our place, and hindered several from coming in. Then he, and Lewis Harris, a perjured person, tore down the sides and forepart of the pulpit, and some of the people's seats, though but the week before we paid five pounds that our place should not be rifled. Hellier said he would do it unless the people would be gone. Brother Dick-

son told him, without the people's consent, there should be no meeting that night: then he went away. But when brother Terrill came, the people followed him up into the place, and Hellier sent up amongst us some constables and watchmen that stayed all the while. Harris also came up with a tankard of strong drink in his hand, and sitting down on the pulpit-seat, drinks to his companions a health to the king, and then smoked tobacco, and sung songs, and jeered us poor people: who sat sorrowful till our time was expired, and then departed.

On the 25th Dec. 1681, about eight in the morning, Hellier, Lugg, Tilly, Jones, Dyer, and some other constables, came into our meeting-house before the people were come together. They went into the lower room, and finding but one man and some women, sat down, and hindered people from going up. Some people met brother Terrill in the street, and told him there was a company to hinder their meeting; but he went on, and though he saw several constables with their staves, went up stairs, and Hellier followed him. They both sat down, and Hellier began to talk to brother Terrill; but he would not answer him, and by and by the other constables and the keeper of the Sun ale-house came up also, with three tankards of strong drink, and a toast in one of them, which they put on the table in our meeting. Then Hellier, taking one of the tankards, drank to brother Terrill, and would have him to pledge him. Mr. Terrill said, "I don't use to drink here." "Then," says Hellier, "I will." And so they began, and drank to one another, and then called to the ale-house keeper for cheese, who sent his boy to fetch them bread and cheese. And while they were eating and drinking, brethren Ellis, Tyler, &c., came up. Then Hellier laid hands on Mr. Andrew Wike, junior, and sent him away, and several times speaking to brother Tyler, whom he called cousin, desired him, and all of us, to depart. He not obeying, Hellier said, "I believe you

are afraid of Mr. Terrill, lest he should excommunicate [you] if you do:" or, "Who is it that does pronounce the church censures here?" Thus he passed the time in his dry way of jeering, and then with the rest of the constables goes to the farther side of the room, towards the street, and there they consult. Then again Hellier, putting off his hat, commands us in the king's name to depart; but the people sat still, and did not regard him. Then going down stairs with his crew, sent for a smith, and nailed up both the doors, and so went to Mr. Gifford's meeting.

We being thus nailed up, began to improve the time, and first sang a psalm; then brother Ellis prayed, and after him brother Terrill spake from 2 Tim. ii. 12. After about an hour they came again, and broke open the left-hand door, and came up and took our names. We asked him, why he nailed us up? He said, to take us into custody till we were convicted: for though we were stubborn, and would not go, they would not be hindered in their work. Then they bid us depart again, but we fearing they would keep us out in the afternoon, would have stayed. Then they began to be angry, fearing their dinner would be spoiled, clamoured, and began to be rude. So fearing they should charge us with a riot, brother Ellis desired Hellier to go first, and see whether we would not follow; which we did. And then a guard of the night-watch was ordered to come with their bills, and keep us out in the afternoon; as they did. Hellier lays hold on his cousin Tyler to go and dine with him, and said he arrested him if he would not, and threatened he would send over his conviction: so brother Tyler went with him.

Then Jasper Cause comes and hastens Hellier from dinner to go about more work. Our meeting and Mr. Weeks's were guarded, and the people flocked to the door, and stood in the street. Hellier commands brother Tyler to go with him to disturb other meetings, but brother Tyler said, he had rather

go to prison than do that: so at the end of the street he let him go. After that, brother Terrill came to our meeting, and the watchmen let him go up, and several others got up afterwards, the watchmen being weary. And when the people were come up the watchmen came up also, and sat down to see who would pray or preach. Then we sing the 46th psalm, by a private sign, each looking in a book; and then brother Terrill said we would sing the 36th psalm. By this time it was three o'clock, and a little after we departed. In the meantime, Hellier had routed brother Gifford's and the quakers' meetings. Brother Dickason was taken up that day, in the street, and sent first to Bridewell, and afterwards being brought before Alderman Ollive, was that evening committed to Newgate.

On the 26th Dec. 1681—for many years past we had kept a meeting of conference on Monday evening, but had lately spent the time in prayer by reason of the evil times—brother Davis began in prayer, and before he had done Hellier's constables, Tilly, Lugg, &c., took him before the mayor, who commanded his appearance the next morning. Brother Terrill with others coming afterwards, were told what was done, yet brother Terrill spake from Eph. vi. 18, and brother Lewis prayed. But as brother Warren was going to pray, up came the constables, thundering at the door with their staves, though it was only latched. The door being opened they came in, and making a great noise commanded us three times, in the king's name, to depart; while Ralph Ollive, jun., then no constable, but, for his officiousness, made one three days after, hastened away to fetch the mayor, Sir Thomas Earle, who came, with Sheriffs Lane and Knight, Rumsey the town-clerk, Capt. Arundell, the bishop's secretary, and several serjeants. We were all silent. The mayor greatly condemned us for our meeting, and said, This was for nothing but to oppose the government. And speaking to brother Terrill to answer, he said, No, may it please your worship, God forbid

we should do any such thing; but in obedience to the Lord we had for many years used to meet here to seek his face. Then it was commanded to take our names, which Ralph Ollive and Sheriff Knight's man did.

Some would have the Sheriffs take us into custody there, but they would not receive us as prisoners, unless delivered to them at their jail. Then they discoursed about locking us up there till the morning, which brother Terrill perceiving spake to the mayor, desiring such evil dealing might not be used towards us to lock us up with women and other men's wives. And Mr. Terrill spake the same to Sheriff Lane, who thereupon spake to the mayor. Whereupon they took the women's names, and discharged them. We then desired to go home that night, promising to appear before him on the morrow morning; but it would not be granted. Ralph Ollive made a noise, and urged the mayor not to take any of us bound for the rest, unless we would find sureties for our good behaviour. Then Sheriff Knight, insulting, said to his brother sheriff, "Have but a good mind to it, as the king said to me, and the business will be done." And then he was for sending us to Newgate, saying the king said to him, "Sheriff, let the prison be the prison." Thus he openly quoted the king's words, but Lane, the upper sheriff, would not take charge of us there.

After some discourse about power to imprison upon the Act of Conventicles, the mayor and the rest left us in the constable's custody, who promised to secure us till morning. So they took thirteen to Bridewell, and six to Newgate, that night. The next morning we were brought before the mayor, to the Tolzey, who charged us with breach of the peace, and would have us find sureties to appear at the next quarter sessions, and for our good behaviour in the meantime. The former we were willing to, but not the latter. And we had then Counsellor Freak and Mr. Edwards to plead for us before

the mayor, and urged that we had not broken the peace, for we sat still and said nothing: only brother Terrill said, "Our time is near expired, and when it is we shall depart." This the constable alleged. Our counsellor urged, the parliament did not look upon such meeting a breach of the peace, for they had made the penalty for the first time but five shillings, which would have been otherwise if they had thought it a breach of the peace. Then we thought the court would have taken sureties for our appearance only, but Alderman Ollive insisted still for our good behaviour also, and the bishop coming into the council sat next the mayor, and whispered him. So at last they carried it, that unless we find sureties for our behaviour, we must go to Newgate: and accordingly made a mittimus for [us], viz., John Morgan, Jos. White, Richd. Franklyn, Tim. Brown, Rob. Bodenham, Ed. Terrill, Sam. Hunt, Robt. Newton, Robt. Lewis, John Cornish, John Burcome, Richd. Towne, Ben. Warren, Sam. Hunt Taylor, Tho. Landsdone, John Payne, Peter Harris, John Jones, James Child,—four of them Mr. Gifford's people. We were committed for breach of the peace, and not finding sureties. See a copy of the mittimus in the waste-book. They fined brother Henry Davis, a haberdasher in High Street, twenty pounds, and broke open the door of his house, and took away near forty pounds in goods for it.

On Thursday the 29th, our lecture day, our friends attempted to go into the meeting, but there was a guard to keep them out. And they said they would seize the house for the king, and so put in watchmen and Lewis Harris, that kept it day and night. And they tore down our seats and burnt them for firing, and continued drinking in our lower room till some of them were drunk, and lay along the floor by the fireside. So our friends being kept out, went to our brother Lewis's, by Philip's grave-yard door, and brother Jennings preached to them.

On Friday the 30th, we being above twenty of us in prison, considered we would keep a day of fasting and prayer. So we did this day, and brother Fownes, our pastor, being also imprisoned, preached about the middle of the day; and in the close, we sung the 46th psalm. Which George Hellier, formerly an informer, now in prison for debt, overhearing, he sent to Sheriff Knight, to let him know we had a conventicle in Newgate. Upon which the sheriff, with several serjeants and artillery men, came up into the gallery over against the great room where we were met, and seeing the room pretty full was in a great rage. Brother Terrill reading the psalm, he commanded us to be silent; so we ceased. And the sheriff stormed, and called for the keeper, saying he would turn him out of his place, for we should not keep conventicles there. And seeing two gentlewomen there, sister Hollister and a neighbour of hers, who came to visit us, commanded his attendants to take names; but finding no more than them did not proceed. Brother Terrill seeing the sheriff in such a great rage, said, "The law did allow a family with four more to meet, and we being then but one family might meet." He said we should be locked up in our rooms. Captain Arundell also blaming us, brother Terrill told him, it was contrary to law to throw us into prison for praying only. He said it was not; and plucked the act out of his pocket, but could not find that power in it. And they all went away in a great rage.

Jan. 1st. The next Lord's day our friends out of prison found our meeting-house watched, and the officers had notice of sister Young's, where else they would have met; but were forced to wander like sheep without a shepherd. However, about six in the evening, they got together at sister Webb's, in Back Street, and brother Jennings exercised among them. This day brother Williams's apprentice was sent to Newgate. In the afternoon of this day, five men and lads spent above half an hour in pulling down some window leaves in our

meeting-house, and then getting twenty more after them went to the quakers' meeting-house.

On the 3rd of January, our brethren not in prison kept a day of prayer at Mr. Young's, in Barton Regis, and were in peace. The next day we kept a day of prayer in prison, and in the close sang 84th psalm. Which George Hellier hearing would have come up to disturb us, but some keeping the stairs would not let him. Then he sent for the sheriff, but he did not come.

On the 5th day, our lecture day, friends at liberty met at brother Snead's, in the Castle.

On the 8th, being Lord's day, they met near Baptist Mills, in a lane, and brother Jennings preached. In the evening, about six, they met at brother Lewis's.

On the 9th, those in prison kept another day of prayer.

On the 10th, being the church's monthly day of prayer, friends without met at brother Terrill's. But being discovered by Jasper Cause, who sent to acquaint Hellier; but in the meantime, a neighbour having acquainted Mrs. Terrill thereof, they concluded in prayer, and departed.

On the 11th, being quarter sessions, the sheriff ordered Isaac Dennis, keeper of Newgate, to bring us prisoners to the Guildhall. We had been above forty, but some made friends and got out; but about twenty-five of us were brought to the hall. We had fee'd Messrs. Pollett and Hagget, of Bristol, counsellors; Mr. Freak, of London, counsellor; Mr. Joseph Tyler, barrister; Mr. Edwards and Richard Higgins, attorneys: to appear for us. There were on the bench Sir Thomas Earle, mayor, Sir Robert Yeamans, Sir Richard Crump, Aldermen Ollive and Hicks, Sir Robt. Cann, Sir Richd. Harte, and the bishop. These, with the town-clerk, were for continuing us in prison; but our counsel prevailed, upon giving securities to appear from day to day, to answer and traverse such indictments that were against us. Mr. Jer.

Holloway and Mr. Thomas Scroop were bound for us all, twenty pounds apiece, and paying prison fees we were discharged. But our pastor [was] still kept in prison, and not brought to the hall.

The next morning we, and the rest of our brethren, met at brother Gwilliam's, to consider what we should do. They that came out of prison were for meeting at our public place; though the people belonging to the other meetings had all left their places, and met privately. Only the quakers, whose meeting was nailed up, met in the long entry and court by their place. The most of our brethren were for meeting privately also; for the persecutors went up and down to men's shops, to rifle and distrain their goods, having convictions and warrants from the mayor; and if they could not get in, would bring sledges and break open the doors, and carrying away their goods, would sell them at what rate they pleased. We, therefore, consented to meet privately also, where we could, and to alter our lecture to Wednesday evening. We met that evening at brother Towne's, next door to Newgate, in the Castle precincts.

On Lord's day, 15th January, we met at brother Terrill's, coming in at the back door, over the fields, between seven and eight in the morning, and continued till near one in peace. Brethren Jennings and Terrill preached, and brother Lewis prayed.

On Wednesday, the 19th, our lecture day, we met in brother Fownes's house, which was built by Mr. Ewins, and being great part of us assembled, there was information given; upon which Captain Arundell, the bishop's registrar, and constables of Castle Ward, with parson Heath, dispersed themselves all about the castle, to hearken if they could hear any one pray or preach in those precincts, where they were told there was a meeting. We had notice of it, and were desired to disperse. So some went away, getting out at the

back door; but many stayed, and making fast the doors continued in prayer and exhortation for about an hour and a half, and went away, being not found out.

On the 22nd, being Lord's day, we met at brother Terrill's, at the upper end of Redcross Lane, about six and seven in the morning. But while Mr. Enoch Prosser, a gifted brother belonging to Mr. Keach of London,² who came to our fair, was preaching, about ten, Hellier, Sheriff Knight, [the] bishop's registrar, and constables came, to the number of about twenty. The sheriff and Hellier, with others, knock at the street door, but none answered. And they sent to Tilly's for an iron crow, wherewith they broke some battens, but could not enter, after much labour. Others of them laboured hard with a bar at the back door, but could not get in. Then Edward Summers, a vile young man, a butcher, with others, got into Captain Vaughan's orchard behind the house; but neither they, nor those at the street door, could get in. They behind broke a window and its shutter, driving the bar into the room, where several people were. Brother Terrill offered to open the doors if they would stay till he had tied up his mastiff dog, but they would not. So he let them alone, till, after much fruitless labour, they were willing to accept his offer. He opened the back door, and they that came in there let in their gang at the street door; and one of them threatened to shoot the dog, which they saw tied, and strove to come at them.

Then John Hellier arrested Mr. Terrill in the king's name, and he and others would have hauled him away; but the sheriff bid them let him alone at present. So they took the women's names, and let them go, all but three; and the men's names, and dismissed them, all but eight; who, with the three women and brother Terrill, were sent to Newgate:

² [For an account of the labours and sufferings of this eminent servant of Christ, see Crosby, vol. ii. 185, 202; vol. iv. 268.]

namely, Mr. Samuel Crisp of London, Mr. Enoch Prosser of ditto, Thomas Jennings, Thomas Child, Joshua Bryan, Joseph White, Robert Lewis, Mr. Nelson, Mrs. Rachel Groome of London, Dorothy Smith, Elizabeth Gwilliam. When they came to Newgate, they demanded a copy of their commitment and detainer, which was promised them by the keeper. But about half an hour after four in the afternoon, they were brought before Alderman Ollive, at the Three Tuns Tavern, and not before the mayor. There were some attorneys there, but the alderman would let neither of them stay to speak for them. Then an information in writing was read and sworn to, importing that there was an unlawful assembly of above three score persons in the house of Edward Terrill, who for some time denied them entrance who came to keep his majesty's peace, &c. They would have Mr. Terrill to give bond and sureties for appearance and good behaviour. The latter he would not do, because if a man goes once to a meeting afterwards, they count it a breach of his bond. Therefore Alderman Ollive, and Alderman Crump, who also came in, and was not very willing to act, signed a mittimus for Mr. Terrill, who was taken away to Newgate accordingly. And the three women were that night discharged, and the men, being bound one for another to appear the next morning at the Tolzey, were sent home.

Hellier and Knight were in haste, because they heard there was a meeting privately in the Castle; to which, therefore, they went about six the same evening, and brake open the doors, endeavouring, with great fury, to seize Mr. Young, the preacher, but could not; for while they were getting in, he, with others, got out at a window, and escaped through a house into Castle Street. Then Hellier and the sheriff brake down the pulpit, and bid the boys and rabble take care of the windows; which they understood, and brake them all

to pieces. When they were weary, they left a watch in the meeting-house all night, and the next day defaced and ruined it, as they had done ours before.

The next morning January 23rd, 1681, the other of our brethren, and the Londoners, appearing at the Tolzey, and having, by brother Terrill's care, Mr. Edwards the attorney to speak for them, upon taking, each of them, the oath of allegiance, were dismissed; and brother Jennings being one of them, was at liberty to preach to the people.

On the 25th, being our lecture day, they had a meeting at six in the evening, in peace.

On the 27th day of the month, John Hellier and others went into the fair that then was, and distrained Mr. Enoch Prosser, the Londoner's goods, to the value of £40 for £10; and of Mr. Crisp, of hats, near £10. Thus they suffered for being at that meeting.

On the Lord's day, the 29th, the church that were at liberty appointed four places to meet in; namely, with brother Davis at Mr. Ellis's, with brother Clark at brother Richard Towne's, with Robert Lewis at Mr. Bodenham's, with brother Dickason at widow Bush's, in the Shambles, all at six in the evening. Brother Jennings was at sister Clark's in Broad Street, in the afternoon; and many of the congregation went in the afternoon on Durdham Down, and got into a cave of a rock, towards Clifton, where brother Th. Whinnell preached to them; and divers of Mr. Weeks's people assembled with them, and spent two hours in peace. The constables hunted the fields for them, but found them not.

Our pastor, Mr. Fownes, having sent for a Habeas Corpus, it came down by post (January 30th), with a latitat, a made debt for £150 to one in London; which writ of latitat the sheriff was first served with the same day. The next day the under sheriff was served with the Habeas Corpus, and on

the first of February Mr. Fownes was sent up prisoner to the King's Bench bar, to appear the 6th or 7th instant. Providence ordering that a friend, Mr. Nathanael Wade, was then going to London, the sheriff, to save charge, suffered Mr. Fownes to go with him, there being a bond of £500 first given by Mr. Thomas Scrope, Mr. Terrill, and Mr. Daniel Gwilliam, to Sheriff Knight, that he should not escape, but return if remanded. But although this bond was given, yet the cruel sheriff would not give Mr. Fownes leave to lie one night at home before he went, nor go into his house when he went by his own door the next morning for London; but ordered the keeper to bring him to Lawford's Gate, and there deliver him to the under sheriff, who gave a deputation to Mr. Wade to see him safely delivered in London. And there they took horse, it being a cold, searching, windy day, very bitter weather, and dangerous to Mr. Fownes, who had been kept close prisoner six weeks and three days.

On the second instant, being Thursday, to which [day] we changed our lecture, for the conveniency of the Castle people, [we] met at brother Nathanael Snead's, in the Castle, in peace.

On the fourth, the mayor, Sir Thomas Earle, sent one of his officers to bring brother Terrill from prison before him, and there being one Mr. Young, a papist, with the mayor, Sir Thomas seemed very kind, and would make brother Terrill's own house his prison, if he would not keep conventicles there. To which brother Terrill replied, It was God's command that we should assemble ourselves, and therefore he could not promise the contrary. The mayor said, he thought Mr. Terrill had been a more prudent man. To which Mr. Terrill, "True wisdom is to fear God, and obey him." The mayor said, he would not enter into any dispute with him; but said, "This is nothing but perverseness and rebellion

against the government, and you think to make the government stoop to you; but let me tell you it is your mistake, for there are such things providing that will make you subject; they will take a course with such obstinate persons as you are, and if you will not accept of my kindness, you may lie in jail, and when the sessions come in April next, the same thing, and others also, will be required of you, and a course taken with your estates. The times are not now as they were two years ago." And then Sir Robert Cann came in, and began to dissuade Mr. Terrill from meetings also. To whom he replied, That in faithfulness to the Lord he must be in his duty. So Sir Robert ceased; but the mayor insisted upon Mr. Terrill's engaging, but he would not. Then the mayor said, he must to Newgate again, and bid him good night. So as Mr. Terrill went out into the hall, from the parlour, Mrs. Sheriff Lane, and the mayor's sister, Mrs. Allen, came forth, and endeavoured to persuade Mr. Terrill to promise the mayor, and not go to prison again. But Mr. Terrill said, he would not let the mayor do what he would with him. Then Mrs. Sheriff said, she would have him home to her house, and he should be a prisoner there. Mr. Terrill thanked her for her kindness, but told her it would be too great a trouble. The sheriff also offered that; but at last prevailed with the mayor, and sent him prisoner to his own house about ten at night.

On the fifth, our friends met in four parts, one near Brisington, the others in town; two of which were in peace, and the other in town was discovered, and they were obliged to disperse.

On the 7th, the usual day of prayer, they met at Cutler's Mill. (The pastor was to be brought to his trial this day at the King's Bench bar.) But they were forced to disperse before the day was ended.

On the ninth, they had their lecture at widow

Brewer's, in Gloucester Road, without the Gate, and were in peace.

On Lord's day, the 12th, they met part with Mr. Whinnell, near the half-way house going to Brislington, and the rest with brother Jennings at sister Young's, and, by going a great way about to the places, were in peace.

On the 16th, the lecture at brother Towne's, near Newgate, in peace. The same day we heard our pastor, Mr. Fownes, was cleared in London, because his mittimus was faulty; but was bound by Mr. Sayer, the attorney-general, to appear the first day of next term, to answer for living in a corporation, and holding a conventicle there.

On the 19th, being Lord's day, the congregation met in four places, in and out of town, in peace. And besides these general meetings, there were many for old and sickly people, four besides the family, in the most convenient houses, where more members than one lived. On the same day, brother Terrill, being a prisoner in his own house as above said, had but three besides his family whom he endeavoured to instruct. And the while, Sheriff Knight, Captain Arundell, Brand the bishop's secretary and registrar, and some constables, with a great rabble, surrounded the house, and some got over the wall, and hearkened, and at last broke the windows, and knocked. And when they got entrance, narrowly searched every room of the house, but could not find their prey. But two of them said they would swear there were twenty of them there, and that they had got over the wall, because some stones were loose, which they themselves had occasioned by getting over it as above.

On the 23rd day, being our lecture day, they kept as a day of prayer at Mr. Joseph Jackson's over Durdham Down, and were in peace.

On the 26th day, being Lord's day, they kept two meetings in the fields, and were in peace.

March 2nd.—The lecture day; they had a meeting at brother Gwilliam's, in Lewin's Mead, in peace.

On the third, Mr. Fownes came to Bath in his way to Bristol, to visit his congregation privately.

On the fifth, being Lord's day, our congregation and brother Gifford's, met together near Brislington. Brother Whinnell preached in the morning, and brother Gifford in the evening, both in peace.

On the eighth, brother Whinnell informed us, he had some years ago been dismissed from a church at Christchurch, in Dorsetshire, to a people here in Bristol, walking with one Mr. Kitchen, which were then dissolved, and therefore desired communion with us.

On the ninth, the lecture day, met at widow Brewer's in Gloucester Lane, in peace.

On the 12th, Lord's day, met in the fields by Barton Hundred, and Mr. Samuel Buttall of Plymouth preached in the fore part of the day, and brother Whinnell in the evening. It was thought there were near one thousand people in the morning. The tithing-man came to save his five pounds, passed through them, and waited at a distance till they had done. This afternoon, Mr. Weeks was taken in James's yard, before the afternoon meeting, by Hellier. They had him before the mayor, who was going to Wasborough [St. Werburgh's church], and took Mr. Weeks with him.

On Monday, the 13th, because of the persecution, the church met at Mr. Jackson's park house, over Durdham Down, and Mr. Fownes preached and administered the Lord's supper. Some at first scrupled receiving on a week-day, but Mr. Fownes satisfied them from several considerations:—particularly that it is in scripture tied to no day, and was first instituted and administered by our Lord on Friday. At this meeting sister Nicholas, having been baptized before, was received to communion. It was a rainy morning, and

afterwards snow; but the greatest part of the church got thither notwithstanding.

On the 16th, the lecture in the fields; in peace, though a bailiff's man stood and looked on.

On the 19th, being Lord's day, met in the lanes beyond Baptist Mills. Mr. Buttall preached [to] near a thousand people. Parson Pledwell went by before they began; and in the afternoon, being met a little beyond Lower Easton, the constables came. Brother Buttall ceased a while, and one of the constables, when they had passed through, cried, O yes! and commanded them in the king's name to depart. So they went a little farther, and were in peace. Brother Jennings preached to several aged, &c., at Mr. Gay's, in Small Street, and they also were in peace, the same afternoon. And so they were the next lecture day, at eight in the evening, at sister Clarke's in Broad Street.

ANNO 1682.

On the 26th, being Lord's day, they were near Brislington, on Somersetshire-side, and in the afternoon joined brother Gifford's people. There were thought to be about fifteen hundred people [and] more, and their adversaries looked on; but being on the other side, could not come at them. On the next day, Sheriff Knight came home from Newmarket, where he had been with the king and duke, and had been knighted.

The lecture on the 30th was near Stapleton, in peace; brother Jennings preached. And so they were on April 2nd, being Lord's day, though Summers, the informer, was searching for them, and was once very near them, but saw them not.

On Friday, the 7th, they met near the Boarden-house, at Mr. Wickham's. Spent the former part of the day in prayer; then brother Fownes preached, and administered the Lord's supper, in peace. At this time brother Whinnell, being a member nowhere, because the church to which he

last belonged was dissolved, declared the work of God upon his soul, and professing to believe the principles contained in the Baptist Confession of Faith, 1667,³ and to be against free-will, which was held by the church to which he had belonged, and also saying washing feet was not his judgment, he was received into fellowship.

On the 9th day, being Lord's day, they met at Upper Knowl; but the informers got constables and boys from Bedminster, and would not let them meet. But it being very wet, they went after some time to an ale-house. And the while, the people met at some distance, and endured the rain. It was supposed, the informers hoped to have met with Mr. Fownes, but he was not there. Brother Whinnell preached.

On the 13th, lecture day, they met in the rain, in a lane, and brother Jennings preached to them in peace.

On the 14th, Mr. Hancock, who had formerly preached several times, was cast into prison, for having preached within this city, within seven years last past.

On the 20th, a day of prayer, from nine to five in the evening, at Mr. Jackson's, over the Down, in peace. This day Daniel Barnett declared the work of God on his soul to the ruling elders, the pastor being at London against the term. And there being about thirty aged and weak persons of the church that could not go into the fields, this day agreed that seven brethren, viz. Ellis, Terrill, Dickason, Clark, Cornish, Robert Lewis, James Lewis, should every one take four, and preach or exercise what gifts they had, on Lord's day, either

³ [A Confession of this date has not been met with by the editor, nor is any account of it to be found in Crosby or Ivimey. The London baptists did however publish a Confession in 1677, which was reprinted in 1689 and 1699, with the approbation of the messengers from

above one hundred congregations met in the former year. It was generally received by all those congregations that held the doctrines of personal election and the certainty of the saints' final perseverance. Crosby, ii. 312, 317.]

at eight in the morning, or at five in the evening, for two hours' space, that they might be built up, &c.

On the 23rd, being Lord's day, met near the Boarden-house, and brother Whinnell preached in peace; but met a constable as they were coming home only.

The next lecture near Baptist Mills, and brother Jennings preached in peace also. Brother Terrill being discharged from prison at the quarter sessions, was bound to appear, *de die in diem*, to traverse such indictments as might be brought against him:—as were also Mr. Marsh, Love, Goldney, Harford, Pierce, Weeks, and others.

On the 30th, Lord's day, we met, because of the great rain, at Mr. Young's; brother Jennings preached. Two officers knocked at the door, and desired to come in to drink, but Mr. Young, going himself to the door, threw them sixpence, and bid them not stand in the rain: so we were in peace.

On the 4th May, 1682, information was brought to a petty sessions for Gloucestershire, against brother Jennings, for preaching in the lanes, and a warrant granted for levying five pounds, or else goods, or person. And they came to execute it where he used to lodge, but he was married about fourteen days before, and went to live at Sodbury, so escaped; but was forced to abscond.

The next Lord's day and lecture day, being a day of prayer, we were in peace; brother Whinnell preached.

On Lord's day, May 14th, 1682, met in King's Wood, in the way to Hanham, and brother Whinnell preached in peace. On the lecture day, also, the 18th, brother Jennings preached in peace; only three boys and two maids of Esq. Brown's the collier, came and scoffed.

On the 20th, sister Shuter departed, and was interred at Redcliffe.

On the 21st, Lord's day, met in the fields, in peace; only

Mr. Brown the collier's man came in sermon time, and observed the preacher, brother Jennings. But as the friends came into town again, some informers and constables met them, and examined where they had been; and because they would not tell them, said they had been at a conventicle, and they would send them to Bridewell, and took the name and places of abode of some; ordering them to appear before the mayor the next morning. And Mrs. Owen the under-chamberlain's wife, Mr. Joyner, Mr. Hart's and Mr. Doleman's maids, and Dr. Griffen's daughter were put in Newgate, and kept there from four in the afternoon till about seven; when old Sir John Knight hearing of it, ordered them to be dismissed, on promise of appearing the next morning before the mayor, if called for. Mrs. Betty at Mr. Hart's was abused by Hellier, in the street, and had her sarcenet hood torn, because she would not tell him where she had been.

On the 25th day, being the lecture, brother Whinnell preached in Stapleton Lanes in peace.

On Lord's day, the 28th, Mr. David Jones of Swansea preached to us in Gassen Lanes in peace; only some men, said to be officers of Stapleton, talked hard, and threatened to pull stakes out of the hedge and drive us away; but there was a multitude thronging the lane, so they did not disturb us.

On the 29th, being the king's birth-day, we resolved to keep a day at Mr. Jackson's, over the down; but Sandford, an innkeeper at Westbury, hearing of our meeting, sent the bailiff of the hundred and half a dozen more to disturb us, after we had spent about three hours. When they came into the court, Alderman Yate's wife advised us to retire into the garden and disperse; so we did, and met again in a valley on Durdham Down, and continued in peace till about five, having said Mr. Jones also with us.

On the 31st, about ten in the morning, when the quarter

sessions were about fining the dissenters, a great thunder cloud made it dark in the court for about a quarter of an hour, to the wonder of many. Brother Gwilliam, then at sea, and brother Messenger, were fined for being at a meeting in December last; brother Gwilliam five pounds, and brother Messenger ten shillings. Hellier also swore against brother Warren, and the jury thereon brought him in guilty, and he was fined ten shillings, though he was not there: all to be in prison till they had paid their fines and fees. The same day Mr. Weeks, the minister, was sent to prison on the Oxford Five Mile Act. They accused him of being with us on the Down, but he was not there. The next day, brethren Hunt, Bodenham, Cornish, were fined ten shillings a man, for being at a meeting of prayer, and fees, which made it thirty-three or thirty-four shillings apiece. And brother Dickason was fined a noble, although he was not there, but was in prison, being carried away the day before to Newgate. And besides this, they had a warrant against him for £10 for another meeting, and that day one of Hellier's constables seized his three horses; and Sheriff Knight threatened to imprison brother Terrill on the Oxford Act for preaching.

Brother Whinnell preached the lecture on the fourth, and the next Lord's day brother David Jones preached in peace.

On the sixth, we kept a day from nine till five, and were in peace. And we heard our brother Fownes had been discharged at the King's Bench, in London.

On our lecture day, the eighth, brother Whinnell preached in peace.

On Lord's day, the eleventh, brother Fownes, being come from London, but not daring to come into the city because of the Corporation Act, met with us, and preached in Kingswood, near Scruze Hole, under a tree, and endured the rain.

On the 15th, lecture day, brother John Sparling, from Ireland, preached to us in peace, in Gassen Lanes.

On the 18th, being Lord's day, brother Fownes preached to us again in Kingswood, in peace, though on Brislington-side there was a company of train-bands out to find meetings.

On the 22nd, we gave warning to our landlord, Tovey, that we should leave our meeting-house, being kept out of it by force.

On the 25th our pastor preached to us in Kingswood in peace.

On the 28th Daniel Barnett was baptized.

On the second July, Lord's day, our pastor preached in another place in the wood. Our friends took much pains in the rain, because many informers were ordered out to search; and we were in peace, though there were near twenty men and boys in search. And afterwards, the informers, missing of the meetings, went to Lawford's Gate, and took the names of some of Mr. Weeks's people on their return, and said they should pay for the rest.

On the sixth, sister Sarah Lord, daughter to sister Young, was interred at our burying-place.

On the ninth, being Lord's day, brother Fownes preached in one place of the wood, and brother Whinnell in another, and we were in peace. Thomas Powell, Justice Meredith's man, and Cossil, the high constable, with many constables, warned and threatened the day before by Powell, rode and walked about the wood till they were weary; and Powell saw several of our friends about Scruze Hole, that had been at the meeting, but did not know them.

On the 13th, kept a day of prayer with Mr. Fownes at Mr. Jackson's, and were in peace.

On the 16th, brother Fownes first, and brother Whinnell after, preached under a tree, it being very rainy. And then the church got to Mr. Young's, and brake bread, and several

of the Castle people with us, in peace. And so we were on the 23rd.

On the 30th we were hunted from place to place in the wood, and our meeting, though our pastor and brother Whinnell escaped, and at times preached to us: though Powell went about having a warrant from six justices, and constables with him, but, through mercy, did only hunt us, and a multitude of people heard the word notwithstanding.

On the sixth of August, being Lord's day, we met in Kingswood twice, in two different places, and our pastor preached twice to us in peace, though we were told in the morning great trouble would befall us that day.

On the ninth, we had a day of prayer, kept in the open wood from nine to four, where six prayed, and two preached, our pastor one of them, in peace.

On the 13th, our pastor preached in the wood, and afterwards broke bread at Mr. Young's in peace. But Hellier and the rest were busy that day, and shut up the gates; and kept watch at the Weir, and behind St. Philip's, in the morning, to prevent any going out, and in the evening to catch them coming in, and took up several in the evening as vagrants on the Lord's day, and sent some to Newgate, and some to Bridewell, watching till seven in the evening for that purpose.

On the 20th, met above Scruze Hole, in our old place, and heard brother Fownes preach twice in peace. Brother Terrill had caused a workman to make banks on the side of the hill to sit down on, several of them like a gallery. And there we met also on the 27th in peace. And both days we sang a psalm in the open wood. Our pastor withdrew this week, because of the assizes and quarter sessions. Several of our brethren were fined this sessions, for being at a meeting of prayer in January last, some ten, and some twenty shillings, and their fees.

On the sixth of September, the last day of the quarter sessions, brother Terrill did not appear, according to his recognizance,—because Knight threatened to cast him in prison on the Oxford Act, and [he] is therefore in danger of being sued to an outlawry,—having none bound but himself.

On the 14th kept a day of prayer with our pastor, at Horfield, where the people were surprised to see so many come, having not been used to meetings. We were at sister Coombs's; and some bad persons procured the officers to disturb us; but when they were come to the court-yard, our sister Coombs went out to them, and reasoned with them, so that they said, if they might come and search the house, so they could say there was nobody there, they would go away again. So we all went out at the back door, and they searched, and departed. And we spent the day in peace, and took a declaration from Mr. Foster, and Samuel Hunt Taylor, who were both baptized by brother Jennings, on the 15th, at noon day.

On the 17th brother Fownes preached first in the wood, and afterwards broke bread at Mr. Young's. Powell and others were about the wood, but were too late for us; but met with some of Mr. Gifford's people, and threatened to send them to Gloucester jail, but they could not find Mr. Gifford. They were near Mr. Gardiner, that preached for Mr. Weeks, but he got over the water at St. Ann's, and escaped. Hellier and the constables stopped several as they were going out of town in the morning, and carried them away to prison, saying they were going to rebellious meetings. Mr. Waliern's wife particularly was put in Newgate.

On the 25th, sister Moyer deceased, and was buried in our burying-place.

On the 28th, Mr. Burgess of Marlborough preached to us, near Scruze Hole, in peace. It was our lecture day. There also we met several other days, and kept a day of prayer in peace.

On the 19th October, our sister Nicholas, in the Marsh, departed, and was buried in our burying-place.

On the 22nd, being Lord's day, our pastor preached in our wood gallery in peace; but Hellier, Tilly, &c., watched for the people's coming back at Lawford's Gate, &c., and caught aged brother Reeves, and a maid, and an apprentice, and carried them to Newgate without mittimus. And the next morning, being brought before the mayor, an oath was put to them to answer to such questions as should be put to them, and to say the whole truth, &c.; and because the maid and boy did not answer fully as they would have them, and tell who was at the meeting, and who preached, &c., they were sent to Newgate again. At the same time, also, they sent for Mr. John Towne, the schoolmaster, from his own house, before the mayor, and offered to swear him as an informer, and, he refusing, sent him to Newgate by a mittimus.

On fifth November, Lord's day, there being a very severe warrant, under the hands of four justices, given to search for meetings, we met beyond Conham, and our pastor preached in peace. *Laus Deo.*

On the 16th day we met in peace, and Mr. Fownes preached in Conham House, which we had lately taken for that end, and to break bread in, and keep days of prayer, as also to shelter [us] from rain. We had all this while met for prayer at some of our friend's houses, on every Tuesday night, and now ventured, on the 23rd, to keep our lecture at brother Bodenham's in the castle, he having lately married Mrs. Ewins, widow to John, our former pastor's son.

On the 26th, we met at our usual place, but were disturbed by Powell, Justice Meredith's clerk, who hunted through the wood, principally in hopes of catching Mr. Weeks, who had by Habeas Corpus been moved to London, and there lately discharged at the King's Bench bar.

On the seventh of December, we met for our lecture at

Mr. Shuter's on Redcliff Hill in peace, taking a great deal of care in going and coming, the women wearing neither white aprons nor pattens.

On Saturday, the 16th, sister Joan Wheeler was baptized by Mr. Fownes at Mr. Young's, and was received the next day at Conham House, where we had the Lord's supper. And there, on the 26th, we had a day of prayer in peace, blessed be God! and not like this day twelve months, when twenty were sent to prison, and he that was at prayer had £20 worth of goods taken from him.

On the 30th, sister Joan Rawlings deceased.

On the 11th January, at Conham-house, which we had taken for two years, being a day of prayer, we gave brother Jennings a letter of recommendation to the church at Sodbury.

On the 14th January, 1682-3, being Lord's day, we met at our usual place in the wood at nine in the morning, and broke up at eleven, having intelligence of our enemies' design to come at twelve. And accordingly three justices, Sir John Newton, Player, and Meredith, with about ten more officers, on horseback, rode along the wood by the river's side to search for us; but all were gone, so that they found none of the three meetings. Several officers also out of the city, with Ralph Ollive, came to help them, and as Ollive returned he met with a youth, William Ricketts, belonging to us, and began to charge him for being at a meeting; but two young fellows, colliers, hearing, threatened him if he spoke another word; so he pulled off his hat, being afraid, and went away. Laus Deo. And in the evening the church met at Mr. Young's, and broke bread in peace.

On the 21st, we met at eight in the morning, and though there were seven on horseback and twenty on foot to seek after us, we escaped, having broke up at ten. Mr. Weeks's and Mr. Gifford's people met on the other side the river, so

the informers saw them but could not come at them. But Ollive and his company took some of our friends coming into town, and several of Mr. Wey's people coming from Durdham Down, as Dr. Chauncey's wife, Ben. Wey, Mr. Williamson, widow Tyes and her daughter, Mr. Young's son and daughter, whom they put in Bridewell, and bringing them before the mayor next morning, bound them over to the quarter sessions. They took also Mrs. Snead and Mrs. Burges, but did not put them in Bridewell.

On the 22d, Watkins and several constables searched Mrs. Martin's house, and looked into a great chest, to find Mr. Fownes, and other houses to find one that was forced to lay down his trade in Broad Street by reason of persecution, against whom there was a writ *de excommunicato capiendo*, and they searched Jno. Towne's, who had been obliged to move out of the liberty of the city to save himself; but they found none of them, for they were gone. There were also in their warrant, brethren Terrill, Weeks, Gifford, and many others. We therefore sent to brother Fownes to withdraw further off, and let us know where, that we might send to him to let him know our state.

On the 28th there was great hunting for us all over the wood by horse and foot, but Mr. Gifford and Weeks met on the other side the river, betimes in the morning; and we did not meet till four in the afternoon, and were through mercy in peace.

On the 2nd Feb., sister Ship of Woolland deceased, and was buried there.

On the 4th, got a meeting in the evening in Gassen Lanes, with great difficulty, because of our many enemies.

On Wednesday, the 7th, our pastor preached to us at Mr. Young's; there was a great meeting, and not discovered. He also preached to us on the 11th, beyond Stapleton Bridge, in peace. And on the 15th, we kept a day of prayer at Conham

House, where also we met on the 18th, being Lord's day, and brother Fownes preached, and administered the supper to us and some of the Castle people, it being a very wet day.

On the 25th, brother Fownes preached to us near the Gassen Lanes in peace, and none of the meetings were disturbed. The week before, at the petty sessions, the justices had commended the constables for their diligence, so now they were willing to rest a little. We now began to go into the fields again for our lectures.

On the 4th of March, brother Fownes preached to us in Kingswood in peace; but Mr. Hart going by towards Hanham, and seeing some of the people, wished for a justice of peace. And four women and a man were taken coming into the city, and carried before the mayor, who made the women pay some a crown, and some half-a-crown, and ordered the man to appear again on Friday.

On the 11th, we began to meet beyond Stapleton Bridge, but the tithing-man came, and said he must disturb us if we did, so we went elsewhere, and four officers of Stapleton came, but we were out of their bounds. This morning brother John Robinson departed, near eighty years old.

On the 15th, being a day of prayer, our pastor, knowing that several of Mr. Weeks's people had conformed, did at Conham House ask two questions: 1st. Whether we did not stand in the same relation, and own the same principles, as at first?—and 2nd. Whether any were otherwise minded? desiring they that were might speak; but there was silence. Though the assizes were then at Bristol, when we were liable to pay 20*l.* a month for nonconformity, we were helped to trust God. There were twenty-six brethren besides sisters there, and not one was for conforming. We had been taken by the informers from the city at this meeting, if one Pegler's son had not run another way, and come to us before the informers, to give us notice. This week about a hundred and

fifty dissenters were convicted by our recorder, on the statute of the 23rd Elizabeth, for 20*l.* a month, for not coming to church.

On the 18th March, brother Fownes preached to us in the wood in peace, and afterwards broke bread, and sung a hymn at Conham-house, though Ollive had threatened to bring some troopers and carry us to Gloucester jail; and there were ten of Oxford's troop passed from Bath to Bristol, and said to some, "We will be with you by and by, and shall know in the city where you hold forth to-day." Yet we were in peace. *Laus Deo.*

Our pastor having been much afflicted with the stone for two days, and this morning very ill, yet sent to us on the 25th into the wood to begin, and he would be with us quickly. Accordingly he came, but after three-quarters of an hour we were surrounded by horse and foot, the former in ambush. Brother Fownes got on horseback, which one of the informers from a hill seeing, made a signal to the horse in ambush to pursue; but they had not found him, if a countryman had not innocently told them which way he was gone. So they overtook and kept him, by Justice Player's command, at a collier's all night. And afterwards said justice sent a warrant to bring him next day, at two in the afternoon, to Newton's Arms in London Road, where Player, Newton, and Meredith made his mittimus to Gloucester jail for six months, on the Oxford Act; and seeing brother Dickason there, they bound him over to the assizes, because the informers said he had been at a meeting with a thousand people. Some others also of our friends being present were forced to steal away, else they would have been bound over. The text brother Fownes had been preaching from, was 2 Tim. ii. 9. Thomas Ross, the tithing-man for Bitton, let brother Fownes go and lodge a night at Mr. Wickham's, and also gave Mr. Wickham the mittimus to take Mr. Fownes to jail, with whom some of our friends went also for company.

ANNO 1683.

April 2nd, we met at five in the morning, and changed our lecture day from Thursday to Friday morning. Brother Whinnell preached to us in peace.

On the 11th, a day of prayer, being a very wet day, widow Baldwin gave us leave to meet in her outhouses, and we were in peace. But now Justice Player being exceeding fierce against us, had granted warrants to take twenty-eight to Gloucester sessions. Therefore, on the 15th, we met on the other side the river, where the justices were not so active. But now Hellier was made under-sheriff of Somersetshire, and being on horseback, with a pair of pistols before him, and having got some bailiffs and constables, came upon us while brother Whinnell was preaching near Brislington Common, and lays hold on several, but Mr. Whinnell escaped. He ordered one of his men to lay hold on Mr. Terrill, and being asked, Which was he? he said, "He in the black hat." Which that day proved to be wrong, so he also escaped. But they took several, and had them to a little house on the common, and some to an ale-house not far off, where some got away again; but seven, viz., brother Ellis, two servant-men, and four women, were brought to a bailiff's house at Whitechurch, and carried the next morning before Justice Langton.

When these were in custody, Hellier went to find Mr. Weeks's people, who were not far off, and the while dispersed. But meeting again in the afternoon, Hellier came upon them, and they, many of them, got over the water. Then Hellier waved his hat for Ollive and his crew to pursue them on Gloucestershire-side; which they did, and made the officers of the hundred go with them, against their wills. So Tilly met with Mr. David Phillips, and would have five shillings of him. The rest of the gang espied Mr. Knight, a minister

from Taunton, and Mr. Ford, a mercer in High Street, and pursued them about half a mile. Whereupon Mr. Ford and he being tired, and not likely to escape, and seeing the river low, ventured to cross it: for they that pursued them made a sad noise, as if they were hunting, crying, "Knock them down." So that the cattle ran about the wood, and some at a distance thought they were hunting a deer. Mr. Ford went in first, and Mr. Knight after him; but seeing Mr. Ford, either by the slipping of his foot or depth of water, sinking, cried out for help, and though many on the other side saw it, they would not help. But on Gloucester-side, a collier with a child in his arms laid it down, and running in caught Mr. Knight, and with much ado plucked him out, and called to Watkins, the marshal, to come and help him, but he would not. Mr. Ford having no help was drowned: which Ollive and his crew seeing went away.

Then some of the colliers carried the minister to Mr. L. Fox's, in Pill Marsh, where by a warm bed and other means he was recovered. And the wicked persecutors hearing of it, came and beset the house, demanding the minister, that they might carry him to prison; but Mr. Fox barred them out, and when they were gone conveyed him to another house, so when they came afterwards again, with a warrant, and searched Mr. Fox's house, they could not find him. Then, to cover the wickedness in pursuing them, they raised a lie, and said the minister killed Mr. Ford, and they would have a hue and cry after the minister. Others said Mr. Ford drowned himself; but his body being found that evening, the coroner, Mr. Chain of Cham, was sent for. And the next day he came, and about three impannelled a jury of nineteen. Eight witnesses swore they saw them pursued, and that they cried, "Knock them down:" and Stone pursued into the very water. The coroner adjourned until seven the next morning, April 17, when the nineteen brought in their verdict:—"That William Stone as

principal, and Walter Watkins and John Hore as accessories, were the cause of Mr. Ford's death." And fifteen of the jury subscribed the said verdict. The coroner being satisfied, said it was enough if but twelve had signed, therefore issued his warrants for the taking those three men, and desired the mayor of Bristol to do the same: but he refused. So the coroner sent a hue and cry, and afterwards a second, and Hore was found by Maryport constables, and brought before Alderman Ollive. But the man was let go again, and nothing done for the present.

And now to return to the nine friends carried before Justice Langton. It was said he would have bound them over to the quarter sessions: not those that were to be on the morrow, but the next after. But Hellier wrote a letter to him, requiring him to bind them to appear the present sessions at Ilchester, and so he did. Wherefore those poor souls, some aged and feeble, and others poor, were forced to go as they could those thirty miles, and before they came Hellier had indicted them for a riot. So when they came on the 17th, the grand jury found the bill. They were all strangers; the counsel that was sent to appear for them being gone out of town. And Hellier laid great and grievous things to their charge, as rebels, and dangerous to the government; that they went into the country, broke men's hedges, trampled ont heir corn, threw open their gates, &c. The justices asked them, whether they would traverse or submit. They said the latter, not knowing the issue. Then they asked them, whether they would go to church and receive the sacrament at Whitsuntide, and bring a certificate of their so doing; if they would they should be cleared, or else be fined twenty marks apiece. They desired some time to consider of it. But Hellier aggravated the matter. Then they said they would go to church. "Oh!" says Hellier, "they call their conventicles the church." So the justices fined them twenty marks each, which for the nine

made 120*l.*, and to lie in prison until it was paid. Thus our friends were cast into prison; but Mr. Dunning, late sheriff of Bristol, rode down and got off his cousin Grant. Mr. Doleman's servant, and two other servants, promised to go to church, and so got out of prison. But these six, sister Smith, sister Dennis, and sister Hughes, widow, our members; sister Sarah Lewis, Mr. Gifford's member; brother Ellis's son, and Mrs. Eliza Butler, hearers, lay there still.

On the 22nd, being Lord's day, our persecutors said they would have thirty of each side of the water, and would imprison every man of us, and make us go through fire and water. This rage was occasioned by the jury's verdict about Mr. Ford, as above. But we went out at four in the morning, and were in peace; and so were the other congregations that day. Blessed be God.

On Monday, the 23rd of April, 1683, we kept a day of fasting and prayer, partly on account of Mr. Young, who had lately turned from being parson of Brislington to preach among the dissenters, principally Mr. Weeks's people. And last week he went to Gloucester to see Mr. Fownes in prison there, and it being sessions' time Ralph Ollive went there to prosecute brother Dickason, and spied Mr. Young riding into the city, so he dogged him. And having seen where he put up his horse, and getting a warrant, comes after him into the prison, and took him before a justice, and swore that he heard him within two years past preach at a conventicle in the fields: wherefore a justice committed him for six months by the Five Mile Act. And at the same time Ollive swore against brother Dickason, that he saw him at a conventicle with a thousand people, so he was forced to traverse, and was bound to appear next sessions.

On the 29th, we met near Roe Gate, but the informers came upon us, and took some names but no persons. We afterwards met in another place in peace. And the hue and

cry being still out against Watkins and Hore, Smith the constable took them both at an ale-house, after they returned from us, and kept them all night in custody, and the next day brought them before Justice Newton. But before they came Ollive's party had been with the justice, and told him they had been before a justice in the city, and he had took bail for them; so Newton let them go. And Watkins, the marshal, accused said Smith of having the minister that was almost drowned in custody, and letting him go, which was false; but the justice bound Smith to his good behaviour. And Mr. James Holloway, merchant, being there as a spectator, Ollive offered to swear he had seen him at a meeting: so the justice bound him over to Gloucester sessions. Whereupon the informers vaunted what they would do, and the next day went and knocked boldly at Mr. Terrill's gate, who was in the house about a quarter of an hour before, and was then in the backside. His brother-in-law Liston went to the door, and seeing Watkins, spoke roughly, and said he was there that day, but lived out of town; which was a gracious providence. Mr. Terrill knew nothing of it, and if the maid, being a stranger, had went to the door, he had been taken then. Then they went and searched Mr. Young's and Mr. Jacob's houses, pretending a meeting there; but found not the men. And they afterwards watched at Mr. Terrill's back door in the evenings, and in other places, hoping to catch him, or Mr. Gifford, &c.

May sixth, being Lord's day, we met near Stapleton bridge; but the said Watkins and others went to Stapleton, and obliged the officers thereof to come and disperse us, though afterwards we met in the wood in peace.

On the tenth, we met at Conham-house for a day of prayer, getting to it round by London Road; and a man with a bill, a secret informer, followed the people; but a neighbour seeing him, laid the evil of it so before him that he went away, and

we were in peace. We there had letters from brother Fownes at Gloucester, and [from] those also at Ilchester jail. And there being a warrant out against Mr. Whinnell, which had obliged him the week before to leave his school, it was proposed, whether we should dismiss him to get his living elsewhere, or raise something for his support. So we subscribed for twenty pounds per annum for him. Mr. Knight, the minister, is dead; never well since he was in the water.

On the 13th, being Lord's day, brother Gifford narrowly escaped being taken by the informers, near the close of his sermon. Mr. Bailey was taken, and Mr. Wickham noted; we met further in the wood in peace. This day sister Kimber died, being taken sick on the same day on which, a month before, she had conformed, and received the sacrament at 'TEwins's church. The next week Hellier went to London to take out five hundred writs for Bristol, for twenty pounds a month, &c.

On the 23rd, we kept a day of prayer, as we had for some time done every other week, and had there a letter to [from] our pastor in answer to some queries, particularly, whether we should meet publicly, or a few together in several places. Our pastor showed it was our duty to meet publicly, and not refrain for fear of threats till we were made to cease by force and power, Ezra iv. 23, and until the church did agree to meet in small numbers. But in the meantime it was the duty of every member to attend the church-meetings. Mr. Weeks's people met on Brislington-side, and were troubled. We sent messengers to some that had not been with us of late in the fields, as brother Davis, Kemp, and Bland, and they were with us on the 31st, a day of prayer kept in peace at Conham-house. We had now more peace in general, which we wonder at and look upon as the Lord's check on their spirits. Jasper Cause, one

of the busy constables, is cast into prison for debt. Another stole, and is run away. One Sweeper, a constable, died, and on his death-bed sent for some of his companions, and warned them against meddling with dissenters. A bailiff that helped to carry our friends to Ilchester, and used reproachful words, is taken up by hue and cry for killing a man.

July the 7th. On this day near twenty friends were summoned before the mayor, and bound over to appear at Gloucester sessions, next week: viz. brother Bodenham, Messenger, Day, Courtney; of Mr. Weeks's people, Mr. Chock, Jacob, Nath. Ball, junior, Mr. Bryan, senior, and many more. Brother Dickason had now his trial, and was fined twenty marks, and to lie in prison till paid. The rest were willing to traverse, and so were bound with sureties, £60 for each, to appear next quarter sessions, and in the meantime to be of good behaviour. On the 22nd and 29th, being Lord's days, the trained bands were placed at the gates to prevent friends going out of the city; but on the 29th, some got out the night before, and had a meeting in the wood.

July 27, 1683. Brother John Pritchard died, and was buried in our burying-place.

On the 12th of August, we met in a shady gully, and brother Whinnell preached; but some constables of Barton Hundred came upon us, and seized brother Hunt's aged father, and brother John Fry; and laid hands on two more, who promised them five shillings apiece: so they let them go. One of the constables, Thos. Smith, had been one of Mr. Weeks's people.

At Gloucester assizes, Watkins and Hore had a bill found against them by the grand jury, as guilty of the murder of Mr. Ford, being prosecuted by his widow: and Tilly and Lugg were found guilty by the grand jury as accessories: so they were all arraigned. But the judge directed the petty jury to clear them, the Lord

Herbert sitting by and whispering ; and the coroner also was checked. Two of the four witnesses bound to prosecute, it was thought, were bribed, and would not say so much as they had done before the coroner, who told the judge so, and said also he could have brought many more witnesses, but thought four sufficient.

On the 19th, we met on Somersetshire-side, and brother Whinnell preached, in peace. This evening Ollive and his companions, eighteen in all, searched Mr. Gifford's house for him, and Mr. Young's: first under pretence of finding a meeting, and afterwards for arms ; and made them open every box and chest, and tumbled their linen, calling Mr. Young, "perjured rogue," because he was foreman of the coroner's jury about Mr. Ford.

On the 26th, met in Kingswood in peace, though there were twenty out in search of us ; but brother Gifford's people met on the other side of the water, and had but very little notice of Watkins and his company ; but Mr. Gifford and a few more got over in the boat, and were not over before Watkins came to the water-side. And no sooner was he over, and got up in the wood, but Ollive and his gang came ; but he escaped, and a mile off in the wood kept a meeting with those that got to him. Mr. Weeks's people, though he was not in prison, had laid down their meetings for two months. There was no public meeting but ours and Mr. Gifford's. The day above mentioned, they took the names of eighteen of Mr. Gifford's people, and told Mr. Crotch they must go next sessions to Ilchester.

On the 28th, sister Dickason died. When she was sick, they sent for her husband in Gloucester jail ; but they would not let him come. When dead, some offered to be bound for him, body for body ; but they would not let him come till he had paid his fine and charge, eighteen pounds ; so the poor man came and buried his wife on the 31st.

On 2nd September met in peace ; but the constables met with brother Hutton and his wife, and brother Hall, and would have had five shillings apiece ; but they spent about two shillings on them at an ale-house, and they let them go. Brother Terrill stayed a little behind them, and escaped. The same officers disturbed brother Gifford's meeting, and had liked to have caught Mr. Gifford. They met with brethren Adlam, Bright, &c. and made them pay. Stone, made a weigher, died of the small-pox about fourteen days after he had been arraigned at Gloucester. The quakers had, some of them, met in their houses of meeting of late, and the informers did not seem to take notice of them. On the ninth of September they met both morning and afternoon ; but Ollive and Lugg came on them in the afternoon, and took thirty-five of them to prison, and the next day went to their houses with warrants, and took away their goods, particularly from Mr. Jones, and Haggatt, the grocer.

On the 15th, they met with poor old Austin Crow, and having him before Alderman Ollive, who was this day chosen mayor, they accused him of giving notice to the meetings when the informers were coming, of helping Mr. Gifford to escape, and being witness against the king's evidence ; and so they hauled him away to Newgate.

On the 16th, some of our people coming too late into the wood, fell into our persecutors' hands, who took them to the Sun ale-house, without Lawford's Gate, kept them till evening, made them pay five shillings apiece, and so let them go. The next day being petty sessions, the justices having heard they got forty shillings of our people and Mr. Gifford's, whom they seized on the Weir, coming to town, asked them for the money, and were answered that twelve shillings and fourpence of it was spent. Therefore the justices checked them, and bid bring either the money or the persons. Our meeting was disturbed, and Mrs. Laurence,

and two young men of Mr. Gifford's people, were carried to Bridewell. Sister Rose Teague, Mrs. Allen, sister Sterry, and Mrs. Clark's maid, were made to pay five shillings apiece.

On the 23rd, some of our friends that came late into the wood were spied by their enemies; but by running escaped, except brother Joseph Clark, and sister Buckland. She was lately come out of Ilchester gaol, where twenty marks and charges had been paid for her. They, refusing to pay five shillings apiece, were carried prisoners to the Sun ale-house, and the next morning carried before Newton and other justices, who discharged them.

On the 30th, after four hours' search, the enemies found some of our people in their return from our meeting, and took their names, but let them go. They boasted afterwards that they had got twenty names, and would indict them for a riot at Gloucester sessions, and that they were very glad they had got their godfather's daughter, meaning Mary Young. Ollive, now made mayor, threatened what he would do, and so did his son in his father's mayoralty, but on the 29th he died. Our pastor is still kept in prison, though his six months, according to law, are expired.

On the 26th of October, sister Martha Ridley departed this life. She was our benefactor Robinson's daughter.

On the 28th day, some of our friends were taken in their return, and made to pay money; but sister England, and Mr. Bodenham's maid, being taken in the city, would not pay; therefore being carried to Bridewell all night, were brought before the mayor next morning, who asked sister England, Whether she was at a meeting? She said, She was not bound to accuse herself. "See," says he, "how they are taught." Then he asked, Whether she had been at church? She not readily answering, the town clerk would have her sent away for not answering; so she said, She was

not. So they were bid to pay one shilling apiece, and were discharged. Several the same day paid five shillings apiece. Brother Ellis was caught by them, but let go again. Brethren Whinnell and Terrill narrowly escaped.

On the first of November, four horsemen were out after us in the wood; but we having intelligence before they came, got over to the other side, and were in peace. On this day, being Lord's day, we met on the other side of the water, and were in peace. Brother Whinnell preached. But when we had done, heard of three on horseback, and others on foot, coming towards us, and we generally escaped; but two men of Brislington, that had been with us, fell into their hands, and they made them promise to appear at a place appointed another day. They also overtook Rose Teague, near Totter Down, where brethren Dickason and Whinnell had got in.

On the eleventh, brother Gifford's meeting was found out; but they having some notice of the enemies' coming, dispersed, only sister Lawrence and Lambert were taken by them. Which two or three colliers knowing, asked the marshal what authority they had. He said, They were the king's officers. But the other told them, Not these. They said also, They should take men and not women, and they would see their warrant. Upon this the marshal for fear slipped away, and the colliers said, They would not take them away by force, but if the young women would go with them they should not have them. And accordingly the women went with them. So this was called a rescue of the king's prisoners. Wherefore, afterwards, they caught Ambrose Davis, who kept an ale-house at Scruze Hole, within the liberties of the city, that very evening, and carried him to Newgate. He sent for his wife, and she, for fear, gave the names of many who were said to be at the meeting, and told what colliers were with her husband, and so her husband was

discharged the next day. This was looked on as a grand riot. Joyner swore he was afraid of his life, so a warrant was granted to take up several, and the women also. So they threaten what they will do next sessions.

On the 14th, a day of prayer, having some hours together in the wood between London and Sodbury Road, the enemies came upon us unawares, and seized about eight persons; but the brethren escaped to admiration. The bushes were of great service to us; but they took sister Young, sen., Mary Young, sisters Hughes and Clark, and her horse and man John, brother Purnell's wife, Mrs. Sage, sister Dayes, Mrs. Saunders, brother Randall's wife's sister, Mrs. Mary Seymour, and brought them away to the Sun ale-house, near Lawford's Gate. And there they got Justice Fitz-Herbert to come, and upon examination he could get little out of them, and could not learn who was the preacher; so they were let go. But Lugg swore he heard praying or preaching; so we suppose the Conventicle Act will be put in execution. Sister Young's son Emanuel, being seen loading of hay, the informers made him go along with them, making him believe they had a hue and cry.

On the 18th, we met, some on one side, and some on the other of the river, designing to cross at Earl's Passage; but Earl had been so threatened, that he would not let us pass. So they on the other side went to Hanham Mills, and there came over, and we met in peace. But they caught sisters Morgan and Buckland as they were returning into the city, and had them to Bridewell; but in the evening Joyner, the keeper of Bridewell, and Lugg and Hore, acting like justices, examined them, and taking sixpence apiece of them for fees let them go.

This day Isaac Dennis, keeper of Newgate, died in great horror and despair, wishing he had never taken the dissenters' money, though he said he was not so bad as Joyner, because

he did not hale them into prison. He said he should be damned, and many dreadful expressions. Brother Purnell, a relation, going to see him, and putting the clothes on him, he said, he should be hot enough in hell shortly. Some say he died shrieking.

December 9th. Several of our friends were out great part of this day, being very wet and cold, with snow and sleet, and kept a little meeting. Brother Terrill preached. And some [met] in the city, to whom brother Whinnell preached in peace.

On the 20th, Watkins the marshal, and others, went with warrants from Justice Herbert to brother Jo. Morgan, in Temple Street, and took his yarn and what goods they could find, for seven pounds ten shillings. And the day before took away Margaret Seymour's trunk and clothes, worth about thirty pounds, for seven pounds odd money, for being at our meeting in the fields. And they went to others for five shillings: to Mr. Young for ten shillings for his wife and daughter.

December 23rd. This day we met at brother Caleb Shuter's, on Redcliffe Hill, in peace. But the marshal and others first got into brother Gifford's house, and searched that. And finding there a child, they frightened it, that it ran to Mr. Wise's, where the meeting was, and they followed it, and beset the house, and Watkins gets into the house when brother Gifford had ended his first prayer. Being thus surprised, brother Gifford endeavoured to get out at the back door, but Moses Pell laid hold on his great coat. However, he gave a spring, and the coat slipped off, and he wonderfully made his escape, though they pursued him.

Yesterday, brother Ellis's son Thomas died, having got a cold by lying on straw in Ilchester jail many months, of which he never recovered. But the Lord did there savingly awaken

him, and he was baptized by Mr. Miller, pastor of a neighbouring church there.³

On the 26th, brother Nathanael Sneed, one of our deacons, died.

On the 30th, being a hard frost, and snow on the ground, we met in the wood, and though we stood in the snow, the sun shone upon us, and we were in peace. But in our return, Watkins and another met with sister Clark and her maid, sister Allen's husband's sister, Mary Young and her brother Richard, Katherine Fownes, our pastor's daughter, and Mrs. Legg's daughter, of St. Austin's Back. Sister Clark would not tell the marshal her name, nor go into an ale-house. Then he said, she must go before a justice. She said, If he would stay till she sent for her horse, she would then be brought to the constable of the hundred; and Katherine Fownes and the rest he said he knew. On her promise to appear next morning the constable let her go. Accordingly, she appears; but Watkins could not, because of Lieutenant Green's funeral. But Wheeler, the tithing-man, came, and would have the constable go before a justice; but he would not, because Watkins did not come; saying, he had nothing to accuse them of. So they went home.

January 6th. On this day widow Jervis departed this life, and was buried in our burying-place. The parish allowed her two shillings a week, and the church one, by reason of her helplessness through distemper.

On the 12th, brother Thomas Hall was sought after by the marshal, and one of the sheriff's men, but was not found. Lugg, chief constable of James's Ward, told Alderman Hicks he used all the means he could to take Mr. Whinnell, but could not. About twenty of our friends had

³ [Probably Mr. John Miller, pastor of the church at Yeovil, of which he is said to have been the founder and first

pastor. He continued there till his death in 1720.—Ivimey, ii. 557.]

been obliged to go to Gloucester several sessions, and now brethren Bodenham, Bowman, Messenger, and Courtney, employed Mr. Hawksworth, the attorney, to serve the court with a *certiorari* to remove the cause to the King's Bench; but Justice Player, being foreman, would not allow it, because he had not two ready to give a ten pound bond to pay costs. But presently impannelled a jury, and although the jury brought them in not guilty, Player told them they must bring them in guilty, because some of Mr. Weeks's people in the same indictment had submitted, thereby owning themselves guilty, &c., and the court required their conformity, and upon their bringing certificates had released them, paying five shillings a man, namely, Mr. Chock, Gibbs, Rawley, Lott, and others. And brother Bowman giving six guineas to Ralph Ollive got off also. But brethren Bodenham, Messenger, and Courtney, were found guilty, and because they were not there, they threatened to undo their security, and fine them greatly. Brother Gwilliam went into court soon after, and tendered security as to the *certiorari*, but it was not accepted.

On the 20th of January, brother Gifford and his people, by reason of the extreme cold, could not stay abroad, but went into one Gold's house, a collier beyond Dungens Cross. And the informers had employed two boys to dog the people, and they brought them word they went into that house; so they beset the house, and kept all in till they had taken their names; and took Mr. Gifford, first to the Sun alehouse, then to Newton's Arms, where they kept him all night, and next morning brought him before Justices Newton and Meredith, where Watkins and another witnessed he preached in April last, for they could not now prove preaching or praying. So they made his mittimus to Gloucester, and committed him to the constable to have him

thither, but gave leave for him to go home for three days to take leave of his friends.

On the 23rd, in the evening, four women, and brother Harvey, and brother Wise's man, came to see him. The informers coming in took Mr. Gifford out of his house, and carries the two men, with one Mr. Fowles also who came while they were in Mr. Gifford's house, and swears an unlawful assembly against them before Justice Newton, then at the Lamb, without Lawford's Gate. So he makes a mittimus to send them three to jail, with Mr. Gifford; but intercession being made, he took security for the three men to appear at the sessions, and ordered the constable to take Mr. Gifford directly to Gloucester, and not to go out of his way, and threatened him severely if he did.

On the fourth February, brother Messenger had his house broken open by Watkins and others; but he went out at a gutter window, and over to a neighbour's house, and down their stairs into the street, and escaped. But his mother and family were greatly frightened.

On the eleventh, aged brother Tyler died, as it is supposed, in his sleep, and was buried in our burying-place. He seemed to be in his usual state of health. This day, also, Francis Whitehead was brought before the mayor, and Watkins and others said he was seen in September last, in Kingswood, on the highway, going towards Bristol; and though they could not prove he had been at a meeting, because he would not give bond to appear at Gloucester next sessions, he was sent to Newgate. Old brother Robert Cornish was brought before the mayor, and bound over to Gloucester sessions, because he and his wife were seen in Kingswood, and only supposed he had been at a meeting; and he was bound to Bristol sessions, on the oath of a waiter on board a ship, saying, that ten months before he had spoken against the common prayer.

At two designed meetings lately, we had intelligence that we were dogged by children, and should have the informers upon us. So we dispersed, and one of the times met at another house in peace. The informers had now got orders from the justices to return the names of men or women whom they could see in the fields, though they could not prove any meeting, to the sessions at Gloucester. And so several whom they could remember to have seen in the wood, though six months ago, they have had before Sir William Clutterbuck, our mayor, and he has bound them over to the sessions. Many of our friends, therefore, being bound over, and some afraid to go about their worldly business, at a church-meeting on the 4th of March, we took our sad state into consideration; and brother Terrill signified, that our duty lay in three things:—1st. To watch over one another, that none draw back to the world's worship. 2nd. That every one sanctify the Lord's day. 3rd. That we endeavour to edify one another as members, and also do what we can for others' souls. And considering what is above, and that writs are daily expected to levy 20*l.* a month, 240*l.* per annum a man, upon us, for not coming to church, or imprison us if it be not paid, there being thirteen brethren present, we agreed to have circular meetings at five places, where the brethren were to exercise their gifts, and twice in a day, at nine in the morning, and at one in the afternoon. These five places were,—first, brother Dickason or Davis; 2nd, brother Clark or Robert Lewis; 3rd, brother Whinnell; 4th, brother Ellis or J. Ciornhs; 5th, brother Terrill. And also three places for prayer and repetition; viz., brother Gwilliam's, brother Bodenham's, brother Reeve's. And because some might be sick or otherwise detained, we appointed six or seven to a place, and the first four were to be taken in, and those that were shut out were to go to the places of repetition. And none were to go to a place but once a day, and not to the

same place every Lord's day ; but round, so they came to the same once in five weeks. And by this means near one hundred might hear every Lord's day, and in a few weeks had the benefit of all the church's gifts. And besides, brother Whinnell would repeat again at some house in the evening, and on week days at other places. Thus we kept within the law which allowed four besides the family. And on the 9th of March we began this circular meeting.

On the 12th, Watkins, Lugg, and Joyner came to brother Dickason's and carried him before the mayor, who sent him to Newgate, because he would not be bound over to Gloucester sessions.

On the 14th day, we kept a popular meeting at sister Codner's, a day of prayer, and were in peace.

On the 15th, the writs to levy 20*l.* a month being come, were privately opened, and in the afternoon Sheriff Arnold, and his officers, and the informers, go into men's shops and houses, and seize all their goods, and carry them away for the king, continuing this work till twelve at night.

On the 17th to the 20th day, the under sheriff went about to take an account of dissenters' goods, and appraise, and if they would pay down the money they appraised them at, they had them. Otherwise they were marked, and the owners charged not to meddle with them. And in some houses, some officer was set to watch the goods that none were removed.

Such as would conform, and bring certificates of their doing [so], were obliged to pay the town-clerk twenty pounds each man for the charge of reversing the sentence, (Michael Pope is said to have paid 100*l.*,) and so their goods were let alone. Many that knew of these things beforehand removed their goods, what they could. Several, to avoid going before the mayor and to prison, gave the informers one, two, or three guineas, as brother Sam. Hunt did. There was now a shoemaker's man, Smith, turned informer, and endeavoured

to get money of servant-maids; which Mr. Whitehead proving against him before an alderman, he was sent to Newgate, on the 20th instant. But Watkins informing the mayor of it, he releases him, and sending for the woman that came a witness against him, some were procured to swear that she kept a meeting in her house some time past: so they cast her into Newgate, and set the informer free.

On the 23rd, being Lord's day, they lay watching at brother Richard Town's house, and hearing him read, sent a stranger to knock at his door, and so got in and took him, and because he would not find surety to appear at Gloucester, they sent him to Newgate.

ANNO 1684.

On the 29th, they executed their writs for twenty pounds a month, and made a third seizure of Mr. Burgess's goods, a woollen-draper in High Street. Brother Thos. Child, being one of Mr. Ford's jury, they indicted him for not coming to church, though he lives in Barton Hundred; and also brother Millard, being also on the said jury. Some friends, therefore, made intercession with Watkins, Lugg, and Ollive, and got them off for about five pounds charges, on the 2nd of April. But the next day there came out a warrant from the justices and Ben. Hyett, clerk of the peace for Gloucester, now come to Bristol, to search after Mr. Young and his family, to bind them over to Gloucester sessions. So they were forced to leave their house (and brother Child also, though they agreed for him) for the present.

Ben. Hyett being come to town, some did endeavour to mediate on behalf of brother Messenger, who was one of those that brought the *certiorari* at Gloucester; (but the chairman [would] not allow it, but make them forfeit their recognizance for not appearing, one hundred pounds a man; namely, each forty pounds himself, and three sureties twenty pounds

each.) For they oft sought to take him, but did not, though they broke in, and frightened his mother greatly. And another time, at nine in the evening, got in, and abused his mother, threw her down, trod upon one of his sisters that had a young sucking child in her lap, like to have spoiled it, and struck his sister Elizabeth with a stick on her head, and made it swell. For all this abuse Lugg brings said Elizabeth before the mayor, and would have her bound over to sessions. And though the justices saw they were wronged, yet the mayor said, "Seeing it is as it is, ask Mr. Lugg forgiveness," and made her do so. So they searched for brother Messenger, but [he] escaped. However, being poor, and not able to maintain his mother and family, unless at liberty to work, we sought to buy his peace with Ollive, to whom Hyett left it, and upon giving Ollive twelve pounds he was released for the present.

On the 4th, they send Mr. Ozyll Bussell's maid to prison, because she would not find sureties.

On the 5th, a serjeant met with brother Messenger, and brought him before the mayor, who would bind him over; but Ollive told the mayor, Messenger had satisfied the law. However, the mayor would bind him to Bristol sessions, because he did not come to his worship when summoned.

On the 6th, being Lord's day, Lugg spies Peter Kineton, foreman of Mr. Wood's sugar-house, going along the street, and calls to him, and says, "You must go before the mayor." Peter did not mind it, it being the Lord's day, because of the Act of Parliament that they could not serve a warrant on the Lord's day; but Lugg follows him with six more constables, and takes him before the mayor, where Peter pleaded the illegality of the action, disturbing him on the Lord's day while going along the street. The mayor said, "There was such an Act of Parliament, but that was nothing:" or to that purpose. And so made him promise to go to Gloucester on the morrow

to the sessions, to answer for his being seen to go along from a meeting, as they say, some months past.

On the 7th, the informers went to Gloucester to appear against about eighty, bound over to the sessions, among whom were brother Warren and old brother Cornish.

On the 9th, Dr. Chauncey being indicted at Bristol, on [the Act of] 35th Elizabeth, was sent to Newgate. On the 10th, brother Warren was fined 10*l.* for a riot, being at a meeting near Roe Gate, and fees 47*s.*, which he paid in the hall at Gloucester. But Lugg was forsworn in it, for he swore it was on the 27th, and it was the 29th day that the meeting was. Old brother Cornish was bound to appear again next sessions, and several others. Some were fined 40*s.* and their fees, and released. Sister Fowles [was] put in prison at Gloucester. Some were fined five marks, as Mr. Jos. Wey; some 5*l.*, as the justices pleased, and to lie in prison till paid. About this time Pug. Read died miserably, being an informer about twenty years old: had his skull broke, as said, by one of his companions; he was one that broke into Mr. Terrill's house.

On the 16th, brother Dickason got out of prison, by giving bail to appear next Bristol sessions. On the 17th, the writs for twenty pounds a month were executed on Mr. Burgess, grocer in High Street, and Mr. Charles Harford, in Wine Street.

On the 27th, our sister Alice Cornish died, one that "walked with God," and was very useful in the church for forty years. One asked the way of her to a place, whom she directed, and then said, "Do you know the way to Zion?" See more of her in the waste-book.

On the 7th of May, Mr. Young and his wife, and daughter Mary, were carried to the Black Horse; but the constable let them go home, on the promise to appear next morning before Justice Meredith, who would have bound Mr. Young over,

but being told that he was related to my Lord Herbert, the justice bade him bring an order from my lord in ten days, or else he would bind him: and so did nothing for the present. Aaron Watts informs the mayor, that there was praying and preaching at Mr. Lewis's; but being asked how many were present besides the family, he said but four. So the mayor told him he could do nothing except there were more.

On the 11th, being Lord's day evening, Joseph Badger had a child, of about one year and a half old, buried in our yard. The informers watched at an alehouse, and while the company were in the burying-yard, Lugg commands them to depart in the king's name. So they all began to go away, but they would not let them until they had taken their names, which they carried to the mayor, who ordered the matter to be tried at Guildhall the 14th instant. At which time a jury was impanelled, and they were accused for a riot; but the jury would not find it a riot, but an unlawful assembly for not burying in consecrated ground. So the mayor fined the father of the child 40s., and court fees came to about three pounds in all.

On the 24th, Watkins and his company knocked at brother Dickason's door whilst he was at family prayer, and because the maid did not presently let them in would have taken her away, and brought her down; but they being drunk, she escaped at a back door.

On the 27th, Lugg, Watkins, and Joyner went to Westbury, to John Harris, who kept a dairy there, threatening to drive away his cattle if he would not pay them 7*l.* 10*s.* for being at a meeting in the fields last November, while he was servant to Mrs. Clark. So he being frightened, takes them to Mrs. Clark, who passed her word for the money, provided it must be paid. But they afterwards came again, and would drive away his cattle if he would not pay them 10*s.* for the present: so he was forced to pay it.

On the 2nd June, 1684, they came to brother Morgan, and

carried away twenty pounds' worth in goods, for his being at the above said meeting in November. They had once before seized his goods, and he paid them three pounds ten shillings for their release. And now they demanded 6*l.* 15*s.*, though the warrant at first given by Justice Herbert was but for 7*l.* 15*s.* And the poor man, by loss of debts lately, was not able to pay the money. His bed which he lay on was part of the goods they now took. Brother J. Ford has of late gone sometimes to his parish church at Bilton, and was therefore visited by brother Whinnell first, and then by brother Terrill. He says, he do not go till after common-prayer, and would attend the meeting if kept in Kingswood, being still of the same mind as ever, but he could not come to Bristol; fear and love of his estate thus far prevailed.

On the 10th day, sister Clark of Southmead, beyond Westbury, was forced to pay the 7*l.* 10*s.* for her man John Harris.

On the 14th, aged sister Pope died.

On the 15th, the constables of Holland Ward passing by brother Dickason's heard him at prayer, and would have come in; but he would not let them without a warrant. So they went and fetched Alderman Hicks out of his church, and when he came brother Dickason opened his door, and there was only Emanuel Young there besides his family. Him they made pay 1*s.* for not being at church, and brother Dickason the same for all in his family, and he must appear to-morrow at [the] Tolzey, and be bound for his good behaviour for not letting in the constables without a warrant.

On the 22nd, being Lord's day, Watkins and company hearing Mr. Young's son reading, searched the house and the malt, and said they had conveyed away the people. And a fat man then went to the maid a milking, and drunk the milk, and then boasted at Baptist Mills, they had been drinking god-father's milk.

On the 23rd, sister Messenger, widow, died, and was buried

in James's Yard. Watkins having seen Mr. Young's son, apprentice with brother Bodenham, on the highway, got a warrant against him for being at a meeting, in spite to his father: so the young man hid for some time, and went to sea. Watkins had oft asked his master three guineas to make it up, and Mr. Bodenham had offered him half so much; but Mr. Terrill persuaded him to give him three pounds, provided he would clear him and Mr. Clark, a young attorney, who had been forced to break up his family, and retire into the country three months before. So Watkins agreeing he would trouble neither of them for what was passed, on the 5th of July Mr. Bodenham paid him the three pounds, and Mr. Terrill said he would pay him again for Mr. Clark.

On the 10th, we kept a day of prayer in four parts, there being a general muster of the artillery, because officers were sworn, and the Earl of Worcester brought the city's new charter. On which day Watkins had been drinking a health to the confusion of the fanatics, and then sickened that he could not go to Gloucester to prosecute our friends, especially Mr. Young, foreman of Mr. Ford's jury, whom he had indicted for 20*l.* a month, and said he would pin him fast. But on the same day the sessions sat at Gloucester, the 16th, Watkins died, and was nailed fast in his coffin, and Mr. Young and his family were cleared. Ezek. xvi. 50.

On the 20th, our morning meeting at brother Dickason's was disturbed by the constables, who heard him at prayer, and came in; and seeing four besides the family fetched Sir Robt. Cann and Alderman Hicks from church, who diligently searched every part of his house to find more, but could not. Alderman Hicks would have sent them all to prison, but Sir Robert would not; but took their word one for another to appear on Tolzey next morning, only Emanuel Young they sent to Newgate, without mittimus, to be kept till morning. The next day they appear; viz., brother Dickason and his

wife, Emanuel Young, sister Webb, Allen, widow, and Wheeler, when brother Dickason was greatly set at nought, and charged with harbouring people in sermon time. His mittimus was made and sealed, because he said they agreed together to make the thing a crime. But upon much intercession, and promise not to have meetings at his house, he was respited till sessions. Sister Allen went away while they were so long about him. Sister Webb and Wheeler [were] bid to lay down their twelvecence apiece, and they would have Sister Webb promise to go to meeting no more, else they would not take her shilling. She desired two or three days to consider of it.

On the 27th, our meeting of about forty at brother Purnell's was discovered by a smith's wife; who, seeing the people go, leaves her husband to watch while she fetched a constable. But meeting with one that took little notice of it, there came intelligence before any came, so we escaped.

Our pastor, and Mr. Young the minister, had lain in jail in Gloucester near a year and a half. Mr. Fownes was put in upon the Corporation Act at Easter sessions. Brother Fownes himself pleaded to an indictment for a riot in Kingswood, and so convinced the jury that they brought him in not guilty. But though they then had nothing against him, Justice Player and Chancellor Parsons would not let him go, unless he would give bond for his good behaviour; that is, he must meet no more, which our pastor would not do. Then the next sessions they would not let him go unless he would give bond to appear at Bristol sessions, and to be of good behaviour, which was still worse. And, therefore, now at the assizes, by counsel, brother Fownes moved his case to Judge Levins, who, they say, would have cleared him; but the Chancellor Parsons was heard to whisper him that Mr. Fownes and Young were dangerous persons, and it was not

safe to the government to let them go. The judge ordered they should give good bail, one hundred pounds each, and appear next assizes. After the court arose, they provided their bail, but Hyett said the order was, they should be bound also to appear at Bristol; and though Duke, the counsellor, said it was not so, yet the judge, hurrying out of town, they had not time to apply to him, and so were continued in prison.

On the 15th, Francis Whitehead was brought to the sessions here, and having got a lawyer to search the records at Gloucester, pleaded before the mayor there was no indictment lodged against him; but because Lugg said there was, he was sent to Newgate again, where he had lain six months, because he would not be bound to sessions at Gloucester. Then brother Cornish was menaced about his speaking against the Common Prayer, and charged to go to church that Hellier might see him there, and then he should be discharged. On this day also, they passed a sentence of banishment on Dr. Ichabod Chauncey, and made him swear that he would depart this city and nation, within three months, from this port and no other, and never return without the king's leave. The doctor was very cheerful under all, though he had been above four months in Newgate already. This day also, brother Dickason was severely handled about the meeting of four persons and his house[hold], and the town-clerk threatened to serve him as he had done Dr. Chauncey; but afterwards brother Dickason gave the town-clerk two guineas, and so he got off this sessions. And brother Town went, by advice, beforehand to the town-clerk, and besought his pity of a poor man and several children; and Mr. Yates also speaking to the town-clerk for him, he paid his fees only, and was released.

On the 29th, Dr. Chauncey went privately to London, in order to go to Holland. And on the 2nd of September,

brother R. Dennis died, and was buried in our burying-place. On the same day, the sheriffs, by their deputy Oldfield, made distress by the writs of £20 a month, on brother Samuel Hunt, of two butts of brandy, which they valued at thirty-six pounds, and unless he would give £30, they would carry them away. So he was forced to get a friend to buy them at that price. Not long before, they seized Mr. Bailey the pewterer's goods.

On the 16th, several of our brethren, brother Hunt, William Dickason, &c., and many more, were summoned by the apparitor to the bishop's court, for not receiving the Lord's supper. We had now a bishop from the Isle of Man, the other and his officers too being dead.

On the seventh, nearly twenty more friends were indicted for eleven months' not coming to church; among which were Mr. Young, and his wife, and son, and daughter Mary, brother Child and brother Millard, as recusants. And brother Fownes being brought into court, was by Powell the chairman called a ringleader, turbulent, seditious; and told he must find six hundred pounds' bail to appear next sessions at Bristol, and be of good behaviour, or lie in prison. And justice Player said he should be indicted at Bristol; it is supposed on 35 Elizabeth. October 10. New mayor and sheriffs being chosen, James Twyford, sheriff, threatens to find out our little meetings, and he would be like death,—spare none.

November 3rd. Sister Munday, of Brislington, departed this life, and was buried there.

December 17th. Sir Thomas Earl and Sir John Knight, both great persecutors, put out of the council here, Deut. xxxii. 35. See waste-book.

On the 31st of December, aged sister Hall died.

January 11th. Joyner, keeper of Bridewell, went to several houses in Castle Green, to hearken for a meeting, and

would heave up the latches; and so doing, he espied sister Clark go to see her cousin Bishop that was sick. And thereupon he fetches several constables, and searched the house, but found none else there. A servant man, seeing them go up and down all over the house, bid Joyner take heed that he took nothing; but the man had like to be sent to prison for such an abuse of the king's officers, and there was much entreaty to save him.

January 13th. At the quarter sessions, brother Fownes was treated as before, and Justice Powell, the chairman, told him, Sir Richard Hart, of Bristol, should say he was a dangerous man. So they still kept him there at Gloucester, prisoner.

ANNO 1685.

On the 29th of November, 1685, OUR PASTOR, BROTHER FOWNES, DIED IN GLOUCESTER JAIL, having been kept there for *two years and about nine months* a prisoner, unjustly and maliciously, for the testimony of Jesus and preaching the gospel. He was a man of great learning, of a sound judgment, an able preacher, having great knowledge in divinity, law, physick, &c.; a bold, patient sufferer for the Lord Jesus, and the gospel he preached.

January 4th. Our Sister Stephens departed this life. She was a woman of a holy conversation, full of grace and love to the Lord; one that [had] great assurance of her interest in Christ. She died in a single state.

January 12th. By several brethren in the name of the church, sent a letter to brother Ellis, who is now in London, to desire him to return to us, and to his office in the church, &c. Secondly, Agreed that brethren Bodenham, Dickason, Clark, Whinnel, should visit as many of the members as neglected their duty in assembling, and as many others as they saw meet. Thirdly, That two go to Sister Smith, and

stir [her] up to her work, in visiting, &c., as a deaconess, and that sister Lux be desired to assist her, because of sister Walton's inability.

On the 13th, we kept a day of prayer in three parts in peace.

ANNO 1686.

June. Sister Bodenham, wife of brother R. Bodenham, deceased, after a long and grievous affliction. She was a woman of a lively temper, a promoter of good works. She died in the flower of her age, and had much satisfaction in the Lord.

July 25th. We had a church-meeting at sister Terrill's. We were in peace. A good day for the church, after three years and five months' interruption of full assemblies; partly occasioned by our violent persecutors, and partly our own fears and backwardness. At this meeting, the members were desired to bring in their contributions for the poor, to the deacons, who complained of great neglect on that account. Some brethren that had not made good their places of late were sent to; and the church were desired to consider of some person to be chosen a ruling elder, in the place of dear brother Terrill, deceased.

Sister Lux and sister Webb departed this life. And brother Gwilliam was chosen to be a ruling elder.

ANNO 1687.

When the church, after above five years, returned to their old meeting-place, brother Vauxe was chosen pastor, April 28th, 1687, at brother Bodenham's, on a day of prayer set apart for that purpose. And at this meeting several persons were sent to for omissions of duty, in the times of our late troubles.

On the 5th May, we kept a day of prayer, preparatory to the Lord's supper, at brother Vauxe's.

On the 8th, the church sat down at the Lord's table. Brother Vauxe administered, and it was a comfortable opportunity.

*Transcribed this abridgment out of the waste-book, called a MEMORIAL, where you may find things more at large.—*B[ernard] F[osket].

Third month, 22nd day.⁵ Upon the request of the church at Chipping Sodbury, together with our brother Jennings his concurrence with them, the church sent them a letter of dismissal for brother Jennings, who was before recommended to them from us, to assist them in the ministry, but was not resigned up to them. But now being called by them to be their pastor, we thought good to resign him up unto them, and to the work whereto the Lord had called him.

To the church of Christ meeting at Chipping Sodbury, in the county of Gloucester.

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

DEARLY BELOVED BRETHREN,—We have received your letter of the 15th instant, and are deeply sensible of your condition, and heartily ready and willing to contribute our mite of assistance to promote what in us lieth the honour and glory of God, the interest of our dear Lord Jesus, the conversion of sinners, and the building up of saints among you. And though our beloved brother Jennings be very dear unto us, and we very loath to part with him, yet, upon this weighty account, God having pitched your thoughts upon him, and inclined his heart, and made him willing to undertake the burden, we cannot, we dare not, detain him from

⁵ [The following pages are not in Mr. Fosket's hand-writing, excepting only the memorandum at the close. See note, p. 419. Probably Mr. Vauxe's.]

you; but freely give our consent for his coming to you, and taking upon him that great and weighty work. Beseeching the Father of mercies to strengthen him mightily in order thereunto, to double and treble his gifts and graces, to prosper his labours among you, wonderfully to assist him with his Holy Spirit, and to crown his endeavours with good success, that many souls may by his ministry be brought into the fold of our dear Lord Jesus. And we pray you, brethren, pray for us, that we may be enabled to adorn our Christian profession, with a holy, humble, harmless, and spotless conversation. And we, as in duty bound, shall beg the very God of peace to sanctify you wholly, that your whole spirit, and soul, and body may be preserved blameless, unto the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, in whose everlasting arms of mercy we leave you, and remain, your Christian brethren in the faith and fellowship of the gospel of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.

Signed in the name, and by the order of the whole church.

Bristol, the 22nd of the 3rd month, 1687.

Upon the 16th day of the fourth month, being our monthly day of prayer, kept at brother Bodenham's, our sister Hester Branch was spoken with, who gave an account of the work of grace on her soul. The church was satisfied therewith to receive her.

Upon this day of prayer, our brother Thomas Whinnell, having received a call from the church at Devizes, and another from the church at Taunton, to take upon him the pastoral work, and because he looked on himself unfit for so weighty an undertaking, and both congregations nevertheless very importunate to get him, he desired the church, upon seeking God by prayer for direction, to consider the matter, and to give him their advice, whether it was a duty incumbent on him to leave this city, or may be most for God's glory for him to move to either of the aforesaid places; who gave their judgment for his abiding in Bristol.

Upon the 17th day of the fourth month, Hester Branch was baptized, and with her sister Rose Teague was also baptized in the river Frome. She was an ancient member of the congregation, and by the goodness of God at last convinced of a long-neglected duty. Brother Vauxe administrator.

Upon the 19th of the aforesaid month, Hester Branch was received a member into the church, at the time of the church's meeting to break bread.

Upon the 14th of the month, at a day of prayer held at brother Gwilliam's, at Redcliffe Hill, the church considering their pastor Mr. Vauxe's weakness, and their necessities, thought good to lay some other engagement on brother Whinnell to keep him amongst them, and therefore gave him a call to the office of a ruling elder and teacher to this church. To which call, he gave the church this following answer.

First, That they had somewhat surprised him, their call being unexpected by him.

Secondly, That he looked on himself altogether unfit to undertake such a work amongst them, for divers reasons known to himself.

Thirdly, That his circumstances were such at present, being under, as he supposed, greater calls from other congregations, that he could not in judgment and conscience accept of their call.

To which they replied, that they could not impose it on him, but would leave it to him to consider of it, and not to think of leaving the church here.

Upon the 24th day of the month, there came two friends from the Devizes [church], to desire the congregation to spare brother Whinnell to them; but after some time of debate, the church still refusing to spare brother Whinnell, brother Gifford, being then present, told the friends they had gone so far as they could, and that now the matter must be

left wholly to be determined in brother Whinnell's own mind.

Upon the 31st day of this month, the church agreed to send the following answer to a letter from the church at Taunton.

To the church of Christ at Taunton.

The church of Christ meeting in Broadmead, in the city of Bristol, send greeting in our Lord.

DEARLY BELOVED BRETHREN,—We salute you in our Lord, wishing grace, mercy, and peace may be multiplied to you abundantly, through the knowledge of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, and that you may approve of things that are excellent in his sight, always abounding therein to the praise of the glory of his grace, who hath called you to grace and virtue.

Now these are to let you understand, that we have lately received a letter from you, with many names affixed, but without date (yet the truth of which we do not dispute), wherein you narrate to us your present sad and lamentable estate, for want of one to administer the ordinances of Christ to you; and having sought, as you say, all means to procure one, and yet cannot obtain, you make it your earnest desire to us, that we would spare our brother Whinnell;—of whose gifts you have had some good and comfortable experience of,—to supply that place amongst you.

We must now answer, having weighed what you do say therein :

1. Your great wants as a church of Christ of such a minister.
2. The great call of others in that place.
3. The great encouragement of doing much good in that place.

All which we do concern ourselves with in much seriousness, and would our utmost to further in anything that might suit with our own well-being, and the glory of Christ in this place. But as to the person desired by you, we cannot satisfy ourselves to answer your desires therein, lest we should fall under the same complaints as you do in a little time. But in the next place, we have lately parted with

one ministering brother already, to the church at Sodbury, in their sad and deplorable estate which fell upon them by the defect of brother Nobbs, so that we are the more necessitated to keep our brother Whinnell with us. Besides, our pastor being aged, and under such infirmities of body as he is, that sometimes our own meetings, in his illness, may be lost for the present if we have not our brother Whinnell to supply them, and help carry on the work here. And for us to suffer such a meeting, in such a populous city as this is, go unsupplied (as once it did), would be greatly to the dishonour of God, and that which our adversaries would be glad to see, who we are not willing to gratify while we may prevent it, and therefore beseech you to desist any further suit herein. But besides, our brother is now stated in the church a teaching elder, by the consent and choice of the whole, and we cannot make our own act void again. Neither do we, for reason enough by what is offered, [wish] so to do, if we could. Though we really pity your case, and should be glad to do anything we can to promote the glory of the Lord there, that may stand with the glory of the Lord in this city, where we are most immediately concerned as eye-witnesses of. We commit you to the Lord, and remain,

Your brethren in the kingdom and patience of Christ.

Signed on behalf of the whole church, this 20th July, [16]87.⁵

Upon the 18th day of the 7th month, being our day for breaking bread, the church having some time before called our beloved brother, Mr. Thomas Vauxe, to the pastoral work on trial, did now unanimously give him their approba-

⁵ [Mr. Whinnell became, however, pastor of the church in Taunton in the following year, where he lived till his death in the year 1720. He was deeply acquainted with the word of God, and was of a cheerful and amiable disposition. "He was singularly serviceable to the town of Taunton, and generally

beloved." His mind was always calm and serene, and full of peace when he came to die. He published one sermon, entitled "The Best Portion," preached at Exeter, on the funeral of Mrs. Mary Steed, Nov. 16, 1699. 4to.—Murch's History of Presbyterian Churches, &c. p. 201.]

tion in order to his ordination, which was signified solemnly by their suffrages, or lifting up their hands.⁶

Upon the 13th day of the 8th month, being our day of prayer at brothe Whinnell's, sister Williamson and sister Davis, junior, were proposed to the congregation, and declared the work of God on their souls, wherewith the church was satisfied, and they were baptized in the river Frome, the day following, by brother Vauxe, and received as members the Lord's day following.

Upon the 10th day of the 9th month, being our day of prayer, at brother Bodenham's, sister Edith Clark was proposed to the congregation, and made profession of her faith in the Lord Jesus, and declared her experience of the work of grace on her soul, wherewith the church was satisfied. And she was baptized the day following, by brother Vauxe in the river Frome, and received a member into the fellowship of this church, the Lord's day following.

A.D. 1720. Memorandum.—*Can find no records after this, besides a little, page 135,⁷ till 1720, when I began again.*—
B. Fosket.

⁶ [Mr. Vauxe attended the General Assemblies held in London in 1689 and 1692, as messenger of the Broadmead church, but died in the following year. His successor, Mr. George Fownes, son of the former pastor, accompanied Mr. Gifford as a deputation from the western churches to London, in 1693. Mr. Fownes subsequently changed his sentiments on baptism, and became pastor of the church meeting in the Castle, in 1708. From thence he removed to Andover, and afterwards to Nailsworth, where he died. Mr. Ebenezer Wilson for a time assisted Mr. Fownes at Broadmead, and in 1707, Mr. Peter Kitterell, from Exeter, was chosen pastor.—Ivi-

mey, ii. 540. Fuller's Dissent, &c., p. 175.]

⁷ [This refers to three or four unimportant cases of discipline in the years 1688, 1692, and 1693, which are the only remaining notices till Mr. Fosket's pastorate. On the departure of Mr. Caleb Jope, in the summer of the year 1719, to serve the church at Exeter, the church met to select a colleague to Mr. Peter Kitterell, their pastor, and to act as tutor under the provision of Mr. Terrill's bequests. On the 22nd November, Mr. Fosket was invited, but did not finally conclude to accept the invitation till August in the following year. He had been previously settled over a church at Henley in Warwickshire.]

ADDENDA.



A D D E N D A.

A.

Page lxii.

A Supplication of certain prisoners in England, presented to the Queen, but not received.

Translated from "Het Bloedig Toonel of Martelaers—Spiegel der Doops-gesinde;" pp. 710, 711, vol. ii. edit. 1685.

Reflecting upon the praiseworthy goodness and mercy of your majesty, whose renown is spread far and wide, among all nations, for the exercise of discretion in all things, but particularly in matters of religion and conscience, and of late verified towards our companions: We, therefore, poor prisoners and strangers, cast ourselves upon your majesty, that it may please you to exhibit towards us the same mercy, since we are in like case and condition, and holding the same faith, which we here humbly, in Christ, present to your majesty, beseeching you, for Christ's sake, that it may please your highness to peruse the same, and according to your wisdom and clemency, perceiving some trifling differences, mercifully thereof to judge.

We testify before God and your majesty, that were we in our consciences able by any means to think or understand the contrary, we would with all our hearts receive and confess it; since it were a great folly in us, not to live rather in the exercise of a right faith, than to die, perhaps, in a false one. May it also please your majesty in your wisdom and innate goodness, to consider, that it were not right, but hypocrisy in us to speak otherwise than with our hearts we believe, in order to escape the peril of temporal death; that it is impossible to

believe otherwise than we in our consciences think ; and also that it is not in our power to believe this or that, as evil-doers who do right or wrong as they please. But the true faith must be implanted in the heart of man by God ; and to him we daily pray, that he would give us his Spirit to understand his word and gospel.

Above all, it is evident to your majesty that we have not sought to stir up any rebellions or seditions against your majesty ; but, much more, have daily besought the Lord for your happy reign, and the welfare both of your soul and body. Lastly, we have not endeavoured to spread our faith in the land. This we could not do, for we are only unlearned trades-people, unskilled in divinity.

These and many other reasons, we humbly entreat your majesty to take into consideration to our advantage, and to be particularly mindful of your laudable and princely clemency, admired by all nations, and ever practised in all things, but especially in matters of religion and conscience.

Signed by Hendrik Terwoort, Jan Pieters, Christian Kemels, Gerrit van Byler, Hans van Straten.

Answer to the Letter of John Fox, written by the prisoners in London, 1575.

Mr. Fox,

Honoured and well-beloved Sir,

WE have read your letter, from which we perceive your condescension in entreating both her majesty and her council on our behalf. We thank you much for this, as we do also for your kind intentions, which we are assured arise from love, albeit that you seem to us to have written somewhat sharply. But from the good zeal you bear towards the truth, and to your neighbours' welfare, we cannot otherwise regard it than as a kind action. Nevertheless, we are sorry that you do not understand our matter, and that you have another

opinion of us than we wish, since you think that by our curiosity and obstinacy we have not only given offence to the church of God, but also provoked God himself, and frustrated our salvation. What reason you have thus to think of us, we know not; nevertheless, we can assure you, that we seek with our whole hearts to serve the one God, and Christ, in a good conscience, and to edify our neighbour, as far as in us lies. Therefore we gladly receive what the holy scripture testifies, and wish to be permitted to adhere to the plainness and simplicity of the word of God, and not to be urged farther with subtle questions, which our feeble understandings are not able to comprehend, nor by scripture to justify.

We confess, as you say, that Jesus Christ, the son of the living God, became or was born truly man, of the virgin, in the fulness of time. We confess, that Christ had not a fantastical or false body, but true human flesh, like ours in all things, sin only excepted. That he is the promised seed of the woman, the son of David, and the offspring of Mary's body. Lastly, we believe all that the holy scriptures have testified of him. And whether we live or die, we place our salvation, not in our works or holiness, but alone on his death and resurrection.

We cannot sufficiently wonder what more they would require of Christians; even as you allege from the apostle, *Though we have known Christ after the flesh, yet now henceforth know we him no more. Therefore if any man be in Christ, he is a new creature.* Whereby the apostle sufficiently acquaints us, that we ought rather to mark and appropriate the fruits of the incarnation and sufferings of Christ, than pertly to dispute of the derivation of his flesh. Which we, nevertheless, confess so far as scripture has testified thereon, being satisfied with what you desire, that he is come in the flesh. Would that the people were also content with that, and not urge us to confess that Christ derived his flesh from the "substance of the Virgin Mary," which we can neither comprehend nor believe; since the word "substance" is not to be found in the holy scripture. Yet it is concluded against us, that we think that Christ is not truly man, and in short, that we disown our salvation. On the contrary, love should teach them to conclude, that when we say, Christ had human flesh as truly as our first father, Adam, had before the fall, we

acknowledge him to be a true man, and our Saviour ; as we particularly confess in explicit terms.

If you say, that you find little or no difference between your faith and ours, but in the few words "substance of Mary," and that we ought not, therefore, obstinately to reject them : we answer, that we ought not to be driven thereto by force, but our infirmity in this matter suffered, since we are not able in our consciences to think otherwise, and should sin greatly against God, if we were to speak contrary to the testimony of our consciences. Therefore, if they put us to death, which we hope from royal clemency may not happen, we testify before God, that we die not for this or that article, which if they could by argument make us to understand, we would with all our hearts receive, but for conscience sake. For, if it were clear that we did well in acting against conscience, yet should we do ill, and give witness against ourselves, as you by your learning may much better perceive, than we weak and ignorant people.

Lastly, we are men, and what is more, unlearned men, who can indeed err. Therefore, we will always behave with docility towards those who by scripture can teach us better. But if they will drive us thereto by fire and sword, it seems to us to be vain, and to fight against reason. For it is indeed possible that we may be made to speak otherwise than we think through fear of death ; but that we should think differently to what we believe, you know is indeed impossible.

Thus they who treat us in this manner, set before us one of two things, temporal or eternal death. Temporal, if we adhere to what our consciences witness to be right and true. Eternal, if we speak contrary to the dictates of conscience. But we have better hope of the queen's clemency, since she has not yet thought fit to put any to death for religion ; knowing well, that true faith is a special gift of God implanted in man, not by fire and sword, but by the Holy Ghost, and by the preaching of the pure word of God.

And we ought indeed to consider, that aforesaid we all have been heretics, and if we had then been put to death, both body and soul must have perished. But we will here make an end ; thanking you for the trouble you have been pleased to take for us, and entreating you to do the best you can in our business with the council, an

especially with the queen's majesty. And were our case rightly known to her, we doubt not but she would, after her excellent wisdom and wonted clemency, mercifully spare our lives. Nevertheless, we gladly yield her majesty all reverence and submission, praying for her a long life, and happy reign.

Signed by Gerrit van Byler, Hendrik Terwoort, Hans van Straten, Jan Pieters, Christian Kemels.

The following Confession was written whilst Terwoort and Peters were in the Marshalsea, "for the witness of Jesus Christ," to remove the many slanderous accusations which were circulated concerning their faith. It is probable that it was either in whole or in part the Confession delivered in at their first examination. They revised and signed it on the eve of their martyrdom. It is given entire, as it throws much light on the general orthodoxy of the baptists at that period.

"Het Bloedig Toonel," p. 704—706.

This is the Confession of our belief in God, our heavenly Father.

1. We believe in one God, the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth, as it is written, Gen. i. 1; in whom Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Moses, and all the prophets believed. Heb. xi.

2. We believe in Jesus Christ, the only Son of the Father, who was in the beginning with God. John i. 1. And when the time was fulfilled, Micah v. 2, 1 John i. 1, 2, which God had promised, Gal. iv. 4, the Word was made flesh, Gen. iii. 15, Isa. vii. 14, John i. 14, and born of the seed of David, Rom. i. 3, of the undefiled Virgin Mary, being betrothed to a man whose name was Joseph, of the seed of David, Matt. i. 18, Luke i. and ii. blessed among women, Luke i. 28. We believe that this true Son of God, with many signs and wonders

which he did, announced to us the word of his Father, John xv. 24. And after this, was betrayed into the hands of the Jews, was crucified under Pontius Pilate, died, and was buried. Matt. xxvii. 1 ; Mark xv. 1 ; Luke xxiii. 1 ; John xviii.

3. We believe that this same Jesus Christ is truly God and man, and for our sins voluntarily laid down his life, Isa. liii. 7. When we were his enemies, he suffered a bitter death for us, Rom. v. 8 ; that they who believe in him should not perish, but have everlasting life, John iii. 6.

4. We believe also that this our Saviour has risen from the dead, Matt. xxviii. 6, Mark xvi. 6, Luke xxiv. 6, John xx. 9, as he had foretold, Matt. xvii. 9, Mark ix. 9, Luke ix. 22, and sits at the right hand of his Father, Mark xvi, Acts vii. 55.

5. We believe in the Holy Ghost, John xv. 26, as it is written, 1 John v. 7, saying, *There are three that bear record in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost, and these three are one.*

6. We believe also in the communion of saints, 1 John i. 3, whose prayers avail much for us, James v. 16. We believe also in the holy church, of which are they who believe in Jesus Christ, baptized by one spirit into one body, as Paul says, 1 Cor. xii. 13. And Jesus Christ is the head thereof, that is, of the holy church, as it is written Eph. v. 23, and Col. i. 18. We believe that this holy church has power to open and to shut, to loose and to bind ; and whatsoever they loose on earth is loosed in heaven, Matt. xvi. 19, and whatsoever they bind on earth is bound in heaven. We believe also that God has ordained in his holy church, apostles, prophets, and teachers, 1 Cor. xii. 28, bishops, and deacons, 1 Tim. iii. 2, 8.

7. We believe and confess also baptism in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, as the Lord Jesus Christ has commanded and ordained, Matt. xxviii. 19 ; and was practised by the apostles, Acts ii. 38, 41 ; and as they have written thereof, Rom. vi. 3, 1 Cor. xii. 13, Gal. iii. 27, Eph. iv. 5, and 1 Pet. iii. 21. We believe that they who are baptized, are members of the body of Jesus Christ, and of the holy church.

8. Of the holy supper of Jesus Christ, we believe and confess even as Christ has taught ; as it is written, Matt. xxvi. 26, *And as they were eating, Jesus took bread, and blessed it, and brake it, and*

gave it to the disciples, and said, Take eat ; this is my body. And he took the cup, and gave thanks, and gave it to them, saying, Drink ye all of it ; for this is my blood of the New Testament, which is shed for many for the remission of sins, Mark xiv. 24 ; this do in remembrance of me, Luke xxii. 19. We believe as Paul testifies, saying, The cup of blessing which we bless, is it not the communion of the blood of Christ ? The bread which we break, is it not the communion of the body of Christ ? 1 Cor. x. 16. Whoso eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, hath eternal life ; and I will raise him up at the last day, John vi. 54.

9. We confess and believe that marriage is an ordinance of God, as we read, Gen. ii. 24. One man and one woman joining together in the name of the Lord in the holy church. 1 Cor. vii. 2. *For this cause shall a man leave father and mother, and shall cleave to his wife ; and they twain shall be one flesh. Wherefore they are no more twain, but one flesh. What therefore God hath joined together, let not man put asunder, Matt. xix. 5, 6. For marriage is honourable to all, and the bed undefiled ; but whoremongers and adulterers God will judge, Heb. xiii. 4.*

10. We believe and confess that magistrates are set and ordained of God, Wisd. vi. 4, Sirach xvii. 18, Rom. xiii. 1, to punish the evil, and to protect the good ; which magistracy we from our hearts desire to obey, as it is written in the first of Peter, ii. 13, *Submit yourselves to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake. For he beareth not the sword in vain, Rom. xiii. 4. And Paul teaches us that we should offer up for all, prayers, intercessions, and giving of thanks for all kings and magistrates ; that we may lead a quiet and peaceable life in all godliness and honesty. For this is good and acceptable in the sight of God our Saviour, who desires that all men should be saved, 1 Tim. ii. 1, 2, 3, 4. He further teaches us to be subject to principalities and powers, to obey magistrates, and to be ready to every good work, Pet. iii. 1. Therefore we pray your majesty kindly to understand aright our meaning ; which is, that we do not despise the eminent, noble, and gracious queen, and her wise councils, but esteem them as worthy of all honour, to whom we desire to be obedient in all things that we may. For we confess with Paul, as above, that she is God's servant, and that if we resist this power, we resist the*

ordinance of God; for *rulers are not a terror to good works, but to the evil.* Therefore we confess to be due unto her, and are ready to give, tribute, custom, honour, and fear, as Christ himself has taught us, saying, *Render unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's.* Since, therefore, she is a servant of God, we will kindly pray her majesty, that it would please her to show pity to us poor prisoners, even as our Father in heaven is pitiful, Luke vi. 36. We likewise do not approve of those who resist the magistrates; but confess and declare with our whole heart, that we must be obedient and subject unto them, as we have here set down.

11. Further, if any should ask us, why we will not swear an oath? We answer, that we have not liberty in our consciences to do this, since it is written in Matt. v. 33, that Christ said, *Ye have heard that it hath been said of them of old time, Thou shalt not forswear thyself, but shall perform unto the Lord thine oaths; but I say unto you, Swear not at all; neither by heaven, for it is God's throne; nor by the earth, for it is his footstool; neither by Jerusalem, for it is the city of the great King. Neither shalt thou swear by thy head, because thou canst not make one hair white or black. But let your communication be, Yea, yea; Nay, nay! for whatsoever is more than these cometh of evil.* Thus also the apostle James teaches in the fifth chapter, saying, *Above all things, my brethren, swear not, neither by heaven, neither by the earth, neither by any other oath: but let your yea be yea; and your nay, nay.* For these reasons we will not, we dare not, swear.

12. We believe in the resurrection of the dead, as it is written, Isaiah xxvi. 19, John xi. 25, Dan. xii. 2, John xv. 25, in the first epistle to the Corinthians, xv. 22, 1 Thess. iv. 16. That we shall rise from the dead in our own bodies, Job xix. 25, Isaiah xxvi. 19, 1 Cor. xv. When the Lord shall come in the clouds with his angels, then shall each one be judged according to his works; Matt. xxv. 34, Rom. ii. 6.

13. We believe all that is contained both in the Old and in the New Testaments.

And now we poor prisoners humbly pray, that wherein we may have misbehaved towards her majesty or her subjects, it may be forgiven, and that mercy may be shown to us even as our Father in heaven is mer-

ciful; for we are a poor and lowly people, of little knowledge and understanding, and it is our sorrow that we are not able to write more courteously. Therefore we pray your highness, that your majesty will receive graciously this our simple confession. We commend your royal majesty to the Lord; Acts xx. 32. The Lord be with you and us. Amen.

In our prison in London, the 21st of July, in the year of our Lord, 1575.

By me, HENDRIK TERWOORT.

By me, JAN PIETERS.

B

Page 7.

MR. HENRY MORRIS,²

Minister of the gospel in Wales, his account of the number of the churches in Wales and their pastors.

1675.

A CATALOGUE of all the congregated churches in the general counties of Wales, together with the names of their pastors and other church officers.

ANGLESEY.—There hath not been any church in this county of the constitution aforesaid, nor any number of people professing religion, in the power and strictness of it, joining with any church elsewhere, in all these late times.

² [Although Mr. Terrill, in his endorsement on this paper, thus spells the name, it is most probable that the Mr. Henry Maurice mentioned in it is its author. This gentleman left the established church, after conforming for a time, under the Act for Uniformity, and suffered much for his conscientious act,

by losses and imprisonments. For a time he laboured in Shropshire, removing thence to Abergavenny, where he died in 1682. By Crosby he is mentioned as a baptist, in which the late Joshua Thomas of Leominster concurs. Thomas, MSS. p. 256; Crosby, ii. lvii. iv. 251.]

BRECKNOCKSHIRE.—The only church in this county is that which commonly meets at Llanigon, of which Henry Maurice is pastor elect; Charles Lloyd, Thomas Gwyn, David Williams, Henry Williams, Richard Jones, William Howell, ordained elders; and Lewis Prytherch [or Protheroe], elder elect. There are also four deacons. The church consisting mostly of independents in judgment, and partly of baptists: their communion being founded upon union unto Christ as far as may be, according to the rule of gospel love. There are two rather small parties of more rigid baptists in this county. The one of them is joined with those of Llandewi in Radnorshire.—*Vide* Monmouth and Radnorshire.

CARDIGANSHIRE.—There are general parties of people professing godliness in this county, yet but one entire church in it: namely, that which meets at Llan[badarnvawr], being the first original gathered church in this country, of the judgment commonly called independent, but very moderate. Mr. David Jones, of Pen[brin], is their pastor; Morgan Howells and Evan Hughes, elders; John Jones, elder elect, together with some deacons. There are also here a party of baptists, under imposition of hands, that are joined to Mr. William Jones's church in Carmarthenshire, whereof hereafter. There are also here several members of Mr. Stephen Hughes's church; namely, Carmarthenshire.

CARMARTHENSHIRE.—Mr. Stephen Hughes, aforesaid is a pastor of the original church that was in this county, and are properly independent in their judgment, not much differing from presbyterian. The names of their officers I do not know, only Mr. William Floyd, a blind man and yet seeing, is one that teaches commonly amongst them, as also Mr. David Jones. *Vide* Glamorganshire.

There is also a church of a later standing here, whereof Mr. William Jones, aforesaid, is pastor, Gryffyth Howells and Thomas [David Rees], elders. Their other officers I cannot name. As for their judgment, see Cardiganshire. Their meeting-place is at Llanfair, upon the borders of Pembrokeshire, sometimes also in Cardiganshire, and sometimes hard by Narberth in Pembrokeshire.

There is also another church, consisting of baptists for the most

part, but for free communion, who meet at Llanfair y Eryn, near Llanddyfri in this county. They were called at first by the ministry of Mr. Jenkyn Jones, and gathered as part of the church in Llanigon in Breconshire. *Vide* Brecknockshire. But they were scattered, and lay desolate for a time, yet now of late they are much revived, and have rallied together again. They intend to make choice of Mr. Rees Prytherch, a worthy, well qualified person, for their pastor. Other officers they have none, except it be one deacon. There is also another party of professing people, in a remote corner joining upon Glamorganshire; namely, at Llangenych. Some of these are part of Mr. Stephen Hughes's church aforesaid; another part, being baptists, do join with those in Glamorganshire, as you may see further in the account given of that county.

CAERNARVONSHIRE.—The original and only gathered church here is that which meets commonly at Llanarmon and Llangyfr, in this county, which was called by the ministry of Mr. John Williams, lately deceased, and gathered by him. They are wholly independent in judgment, except it be one member, and that none of the meanest of them for zeal and godliness, that is a baptist. His name is Thomas Williams, who lived in London several years of late. They are destitute of a pastor at present, only one William Rowlands is their teaching elder, together with Thomas Williams and some others, exercising their gifts among them.

DENBIGHSHIRE.—The first foundation of a gospel ministry here was laid by Mr. Walter Cradock, at a town called Wrexham, and was afterwards gathered into gospel order by Mr. Morgan Floyd. Now since their late removal and renewal, Mr. John Evans, a person of great sobriety and godliness, is their pastor. Mr. John Brown, Captain William Wynne, Philip Rogers, and others, elders; Evan Roberts with others, deacons. They were independents in judgment from the beginning, yet are they very moderate, so that some few baptists are of their society.

There was also a gathered presbyterian church at Denbigh town, whereof Mr. William Jones was pastor. But how they stand now

I cannot give any perfect account of it: And some of Wrexham church do meet . . . near Chirke Castle. . . .

FLINTSHIRE.—Here has been no professing people in all these late times, except it be some few ancient followers of the ministry of the word, who never joined into any gathered church, until now of late, within these four years, it pleased the Lord to send the ministry of the gospel among them, which, through the blessing of the Lord of the harvest, so prevailed, as that they have a constant private meeting among them at this time. The few old hearts that were alive are revived, many young ones called, a party whereof are joined to Wrexham church, within this twelve months, and another party do walk with Mr. William Jones aforesaid, who lives in that neighbourhood. *Vide* Denbigh. They are in the whole between twenty and thirty; and are most of them independent in judgment, some leaning towards presbytery.

GLAMORGANSHIRE.—The first gathered churches in this county were those of Merthyr, which is part now of Llanigon church. *Vide* Brecknock. And also the church that meets at Swansea, gathered at first by Mr. Ambrose Mostyn. They are all independent in judgment for aught I know, Mr. Higgs being their pastor, Mr. William Jones and others their elders.

There is another church, commonly called the church of Cadogstone, who meet now commonly at Bagland, Mr. Robert Thomas being their pastor; Jacob Christopher and Richard Cratlock, their teaching elders. What other officers they have I know not. Their judgment is independent. Some of them [are] baptists, as hath been affirmed. Part of them also lie about Llangwddelan, as also about Kynffig in the said county. There are also several scattered baptists inhabiting about Gowre's land, Llangwddelan, the borders of Carmarthenshire, as also about Bagland, who make up, as I suppose, one church. Lewis Thomas, Howell Thomas, if he be alive, and Thomas Joseph, being their teachers. I cannot certainly determine whether they have any chosen pastor or other officers among them.

There is also another gathered church of baptists, who met heretofore at Llantrissant, in this county, but do now commonly meet at

Gelly Gaer, whose pastor, Thomas John [or Jones], an honest, moderate, useful man, is lately deceased. Captain Evans, Mr. Evan Thomas, are the chief among them; but who their officers be at present, I do not so fully know. Part of this church also do commonly meet at Craig y Allt.

One Mr. Samuel Jones, supposed to be presbyterian in judgment, but a godly, well-qualified, moderate person, has gathered a church within these two or three years at Llangynogfawr, in this county. What their constitution is, and what officers they have, I cannot give an account of it.

MERIONETHSHIRE.—The few professing people that were heretofore in this country were joined either to Wrexham church, or else to Mr. Vavasor Powell's that met in Montgomeryshire, whereof hereafter; but since the change most of them turned quakers, and so continue. Yet of their elders, one Mr. Hugh Owen, . . . a kinsman of Dr. Owen's, is settled in that county, and being ordained a teaching elder of Wrexham church, is sent to those parts to exercise his ministry; so that of late, the Lord helping them to be faithful and diligent in the Lord's vineyard, and crowning his labours with a considerable blessing, they are about gathering them into church order, whereof I can give no certain account as yet, only that there are none in all that county, that I know of, that are otherwise than of an independent judgment, except the new crew of quakers aforesaid.

MONMOUTHSHIRE.—The original church gathered in this county, was the first in all Wales that I can hear of. Holy and reverend Mr. Wroth was the first gospel preacher here. The ancient, original materials of a church, were called by his ministry, and cast into the mould of church order, according to the New England way, in his days. After his decease, Mr. Walter Cradock was chosen pastor of it, who was assistant before to old Mr. Wroth. After some time the church was divided into two parts, which so continues to this day, and are, indeed, two numerical distinct churches; the one whereof meets at Llantrissant, or Llangwyne, in this county; which consisteth mostly of baptists, if not almost all, but are in judgment for

free communion with saints as saints. Their pastor elect is Mr. Thomas Quarrell, who was chosen now of late since Mr. William Thomas's death, their late pastor, and repairer of their desolations that happened to them since the change. Mr. Christopher Price, physician, Captain Robert Jones, and Mr. Milman being elders. The other church is that which meets commonly at Magor, in the Moors, towards Severn Sea. Mr. Thomas Barnes is pastor thereof; Mr. Samuel Jones, Major Blethyn, and Mr. Rumsay, as I take it, are the elders. They are, I suppose, wholly independent in judgment. Other officers they may have, which I cannot name.

The second gathered church that was in this county from the beginning, is that whereof Mr. Henry Walter is pastor, who, by his ministry at Mynyth-yst-lwyn, was the instrument to call most or all of the original members thereof. He did also bring them to church order, and continues still their pastor. Mr. John Powell and Watkin Jones are teaching elders. The members of the church lie scattered about Mynyth-yst-lwyn aforesaid, Newport, and Blaynen-gwent. They are altogether of an independent judgment, except some few baptists that be of their church; but they are moderate and free in their communion.

The third church, that was of a later date than any of the former, is that which meets at Llan-we-narth, near Abergavenny. They were at first, as far as I know, wholly consisting of baptists; but, after that persuasion about imposition of hands prevailed among them, they divided. For that party that were only for baptism, joined in time with the church of Llantrissant aforesaid, and so continued walking with them. The other party, for imposition of hands continued still by themselves. William John Prichard, Francis Gyles, David James, being their teaching elders.

There are some members of this people about Llaney-gwent in this county; some others in Brecknockshire aforesaid, and some about Olchon, in Herefordshire. Thomas Watkins being their teacher there.

MONTGOMERYSHIRE.—The only gathered church in this county was that whereof Vavasor Powell was pastor. It was by his ministry that they were originally called, and by him gathered into

church order. Upon his great trials and troubles it was much scattered, and made desolate; but there is a remnant of it survived and rallied together again, who have chosen Mr. Henry Williams, a great and faithful sufferer in late times, to be their pastor. Worthy Captain Richard Prise, their elder and pillar, is dead this last year. Walter Griffiths is another elder, as I take it. What other officers they have, I cannot give any certain account of it. These are baptists in judgment, for the most part, yet many of them otherwise; but they are for a free communion.

PEMBROKESHIRE.—The only church extant at this time in this county, is that which meets at or about Haverfordwest, which was gathered at first by Mr. Peregrine Phillips, who is still the pastor of it. It has been much shattered of late years between the troubles of the times and the quakers. Captain Longman, as I take it, is elder of it, and Hugh Harris deacon. They are independent in their judgment. What baptists be in this county, do join with Mr. William Jones's people, who meet in the borders of Carmarthen-shire. *Vide* Carmarth[enshire].

There was another gathered church here before the late changes, when — Warren was pastor, ——— teaching elder. But the pastor and teacher returned to England upon the change, so that this church was so dissipated between the world and the quakers, that it is long since extinct; except some few that continued faithful, who have since joined with the church at Haverfordwest.

In Pembrokeshire there is a small company, lately gathered into church order by Mr. James Davis, a moderate presbyterian, for anything I know. These meet at Captain Jenkin Jones's house, which Mr. Jones is a teacher among them. These people, or most of them, at least, were in church order before, being gathered originally by Mr. Charles Price, who was their pastor, and so continued till the scattering times came.

RADNORSHIRE.—The first man that laid the foundation of a gospel work here, was Mr. Walter Cradock, who preached for some continued time at Llanfair.....on the border of this county. Then, after his time, Mr. Vavasor Powell carried on the work, and gathered

here a church, a remnant whereof remaineth until this day, and have renewed their communion within these three or four years as a gospel church. They have no chosen pastor as yet, only Mr. Henry Williams, pastor of the church in Montgomeryshire, assisteth them, *pro tempore*, in their church meeting, for the most part; and sometimes Henry Maurice, pastor of the church at Llanigon, in Brecknockshire, dispenseth the ordinances of the gospel among them. This church consisteth partly of independents, and partly of baptists. John [James], Maurice Griffyths elders, Edward Owens deacon.

There is another people in the west end of this county, who are baptist in judgment, and Arminians also for the most part. They meet at Peter Gregory's house, Henry Gregory being their teaching elder. Jeremy —— lived for some time amongst these people. Some part of them live in the north part of Brecknockshire, as aforesaid.

There is also a late congregation gathered by Mr. [Weans] of New Radnor, a presbyterian, nonconforming minister; but I can give no account of their officers.

Mercy and peace be on all them that love the Lord Jesus in sincerity. Amen.

C.

Page 30.

Colonel Nathaniel Fiennes, after three days' siege only, surrendered the city; for which he was sentenced by a council of war to lose his life, but was pardoned by Lord Essex. During the trial Mrs. Hassard gave the following evidence:—

THE TESTIMONY OF DORATHY HASSARD.

I Dorathy Hassard, wife of Matthew Hassard, of Saint Ewins, in the city of Bristol, do testify upon my oath, that I was in the said city during the late siege thereof, when Colonell Nathaniel Fiennes was governor there, and that I did send into the castle of Bristol during the siege thereof, above three months' provision for our family there, and a great part of our estate, hoping the same would be there

preserved, and the castle defended to the utmost, according to divers promises by the governor to defend the same, as we were informed by divers of our friends: and that when the news came into the sayd city on the *Wednesday* morning, that some of the enemies were entred within the line, this deponent with divers other women, and maydes, with the helpe of some men, did, with wool-sacks and earth, stop up *Froome* gate, to keep out the enemy from entring into the sayd city, being the only passage by which the enemy must enter, and when they had so done, they, the sayd women, went to the gunners (this deponent being one of them), and told them that if they would stand out and fight, they would stand by them, and told them that they should not want for provision; during which time the said governor treated with the enemies, and beyond their expectation, yielded up the said city and castle to them (to her great grieve and discontent), before the time agreed on, whereby all her goods in the said castle were lost, and seized on by the enemy.

DORATHY HASSARD.

A True and Full Relation of the Prosecution, Arraignment, Tryall, and Condemnation of Nathaniel Fiennes. By William Prynne and Clement Walker, Esqs. Catalogue of the Witnesses, &c. Pp. 32, 33. London, 1644, 4to.

D.

Page 85.

LETTER OF ZEPHANIAH SMITH.

These for my honoured friend Mr. Edward Terrill, at his house, near Lawford's Gate, or elsewhere, in Bristol. With care.

In Canterbury Court, May 14th, 1675.

HONOURED BROTHER,—Grace, mercy, and peace be manifested and increased upon you and yours, and all the brethren with you, and on your churches and scattered saints in your city and country, through the good will of Him that dwelt in the bush. And therefore

it is that you and we are not in this time of trial consumed, but unto admiration, I hope both you and we shall grow in the fire. For, dear brother, this fire is not our destruction, but for the glory of God and our Father, which is with us, and will not leave us, but will exercise our graces, and purge our dross, and make us to be conformable to his image, and fit us for the crown of glory, which lieth under the cross, and will abundantly compensate all our loss and cross for Christ's sake. Dear brother, I rejoice to hear of your faith and patience, courage and constancy, in your profession, in these days of defection, notwithstanding all opposition. Albeit you live where Satan's throne is, yet you endure; and your meetings are pure and public, in the face of the adversary, whose opposition is a certain sign of their perdition, but to you of salvation, and that of God. Now, dear brethren, the Lord strengthen, settle, establish you, and keep you faithful unto the end, and make your souls flourish under all the dispensations of God, and guide you all by his grace. And after a little suffering he will make you perfect, and crown you with glory, where there will be resting and reigning with Christ, and all his suffering saints for ever. To his grace I commend you all, and rest, Sir,

Your cordial and affectionate brother,

To serve you on Christ's account,

Z. SMITH.

Brother, the good hand of God hath restored me my limbs and health since I wrote unto you in the winter. Oh, praise the Lord with me! The Lord hath put it into my heart to come and visit you, and your churches in your city, and my old friends in the country. I hope, God willing, to see you in about a fortnight hence. Pray for me that I may be preserved from the hands of evil men, and that I may come unto you full of the blessing of the gospel, and that my service of the Lord in the gospel may be accepted among the saints where his hand may lead me, and that I may be assisted in his work for the good of many souls, that the Lord may be glorified in and by me; and that when I have done my work, and run my race, I may be gathered unto eternal glory.

Z. S.

E.

Page 162.

List of subscriptions for the pastor.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Brother Ellis	5	0	0	Sister Brooks	4	0	0
“ King	3	0	0	“ Vannatturne	3	0	0
“ White	2	10	0	“ Baily	2	0	0
“ Gwilliam	3	0	0	“ Baldwin	1	0	0
“ Bodenham	3	0	0	“ Lux	1	10	0
“ Fry	2	0	0	“ Browne	1	10	0
“ Robt. Jones	3	0	0	“ Webb	2	0	0
“ Courtney	1	10	0	“ Robertson	1	10	0
“ Teather	1	14	0	“ Sterne	1	10	0
“ Dickason	1	12	0	“ Marsh	1	10	0
“ Rieves	1	0	0	“ Saunders	1	0	0
“ Cornish	1	0	0	“ Davis	1	0	0
“ Pierce	1	0	0	“ Spurgeon	1	8	0
“ Whitehead	1	0	0	“ Burd	1	10	0
“ Morgan	1	0	0	“ Loverine	1	0	0
“ James	1	0	0	“ Young	1	0	0
“ Evans	0	10	0	“ Hill, sen.	1	6	0
“ Dennis	0	10	0	“ Munday	1	0	0
“ Ford	0	10	0	“ West	1	10	0
“ Bland	2	0	0	“ Rose Teague	0	10	0
“ Ekly	1	0	0	“ Tanner	0	10	0
“ Evans	1	0	0	“ Betterton	0	10	0
“ Terrill	6	0	0	“ Smith	1	0	0
				“ Shuter	1	10	0
Sister Turtle	0	8	0	“ Watkins	0	10	0
“ Hughs	0	16	0	“ Tilley	0	12	0
“ Gough	0	10	0	“ Shaels	0	6	0
“ Simmonds	0	10	0	“ Evans	0	8	0
“ Jones, jun.	0	15	0	“ Williams	0	10	0
“ Williamson	1	0	0	“ Sterry	0	10	0
“ Papwell	1	10	0	“ Willett	0	6	0
“ Ellis, sen.	3	0	0	“ Dayos	0	10	0

F.

Page 239.

These for Alderman Ollive 30 April 1675.

The Exceptions of Edw. Terrill against yo^r wor^{ps} Illegall proceedings against him : are these

First that yo^r Wor^{ps} sending for me out of a house, where were on[ly] some sober people sate. And coming before yo^r Wor^p You passe sentence upon me for being at a Conventicle or an unlaw[ful] assembly : Although it was not proued that it was soe : Wh[ich if] it had been proued : that it was an unlawfull assembly : I [refuse] not to suffer y^e Penalty : That the Kings Mäties La[ws do] inflict for such offence : But you impose an other thin[g than] the Law directst in that case.

2. That Yo^r wor^p requires of me, y^e good behaviour=Notwithstanding it hath not been proued that I am guilty of any of those 18 things the Law layes downe for which you may require it : Nor of y^e 5 Eliz : c : 21 Nor 3 James c : 13.

3. That you proceed to Imprison me, Contrary to y^e Sta[tute] of y^e 29th of Magna Charta Confirmed by several Statu[tes] and by the 17 Caroli 1 : c : 10.

INDEX.

ABBOT, Mr. John, 108, 140, 155.
Act for uniformity, xiii.
Admonition to parliament published, xxvi.
the second by Cartwright, xxviii.
Ainsworth, Henry, on the church, xxxix.
Allegiance, oath of, imposed, 70.
Bacon, Mr. 16, 17, 27.
Baptism, a remarkable, 92. of a household,
188. of an aged man, 358.
Baptists, protest against persecution, xlv.
xlv. numerous in Elizabeth's reign, l.
lxxi. lxxiii. persecuted, li. discovered
in Ely, liii. two Flemings burnt, liv.—
lxv. not seditious, lxvi. their opinions,
lxx. lxxii. lxxv. their position towards
the protestant churches, lxxiv. hated by
all parties, lxxv. first assertors of true
liberty of conscience, lxxxix. accounts
of them unworthy of credit, 20. their
supplication, 503. letter to John Fox,
504. confession of faith, 507. in Bristol
about 1652, 41.
Barnstaple, church at, 178.
Barrowe, Henry, his views on the church,
xl. allows a coercive power to the
magistrate, xlii.
Beza maintains persecution, xlviii.
Blinman, Mr. Richard, 73.
Bodenham, brother Robert, 96, 110, 135,
205, 250, 304, 329, 359, 362, 371, 394,
403, 424, 442, 457, 461, 472, 493, 494,
496.
Bristol, beginning of separation in, 8, 11.
besieged by Prince Rupert, 30. plague
in, 87. six congregations in, 213. ex-
penses of four congregations in self-
defence, 251. an earthquake felt in, 341.
Broadmead church, basis of its formation,
23. its increase, 28. use parish church
of St. Ewins, 30. some go to London,
31. return. *ib.* covenant together anew,
32. hear Mr. Ingello, *ib.* meet for con-
ference, its benefits, 33, 188. invite Mr.
Ewins to be pastor, 37. practice of in-

fant baptism questioned, 39. some bap-
tized, 41, 42, 51. troubled by the
quakers, 43, 50, 55. opposed by presby-
terians, 57. meet in Broadmead, 70,
158. object to oath of supremacy, 70.
choose pastor, &c., 72, 91. church meet-
ing appointed, 86. choose an adminis-
trator of baptism, 95. meet in Whitson
Court, 95. church letters, 99, 101, 109,
166. answers, 174, 177, 179, 181, 183,
185, 186. persecutions, 104, 159. the
eighth, 212. the ninth, 420. the tenth,
431. without a pastor, 106. hear Mr.
Hardcastle, 131. their call to him,
134, 358, 382. Mr. Hardcastle settles
with on trial, 158. they finally choose
him, 196, 383. introduce a fixed stipend
for their pastor, 160. give a second call
to Mr. Hardcastle, 164. manner of ad-
mission into, 195, 367, 386. letters to
Mr. Jessey's church, 198, 203. licence of
their rooms, 218. persevere in holding
meetings, 222. use the gifts of brethren,
225. manner of conducting the service,
226. seek an union with three other
churches, 240, 245, 341. their charges
through persecution, 251. meet in
Whitson Court to fast, 273. the pastor's
letters read in the afternoon, 295, 307.
agree to purchase a burying-place, 304,
399, 431. resume public meetings, 355.
church meetings resumed, 357. con-
sult on ordaining their pastor, 359.
troubles recommence, 362. Mr. Jessey's
church demand their pastor, 380. their
lament on the pastor's death, &c. 389.
£150 given to Mrs. Hardcastle, 391.
invite Mr. Browne, 394. send a call to
Mr. Fownes, 400. state of the church,
416. two questions proposed by pastor,
423. choose deacons, 425, 427. question
how to act during persecution, 432.
their place of worship despoiled, 437,
442. twenty in prison, keep a day of
prayer, 443. appoint four places to meet
in, 448. take Conham house, 461. two
questions on conformity proposed by
pastor, 464. raise support for Mr.
Whinnell, 471. take their sad state into

- consideration, 482. end of their persecutions, 494. choose Mr. Vauxe pastor, *ib.* recommend Mr. Jennings to Sodbury, 495. desire brother Whinnell to abide, 496. call him to be an elder, 497. refuse to spare Mr. Whinnell to Taunton, 498.
- Browne, Robert, his views on the church, xxxiv. allows magistrates a coercive power in the church, xxxvii.
- Browne, Mr Robert, a minister invited to Broadmead, 126. his letters, 126, 127, 130, 131, 133, 140, 145, 150. at Plymouth, 150, invited to Broadmead, 393, 399.
- Buttall, Mr. Samuel, 104, 120, 231, 241, 452.
- Canne, Mr. a baptist, in Bristol, 18, 22.
- Carleton, bishop, persecutes, 213, 219, 235, 261, 356, 367.
- Cartwright, Thomas, asserts presbytery, xxv. publishes second Admonition, xxviii. his controversy with Whitgift, xxix.
- Charles II. restoration of, 70.
- Chauncey, Dr. Ichabod, 191, 224, 464. imprisoned, 487. banished, 491.
- Christchurch, church at, 427.
- Church, views of reformers on the, xiv. xxx. Robert Browne on the, xxxiv.
- Churches in Wales, an account of, 511.
- Church of England, constituted of papists, xxxix.
- Comets in 1664, 84. in 1674, 221. in 1677, 365.
- Common Prayer, book of, commanded, xiii. its scriptural character questioned, xxii.
- Cox, Dr. Nehemiah, 359, 369.
- Cradock, Mr. 7, 29, 31, 37, 515.
- Deaconesses chosen, sister West, 195. sister Murray, 195. sister Smith, 397, 403, 493. sister Webb, 397, 403, 404. sister Walton, 397, 494.
- Deane, Mr. London, 359.
- Devizes, church at, call Mr. Whinnell, 496, 497.
- Discipline, cases of, 86, 96, 107, 363, 368, 369, 370, 372, 377, 379, 384, 385, 406, 408, 411, 413, 429. doctrine relating to, 375.
- Dyke, Mr. Daniel, xcii. 369.
- Elizabeth, Queen, resumes the supremacy, x. xii. retains the crucifix, xi. persecutes the puritans, xxxiii. burns two Flemish baptists, liv.—lxv. supplication to her, 503.
- Ellis, Thomas, a ruling elder, 72, 76, 90, 95, 110, 131, 135, 241, 284, 295, 307, 312, 316, 318, 403, 405, 425, 476, 493.
- Emigration to New England, 9.
- Ethiopian, conversion of an, 35.
- Ewins, Mr. Thomas, pastor of the church, 37, 50, 51, 61, 70, 71, 72, 76, 84, 90, 95, 96, 399, 445. imprisoned, 73, 74, letters of, 80, 82, 93. notes of a discourse of, 94. his death, 97. his wife's death, 358.
- Fitten, Mr. James, 111, 203, 329, 383.
- Forty, Mr. Henry, xcii. 111, 203.
- Fosket, Mr. Bernard, transcribes from the waste-book, 426, 495, 500. chosen pastor, xciii. 500.
- Fownes, Mr. George, 361, 393, 399, 420, 422, 427, 428, 432, 453, 457. accepts the church's call, 405. settles in Bristol, 414. disturbed while preaching, 431, 433, 436. sent to prison, 437. removed by habeas, 448. cleared, but detained, 451. discharged, 457. preaches, *ib.* 458. 459, 460, 464. sent to Gloucester jail, 465. pleads, and is continued in prison, 490, 492, 493. dies in jail, 493.
- Fox, John, letter to, by the Flemish baptists, lxii. 504.
- Fry, John, 87, 135. his disease and singular recovery. 191, 196, 205, 359.
- Gifford, Mr. Andrew, 213, 219, 223, 361, 409, 452, 473, 480, 497. imprisoned, 224. his ordination, 369. sent to Gloucester jail, 481.
- Gloucester, church at, letters from, 206, 207, 208.
- Gosnold, Mr. John, 187, 247.
- Greenwood, H. allows a coercive power in the magistrate over the church, xli.
- Habits, strife relating to, xix.
- Hanbury, Mr. examination of his claim for the independents, &c. lxxvii.
- Hardcastle, Mr. Thomas, pastor, 107, 109, 115, 116, 131, 164, 188, 196, 362, 380. letters of, 111, 120, 122, 124, 129, 137, 140, 143, 147, 149, 152, 155, 157, 209. his license to preach, 217. imprisoned, 222. removed to London by habeas corpus, 240. return to prison, 243. at liberty and preaches, 252. his second imprisonment, 253. his twenty-two letters from prison to the church, 257—354. permitted at his own house, 273, and preaches, 284. released, 355. his wife joins the church, 360, 367. his death, 387.

- Harford, Mr. Charles, a teacher of Mr. Gifford's church, 219, 428, 486.
- Harrison, Mr. Edward, 149, 153, 198.
- Hazzard, Mrs. 10, 14, 16, 18, 22, 28, 48, 135. her death, 232, 236. her heroic conduct at the siege, 518.
- Hooker, Richard, on the baptists, xliv.
- Horton, church at, Gloucester, letter from, 210.
- Humphreys, Dr. Laurence, objects to the habits, xviii.
- Hynam, Mr. Henry, 41, 361. his congregation, 70. where buried, 399.
- Independents were not the first assertors of liberty of conscience, lxxxv.
- Ingello, Dr. Nath. 32, 35, 36.
- Ironsides, bishop, persecutes the church, 105.
- Jacob, Henry, for a restricted toleration, lxxviii. his church probably not an independent one, lxxxix.
- Jennings, Mr. Thomas, a minister, 91, 94, 135, 190, 195, 211, 305, 312, 339, 359, 396, 403, 405, 414, 427, 435, 443, 445, 451, 453, 456, 460. settles at Sodbury, 495. imprisoned, 447. released, 448. warrants issued against him, 455
- Jessey, Mr. Henry, 7, 42, 51.
- Jesuits under the garb of quakers, 42, 46.
- Jewell, bishop, his fears for the reformation, xi. on the habits, xvii. thinks of resigning his bishopric, xix.
- Johnson, Francis, allows a compulsory reformation, xlii. on the baptists, lxxii.
- Jones, Mr. David, Swansea, 456, 457, 512.
- Jope, Mr. Caleb, xciii. 500.
- Kelly, Mrs. see Hazzard.
- Kiffin, Mr. William, xcii. 31, 123, 149, 359, 361.
- Kitchen, Mr. general baptist, 213, 427.
- Kitterell, Mr. Peter, xciii. 500.
- Knox, John, attacks the baptists, xlv. upholds persecution, xlvii.
- Letters from Mr. Jessey's church, 102, 117, 125, 138, 153, 200.
- Listun, Mr. William, xci. 8, 12, 27, 41.
- Llantrissant, church at, 90, 514.
- Llanvaches, church at, comes to Bristol, 29, 37.
- London, fire of, 88.
- Magistrate, authority in the church, xxx. lxxxiii.
- Maurice, or Morris, Mr. Henry, 430, 511.
- Maydstone, a baptist in Norwich jail, lxxiii.
- Minister, a, though not a pastor, may baptize, 415.
- Moreton, Mr. an elder in London, 359.
- Nobbs, Mr. minister at Sodbury, 429.
- Owen, Dr. John, 148, 152, 155, 382.
- Palmer, Mr. Anth. 361.
- Patient, Mr. Thomas, imprisoned, 74.
- Persecution, its cruelty and folly, lxxv. condemned by Jesus and the apostles, lxxvii. of the puritans, 5.
- Peters, Jan, a baptist, burnt, lxxii.
- Powell, Mr. Vavasor, 107, 380. letters of, 108, 115, 516.
- Prosser, Mr. Enoch, of Mr. Keach's church, 446, 447, 448.
- Puritans, their intolerance, xxxii. depend on the secular arm, xxxvi. claim for toleration unsatisfactory, lxxx. the name of, when first used, 6.
- Purnell, Mr. Robert, an elder, 51, 61, 72, 89.
- Quakers trouble the church, 43, 55.
- Ralphson, Mr. 393.
- Reformation under Elizabeth, xvii. 4. under Henry, &c. *ib.* Charles I. 5.
- Robinson, Mr. John, maintains coercion of conscience, lxxxv.
- Roundheads, origin of the name, 29.
- Sampson, Dr. Thomas, on the habits, xvii. objects to them, xviii.
- Sandys, bishop, persecutes two baptists to death, lix. lxiv.
- Separatists before Grinda, xxiv. the first in Bristol, 8, 16. their proceedings, 12, 18. twelve steps to separation, 23.
- Simpson, brother, a deacon, 72, 75, 110, 135, 195, 237. letter of, 78. his death, 378.
- Smith, Mr. Zeph. 85, 244. an original letter of, 519.
- Sodbury, church at, 429 letter to, from Broadmead, 495.
- Spilsbury, Mr. his secession from Mr. Lathorpe, lxxix.
- Stubbs, Mr. Henry, 67.
- Taunton, church at, call Mr. Whinnell, 496. letter to, from Broadmead, 498. obtain Mr. Whinnell, 499.
- Terwoort, Hendrik, a baptist, burnt, lxxiii.

- Terrill, Mr. Edward, xci. 47, 75, 77, 86, 106, 110, 124, 129, 134, 135, 155, 159, 162, 205, 209, 228, 237, 238, 241, 247, 249, 253, 312, 319, 339, 346, 355, 359, 366, 371, 380, 384, 391, 394, 398, 400, 403, 405, 409, 412, 421, 422, 424, 427, 432, 433, 438, 440, 442, 445, 448, 451, 460, 466, 470, 474, 476, 478, 482, 487. his experience, 57. chosen elder, 90. imprisoned, 442, 446. before the mayor, 449. discharged, 455. his exceptions against his arrest, 522. provides a place in the wood for their meetings, 459. deceased, 494. his bequests, xcii.
- Thomas, Mr. William, 7, 90, 92.
- Thompson, Mr. John, independent, 213. imprisoned, 221. dies in prison, 224.
- Uniformity urged, xviii. xxiii.
- Vauxe, Mr. chosen pastor, 494, 497, 499.
- Veron, John, assails the baptists, l.
- Wales, churches in, 511.
- Weeks, Mr. presbyterian, 214. imprisoned, 222. removed to London by Habeas Corpus, 240. return to prison, 243. at liberty, 252.
- Whinnell, Mr. Thomas, 427, 448, 451, 452, 455, 460, 466, 472, 476, 479, 482, 487, 493, 500. joins the church, 454. receives a call from Devizes and Taunton, 496. called to be an elder at Broadmead, 497. settles at Taunton, 499.
- Whitgift, archbishop, his controversy with Cartwright, xxix. on the baptists, lxxviii.
- Wroth, Mr. Monmouthshire, 7, 9, 27, 29, 39, 515.

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